Boston Public Library
3 9999 10513 892 7

Brookline Public Library

Town Appropriation.

June - Nov., 1896

Shelf No. ~~15825~~ Accession No.

~~Pam 975~~

BOSTON
PUBLIC
LIBRARY

MAR 9 1897
FEB 25 1898
JAN 27 1903

THE ARENA.

EDITED BY B. O. FLOWER.

VOL. XVI.

PUBLISHED BY
ARENA PUBLISHING CO.,
BOSTON, MASS.
1896.

~~Per. A 78~~
~~46~~

COPYRIGHTED, 1896,
By THE ARENA PUBLISHING CO.

Periodical
AP2. A6

SKINNER, BARTLETT & CO., 7 Federal Court, Boston.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Celsus, the First Pagan Critic of Christianity, and his Anticipation of Modern Thought, Rev. SAMUEL J. BARROWS. D. D.	1
The Direct Legislation Movement and its Leaders (Illustrated), ELTWEED POMEROY, Editor of the *Direct Legislation Record*	29
The Land of the Noonday Sun — Mexico in Mid-Winter (Illustrated) . . . . Justice WALTER CLARK, LL. D.	44
A National Platform for the American Independents of 1896, WILLIAM P. ST. JOHN, President of the Mercantile National Bank of New York	67
The Telegraph Monopoly (Part VI) . . Prof. FRANK PARSONS	70
Bimetallism . . . . . A. J. UTLEY	85
A Prophet of Freedom . . . . . B. O. FLOWER	106
Monopoly and the Mines of Minnesota . . . C. J. BUELL	124
The Mental Cure in its Relation to Modern Thought, HORATIO W. DRESSER	131
The Valley Path (Serial) . . WILL ALLEN DROMGOOLE	138
Bride of the Ages (Poem) . . . FRANCES M. MILNE	146
Between Two Worlds (Serial), Mrs. CALVIN KRYDER REIFSNIDER	147
The Golden Age (Poem) . . . JUNIUS L. HEMPSTEAD	162
A Just Judge . . . . . J. B. FOLLETT	177
The Telegraph Monopoly (Part VII) . Prof. FRANK PARSONS	186
Shall we have a National Sanitarium for Consumptives? WILLIAM THORNTON PARKER, M. D. (Munich)	196
The Tree of Equity . . . . . BOLTON HALL	207
Some Eastern Conservative Authorities who are Championing the Cause of Free Silver . . . . . B. O. FLOWER	208
The Keeley Cure for Inebriety . . . WILLIAM G. HASKELL	222
Two Golden Volumes . . . . . GILES STEBBINS	228
The Millionnaire's Daughter (Poem) . . CECELIA DE VERE	238
An Interesting Representative of a Vanished Race (Illustrated), B. O. FLOWER	240
American Financial Policy . . . . H. F. BARTINE	251
Woman in Society To-day . . . . A. E. U. HILLES	263
The Imperial Power in the Realm of Truth, Prof. JOSEPH RODES BUCHANAN	276
Are we Becoming a Homeless Nation? . . JOHN O. YEISER	286
Theosophy and H. P. Blavatsky . KATE BUFFINGTON DAVIS	292
The General Discontent as Illustrated in Current Cartoons, B. O. FLOWER	298
The Valley Path (Serial) . . WILL ALLEN DROMGOOLE	305
Between Two Worlds (Serial), Mrs. CALVIN KRYDER REIFSNIDER	316

		PAGE
A Vision of Lost Atlantis (Poem)	JAMES G. CLARK	332
The Telegraph Monopoly (Part VIII)	Prof. FRANK PARSONS	353
A Reply to "A Financial Seer"	C. S. THOMAS	367
Bibliography of Literature Dealing with the Land Question,	THOMAS E. WILL, A. M.	380
Is the West Discontented?	JOHN E. BENNETT	393
Whittier — The Man	B. O. FLOWER	406
Club Life *versus* Home Life	G. S. CRAWFORD	418
A Social Settlement	ANNIE L. MUZZEY	432
Mahayana Buddhism in Japan	ANNIE E. CHENEY	439
The Convict Question	J. KELLOGG	445
Ethics the Only Basis of Religion	R. B. MARSH, M. A.	448
The Morning of a New Day	GEORGE CANNING HILL	455
Associated Effort and its Influence on Human Progress,	M. L. HOLBROOK, M. D.	462
Philosophers Afloat (A Sketch)	HELEN H. GARDENER	480
The Valley Path (Serial)	WILL ALLEN DROMGOOLE	486
This Crowded World (Poem)	D. L. MAULSBY	496
Between Two Worlds (Serial),	Mrs. CALVIN KRYDER REIFSNIDER	497
The New Patriotism (Poem)	MILES M. DAWSON	512
The Currency Question	Hon. WILLIAM J. BRYAN	529
Evils of the Land Monopoly	Rev. W. B. WILLIAMS	538
Whittier — A Modern Apostle of Lofty Spirituality,	B. O. FLOWER	543
The Initiative and Referendum	CHARLES W. BOWNE	553
Is a Universal Religion Possible?	I. N. TAYLOR	558
The Right of Woman to the Ballot	CHARLES H. CHAPMAN	570
Free Silver and Prosperity	WILLIAM P. ST. JOHN, M. A.	581
A Remarkable Statistical Report	JAMES MALCOLM	585
Model "Model Tenements,"	WILLIAM HOWE TOLMAN, Ph. D.	595
Inherited Wretchedness: Should Consumptives Marry?	PAUL PAQUIN, M. D., V. M.	605
The Negro's Place in History	Prof. WILLIS BOUGHTON	612
Compulsory Arbitration a Practicable Remedy,	NORMAN T. MASON, A. M.	622
The Telegraph Monopoly (Part IX)	Prof. FRANK PARSONS	629
The Valley Path (Serial) (Concluded),	WILL ALLEN DROMGOOLE	656
Time (Poem)	EDWARD A. OLDHAM	669
Between Two Worlds	Mrs. CALVIN KRYDER REIFSNIDER	670
Silver — A Money Metal	United States Senator J. T. MORGAN	705
The Religion of Jesus Christ in its Relation to Christianity and Reforms	Rev. G. D. COLEMAN	721
Municipal Reform	WILLIAM HOWE TOLMAN, Ph. D.	728
What the Remonetization of Silver would do for the Republic,	United States Senator J. P. JONES	736

PAGE

How Prince Edward Island Settled its Land Question, J. H. HASTAM 743
Dual Suffrage . . . . . Mrs. E. Q. NORTON 748
The Peril of Encouraging the Persecuting Spirit, B. O. FLOWER 752
Japanesque Elements in "The Last Days of Pompeii," ERNEST W. CLEMENT 757
Free Silver *versus* Free Gold . . . Prof. FRANK PARSONS 770
Three Travellers (A Sketch) . . WARNER WILLIS FRIES 796
The Question of Genius . . . . SOPHIA MCCLELLAND 799
Are our Christian Missionaries in India Frauds? Rev. J. H. MUELLER 806
The Divine Afflatus of the Etruscan Gold-Spinners, MARY S. LOCKWOOD 813
Soul Evolution . . . . . JOHN F. CLARK 820
The Future (Poem) . . . . GOTTFRID E. HULT, A. M. 824
Between Two Worlds (Serial), Mrs. CALVIN KRYDER REIFSNIDER 825
The Issue of 1896 . . . . . Prof. FRANK PARSONS 881
The Simplicity of the Single Tax . . S. HOWARD LEECH 892
Jesus and the Apostles, Prof. JOSEPH RODES BUCHANAN, M. D. 897
The Medical Crisis of the Eighteenth Century, C. W. CRAM, M. D. 908
Night and Day (Poem) . . . . Rev. G. D. COLEMAN 919
Kate Field . . . . . LILIAN WHITING 920
Four Epochs in the History of our Republic . B. O. FLOWER 928
Free Coinage Indispensable, but not a Panacea, Justice WALTER CLARK, LL. D. 937
The North American Indian — The Disappearance of the Race a Popular Fallacy . . . J. WORDEN POPE, U. S. Army 945
Children's Sense of Fear . . . . MARY M. HARRISON 960
The New Charity . . . . . BOLTON HALL 970
The Impending Crisis, WILLIAM H. STANDISH, ex-Attorney-General of North Dakota 974
Can we have and do we need an Infallible Revelation? Rev. T. ERNEST ALLEN 986
The Days to Come . . . . ELLA MINTHORN HOGAN 993
Between Two Worlds (Serial) (Concluded), Mrs. CALVIN KRYDER REIFSNIDER 995

BOOK REVIEWS.

Dr. Wallace's Volume on Modern Spiritual Philosophy . . . 163
The Drama of the Revolution 167
Twenty-five Letters on English Authors 168
True Memory; the Philosopher's Stone 335
Siegfried, the Mystic 336
An Ideal Republic 514
A Romance of the New Virginia 519

PAGE

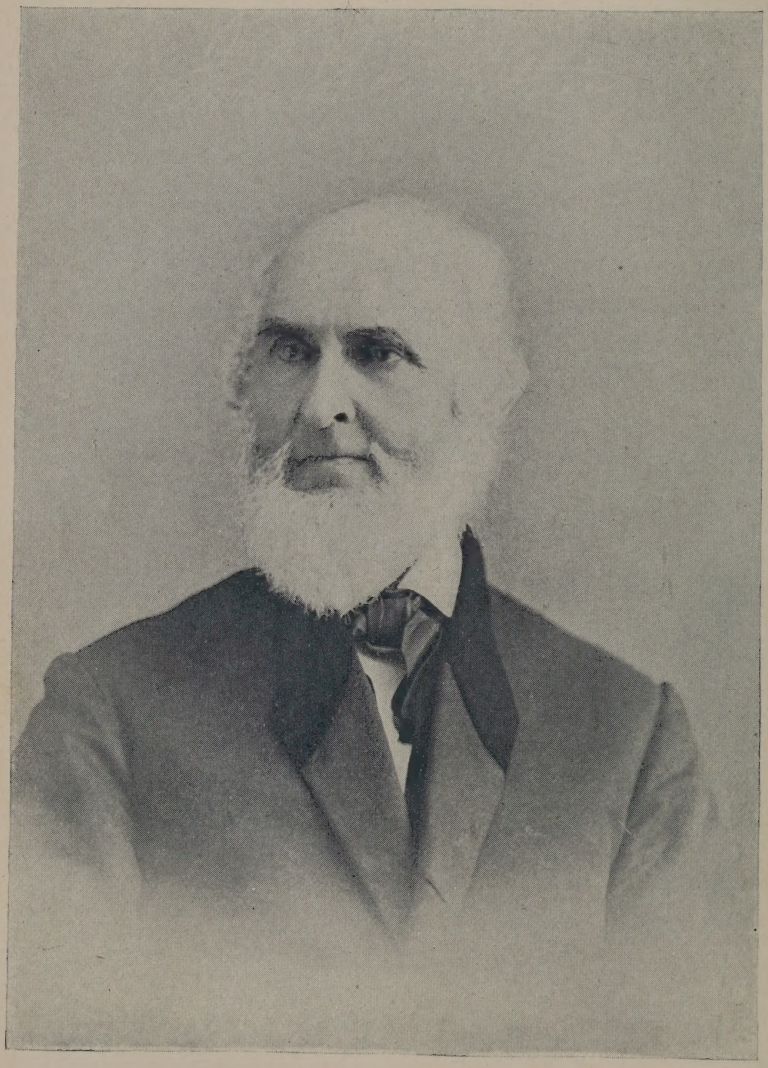
A Spiritual Tour of the World 520
An Original Book 684
A Silver Baron 689
The Juggernaut of the Moderns 691
Beyond 692
Etidorhpa 855
Immigration Fallacies 857
A Tower in the Desert 858
Workingmen and the Church 859
Dame Fortune Smiled 860
Libra 862
Birkwood 863
King Mammon 1035
Brysonia 1039
Whose Soul Have I Now? 1040
Uncle Jerry's Platform and other Christmas Stories . . . 1042
Santa Claus' Home and other Stories and Rhymes 1043

ILLUSTRATIONS.

		PAGE
JOHN G. WHITTIER	Opposite	1
ELTWEED POMEROY		33
HON. THOMAS MCEWAN, JR.		33
WILLIAM A. COTTER		33
J. W. ARROWSMITH		33
J. W. SULLIVAN		34
SAMUEL GOMPERS		35
GEORGE H. STROBELL		36
RICHARD W. IRWIN		39
W. S. U'REN		40
F. J. EDDY		41
S. C. WHITWAM		42
MEXICAN GIRL AMONG WHAT ARE CALLED THE MIDDLE CLASS		44
PORFIRIO DIAZ, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF MEXICO		45
EX-GOV. THOMAS T. CRITTENDEN, CONSUL-GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES TO MEXICO		46
A MEXICAN BELLE		47
A MEXICAN PEASANT GIRL		48
THE RESIDENCE OF DR. CADMUS.—SOLON'S HOME	Opposite	146
SALOME		147
MR. GLADSTONE		149
RUBY		150
DR. CADMUS		151
SOLON		152
HENRY CLAY CALDWELL	Opposite	176
ROYAL NATIONAL CONSUMPTIVES' HOSPITAL, ISLE OF WIGHT, ENGLAND		197
WILLIAM P. ST. JOHN		209
JAY COOKE		216
WALTER CLARK		217
SIMON POKAGON		241
INDIAN NAPKIN RINGS MADE OF BIRCH BARK, COLORED QUILLS, AND SWEET GRASS		243
FAC-SIMILE OF PREFACE OF "RED MAN'S GREETING." PRINTED ON BIRCH BARK		244
INDIAN MAT MADE OF BIRCH BARK, QUILLS, ETC.		247
THE WORK OF GOLD BUGS; OR "WHERE HE'S AT"		298
PURCHASING POWER OF A BALE OF COTTON		299
UNCLE SAM'S "CROWN OF THORNS"		300
THE WORK OF THE GOLD BUGS		301
A CARTOON FOR THE TIMES, WITH LINES ADAPTED FROM SHELLEY		302

PAGE

DID GOD PUT ALL THE BRAINS UNDER THESE, AND ALL THE POWER OF SUFFERING UNDER THESE? 302
"THOU ART THE MAN" 303
THE TWO OLD PARTIES AS THE "TWO DROMIOS" . . . 304
H. M. TELLER, UNITED STATES SENATOR, OF COLORADO . . 346
BENJAMIN F. TILLMAN, SENATOR, OF SOUTH CAROLINA . . 348
GEORGE WILSON, PRESIDENT OF THE OLDEST BANK IN MISSOURI, 349
GEORGE P. KEENEY 350
GEORGE CANNING HILL . . . . . Opposite 353
W. J. BRYAN . . . . . Opposite 528
W. J. BRYAN 694
GEORGE FRED WILLIAMS . . . . . Opposite 704
ACHILLE 833
KATE FIELD . . . . . Opposite 881
GEORGE WASHINGTON 929
THOMAS JEFFERSON 931
ANDREW JACKSON 933
ABRAHAM LINCOLN 934
WILLIAM J. BRYAN 935
MRS. CALVIN KRYDER REIFSNIDER . . . . Opposite 995



John G. Shelton

BROOKLINE PUBLIC LIBRARY

THE ARENA.

No. LXXIX.

JUNE, 1896.

CELSUS, THE FIRST PAGAN CRITIC OF CHRISTIANITY, AND HIS ANTICIPATION OF MODERN THOUGHT.

BY REV. SAMUEL J. BARROWS, D. D.

It is an interesting glimpse that we get through a historic vista of sixteen hundred and fifty years of the intellectual and literary activity of the church at Alexandria. Origen, that sweet-hearted, large-minded theologian and scholar, has made it the seat of his labors. Under the patronage of his generous friend Ambrosius, he is devoting himself with tremendous industry to the production of works which are to survive the rust and blight of sixteen centuries. This wealthy friend and patron has kindly provided him with seven shorthand writers, who relieve each other at stated times, and with an equal number of transcribers, together with young girls who act as copyists and who prepare for publication the matter he has dictated. What literary opulence for a man who had been accustomed to live on four obols a day and who had literally construed the command of Jesus not to possess two coats or to wear shoes! But Ambrose pays the bills.

Origen having offended his ecclesiastical superiors at Alexandria, betook himself to Cæsarea, where he soon developed large influence. The friendship of Ambrose did not desert him; and one day Origen received from his benefactor a book which had excited great attention in the heathen world, written in Greek, bearing the title Λόγος Αληθὴς or "True Discourse." It was a powerful arraignment of the beliefs of the Christians. Still more, it was an earnest appeal to Christians to be reconciled to the existing order of things. It was written by a man of immense learning who had ranged through

the vast fields of Greek literature; who knew its poets and philosophers, its history and mythology; who quotes from Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Heraclitus, Herodotus, Euripides, and many others; who was deeply imbued with the philosophy of Plato, and had studied the religious systems of the Jews, the Egyptians, the Persians and Indians; a man of wide travel, a student of art and science, a social economist, a patriot with a profound interest in the welfare of the State. And all this vast learning was gathered and wielded with immense force by a mind of philosophic grasp, breadth of sympathy, critical acumen, brilliant wit, and at times capable of glowing eloquence.

This book was written by one Celsus. Who this Celsus was, Origen did not know. The name was a common one. Keim has counted about twenty who bore it. When Origen received the book he was nearly sixty years of age. It came into his hands, therefore, about the year 245. But this book had been in existence for many years. Origen, therefore, can only guess at the author. He presumes him to be an Epicurean who lived in the time of Hadrian. Origen's palpable error in calling the author of the "True Discourse" an Epicurean has been followed by many of the church historians, and even Froude, who has the material at hand for knowing better, repeats the erroneous assumption. This Celsus is not an Epicurean, but a decided Platonist. As he is the first heathen author who mentions the sacred books of the Christians, and as some of his references bear directly upon the authorship of the four Gospels, it is important for New Testament critics to fix his exact date; but for the more general purpose of this article, which is rather to exhibit the mind and method of Celsus, such precision is not necessary. The difference is a matter of forty years. Various German critics, taking Origen's guess that he lived under Hadrian, put him about 137. Keim and others, through various political indications in his works, place him during the reign of Marcus Aurelius. The indications favor the latest date, A. D. 178.

Here then we have a criticism of Christianity written by a cultured Greek mind in the third quarter of the second century. It fell into the hands of Origen about sixty-five years after it was written. Its author had passed away; but the work had not lost its vitality. Origen was disinclined to reply to it, falling back on the example of Jesus, who, when

falsely accused, opened not his mouth. But the earnest request of Ambrose, with the intimation that some believers might have their faith shaken by its argument, induced him to undertake the task. We may be grateful to Ambrose for his request and grateful to Origen for acceding to it, since this work of Celsus is known to us to-day only through the elaborate reply which Origen constructed to demolish it. The great service he has rendered to Christian literature lies not in the fact that he destroyed the argument of Celsus, but in the fact that he has so well preserved it. Origen took up the work of Celsus piece by piece, paragraph by paragraph, and enveloped each extract in a tissue of refutation. Instead of having the full living, breathing argument of Celsus or even the articulated skeleton, we must seek the disjointed bones in the eight books in which Origen sought to give them Christian burial. We undoubtedly owe it to the fact that the work of Celsus was so thoroughly incorporated in Origen's reply that it has been preserved to us at all. If there had been any means of detaching it, it would probably have shared the cremation which overtook the works of Porphyry at a later date. Fortunately it was not possible to burn Celsus without burning Origen with him. Origen was a fair-minded and generous critic who would not wilfully garble or pervert. He has not shunned to exhibit the argument of his opponent in all its force. He sometimes paraphrases, sometimes skips and condenses; but with all the gaps, broken links, and sundered joints, we feel after we have gone through the pages of Origen, that we may practically and substantially reconstruct the work of Celsus. Its transcendent value for us is that one hundred and forty years after the death of Jesus it gives us the first picture of Christianity in relation to the thought and life of that age, drawn by a highly cultured Greek mind deeply saturated with the Platonic spirit and standing as the conservator of existing institutions. And the interest is greatly increased from the fact that in developing his argument Celsus has surprisingly anticipated a vast deal of modern criticism and modern thought.

Within the last twenty-five years there has been a revival of interest in the study of Celsus, and in the works of Pelagaud, Keim, and Baur he has for the first time had justice done to him. If we look at the conception of this heathen writer which prevails in most ecclesiastical authors, it is that of a flippant, sophistical, shallow Pagan who ventured to

raise his voice against Christianity, and who was effectually silenced by the overmastering reply of Origen. It is to a totally different conception of him that we here invite attention. Perhaps nothing will do more to dispel the traditional view than by stepping into the background and letting Celsus come to the front. Only the reader must remember that this man stands not on a Christian platform, but amid the grand temples of the Pagan world, looking down upon the snarl of Christian sects and seeing with alarm the spread of influences which threaten to undermine the ancient religion. To understand Celsus at all, we must put ourselves in his place. Reading to-day his sharp and acid criticism, his withering sarcasm directed against Christianity, it might seem as if this man were a bold and trenchant radical, striking at the root of all religion. Nothing could be more false. Celsus is not an iconoclast; he is a conservative. He is not an Epicurean who has given up all belief in God and Providence; he is not like Lucian, a man of the world who could satirize the myths of Paganism and thus place weapons in the hands of Christians against the Polytheists. To Celsus it is the Christians who are the image breakers; it is the Christians who are atheists refusing to worship longer in the temple; it is the Christians who are materialists substituting for a pure spiritual conception of God the gross anthropomorphism of the Hebrews and deifying a human being; it is the Christians who are flooding the world with silly superstitions, and who by their secret societies, their exclusiveness, their refusal to take up arms in behalf of the emperor are threatening the life of the State. There is something deeply interesting and also deeply pathetic in the picture of this cultivated Greek who, like Theodore Parker, combines vast powers of sarcasm with the deepest reverence, taking up his pen to resist a new and powerful form of intellectual and political disorder, and making an affectionate appeal for the preservation of what he deemed the established order of the world.

The work of Celsus may be divided into four parts.

1. A brief introduction.

2. A representation of a dialogue between a Jew and Jesus, which is followed by an address of the Jew to his countrymen.

3. A criticism of the doctrine of the Christians.

4. An attempt to reconcile Christianity with the religion of the emperor.

It is noticeable that many who have written upon Celsus overlook this last, but to us one of the most important divisions of the treatise. It constitutes the natural climax to the work.

Turning from the literary order to the philosophical method, we find that the author has chosen his central point of attack with great skill. He directs the whole force of his battery against the claim of Christianity to be a special divine revelation, a religion essentially new and essentially superior. In exposing its pretensions to exclusive inspiration he aims to exhibit the irrational character of its dogmas, its supposed miracles, its deification of Jesus, its claim to be the only means of salvation, its materialistic doctrine of the resurrection, and its unworthy views of God. And then, having shown that Christianity can rest simply where all other religions must rest, on the basis of universal religion, he appeals in a reconciling tone to Christians as citizens and patriots to support the emperor.

In the very introduction of the "True Discourse" the motive of the work comes out. Celsus accuses the Christians of forming secret societies in violation of law; their exclusiveness is political as well as religious. He then undertakes to knock away the props on which this exclusiveness is built. Christianity, he says, grew out of Judaism. It was of barbarian origin. The doctrines of Christianity have nothing new in them. They are common to the other philosophies. For instance, the argument of the Christians against the worship of idols is that they are the work of men, and an inferior cannot create a superior. Heraclitus, the philosopher reminds us, said practically the same thing before. The Persians also rejected the worship of idols. Christianity therefore presents nothing new.

There is a passage in the introduction which we quote because it shows that the writer could not have been an Epicurean. In recognizing the heroism of Christians who died for their belief, he says, "I do not say that he who holds to a good doctrine ought to renounce it, either in reality or in appearance, for the sake of saving his life; but," he continues, "no man ought to accept a doctrine unless it is supported by reason. Some of the Christians are unwilling to give reason or to listen to reason concerning their belief, and make use of these expressions: Examine not, but believe; your faith will save you; wisdom is a bad thing; foolishness is a good thing."

He admits that there are wise and sound-minded Christians; but his general assertion is that Christianity is for ignorant men; that accounts for its rapid spread. There is an important historical fact implied here; namely, that when he wrote Christianity was making rapid headway and becoming a threatening annoyance. "The founder of the Christian sect," he continues, "was living only a few years ago, and yet the Christians believe him the Son of God."* In a dramatic way Celsus then introduces an imaginary disputation between Jesus and a Jew. The Jew accuses him of having derived his birth from a virgin, and upbraids him with being born in a certain Jewish village of a poor woman of the country, who gained her living by spinning and who was turned out of doors by her husband, a carpenter by trade, because she was unfaithful. According to Celsus, the real father of Jesus was a soldier named Pantherus. When Jesus was a youth he was compelled by poverty to go to Egypt and work there for many years. While in Egypt he became acquainted with some of the occult sciences on which the Egyptians pride themselves. Afterward he returned to his country and, being elated with the success of his magical performance, proclaimed himself a God. This story of Pantherus, Celsus undoubtedly derived from the Jews; for as the Christians extolled the birth of Jesus, the Jews did what they could to degrade it. "You assert," continues the imaginary Jew, addressing Jesus, "that when you were baptized by John the figure of a bird lighted upon you twice. What responsible witness was there for this appearance? Who heard the voice from heaven calling you the Son of God except yourself and a fellow criminal?" He discredits the story of the wise men, and does not believe that Herod conspired against the children, or slew all the infants that had been born about this time.

"The prophecies," says the supposed Jew, "upon which you base these claims apply to innumerable persons. On what ground do you refer them exclusively to yourself? You assert that you are the Son of God. Now every man born under divine providence is a son of God; if so, in what can you differ from others? Why did you go to Egypt when you were an infant? Were you afraid of being slain? But it is not natural for God to fear death. An angel came from

*This assertion that Jesus lived "only a few years ago" is used by some as an argument for assigning the earliest date to the writings of Celsus.

heaven and commanded you and your relatives to flee lest you should die. But could not the great God protect you where you were? He had already sent two angels in your behalf. But suppose we admit that the stories propagated by your followers are true, in what do your performances differ from the performances of other jugglers?" And Celsus goes on to tell some of the wonderful feats performed by the Egyptian jugglers for a few obols in the market place. They will impart knowledge of their most venerated arts, will drive out demons from men, expel disease and invoke the souls of heroes, exhibit extensive banquets, tables, and dishes and dainties having no real existence; they will put in motion what are not really living animals, but which have only the appearance of life. And he asks, "Since then these persons can perform such feats, shall we of necessity conclude that they are Sons of God, or must we admit that they are the proceedings of wicked men under the influence of evil spirits?" Celsus was evidently acquainted with the theosophy and spiritualism of his time.

The supposed Jew then makes an appeal to his countrymen. "How could we believe him to be a divine being, who never confirmed his assertions by any great work; but after we had pronounced judgment against him and proceeded to arrest him, he most ignominiously concealed himself and was betrayed by those whom he called his disciples? A God running away from his pursuers! A God betrayed by those who regarded him as the solemn messenger of the great God! Now if a person plotted against informs the conspirators that he knows all about their plans, they desist from executing those plans; but the alleged predictions of Jesus have no effect upon his disciples; it shows that he never predicted anything."

The argument of Celsus was not of course directed against the human weakness of Jesus, but against the weakness of his supposed deity. It is sometimes assumed that the deification of Jesus was a later process; but this work, in which it furnishes a central point of attack, shows how early the process began and how it had gone on. We see also that even one hundred and forty years after the death of Jesus there was no living tradition in regard to him. Celsus says: "Some of the believers, like drunken men who lay violent hands on themselves, have altered the original form of the gospel in three ways, in four ways, in many ways. The

prophecies which you have with reference to Jesus may apply with a greater degree of probability to ten thousand other men. The prophet announces a great potentate, a leader of nations and armies, not such a pestilent fellow. Such obscure sayings and misinterpretations do not prove the manifestation of God and the Son of God." When we compare the quotations in the New Testament with their original setting in the Old, as Prof. C. H. Toy has done in his excellent book on "The New Testament Quotations," we see how strained is the application of these prophecies to Jesus, and how acutely Celsus has anticipated some of the results of modern criticism.

Again, Celsus, wishing to identify the works of Jesus with similar works performed by magicians, exclaims, "Oh light! Oh truth! He distinctly declares with his own voice, as yourselves have recorded, that others will come performing similar works by the power of one Satan. Jesus then does not deny that such works were done by wicked men and sorcerers. Is it not then ridiculous to conclude from the same works that the one is God and the other a sorcerer? You say you believe in him because he predicted his own resurrection; but others have predicted similar things for the purpose of deceiving stupid people. This was the case with Zamolxis in Scythia, the slave of Pythagoras and with Pythagoras himself in Italy, and with Rhampsinitus in Egypt and with Orpheus among the Odrysians and Protesilaus in Thessaly and Hercules and Theseus. But the real thing to be considered is not what fables say, but whether a really dead man ever came to life again. Do you think that what you say of others is fiction, but that what you say of him is truth?" Celsus points out here the vulnerable heel in all arguments which attempt to prove the divine origin of Christianity by appealing to its recorded miracles. What he asks is that Christians shall show as much respect for the miraculous claims of other religions as for their own. The special argument for miraculous Christianity falls to pieces before this one challenge, "Do you think that what you say of others is fiction, but what you say of him is truth?"

But he presses the Christians further when he asks them not to present myths and fables as if they were facts. We find in Celsus a marked anticipation of the science of comparative mythology, not of course in its details, but in its principles. He saw that by the rapid idealization of those times,

in which the human mind embodied nature and humanity in poetic conceptions, the Christians and the Jews had a mythology as truly as the Greeks or the Egyptians. Taking it as mythology, Celsus had no fault to find. A myth to him presented no difficulty. He saw that myths bloom as freely from the human mind as blossoms on the trees, and that they grow in every variety of soil. If there were space it would be interesting to show the ease with which he matches a myth of the Christians with a myth of some other religion. But though he has no trouble with myths as such, he declines to accept them as historical facts. Whenever such claim is made, then he subjects it to a most searching examination. With the humanity of Jesus he could have no quarrel, but with the deification of Jesus he could have no peace. And he discovers with great acuteness the seams where the proper humanity of Jesus is welded on to his improper deity; the inconsistency and contradiction of sometimes ascribing to him human functions and then ascribing to him those which are divine. Jesus, as Celsus saw him in Christian representations, was an unnatural being. He did not do what might have been expected of a God, and the whole drama of his life as represented in Christian mythology was a mixture of incongruous elements. "According to you," says Celsus, "he could not help himself while living, but after he had died [when the presumption is that he would be still more helpless] he raised himself from the dead and showed the prints of the nails. But who saw this? A distracted woman, or perhaps some of those engaged in the same system of delusion who had either dreamed so, owing to a peculiar state of the mind, or under the influence of a wandering imagination had formed an appearance according to their own wishes, which has been the case with numberless individuals."

We see in this paragraph how far Celsus anticipated the view of Renan and Strauss in regard to the resurrection, declaring that its truth rests upon the evidence of an hysterical woman, that the phenomenon of these appearances must be studied by the laws of psychology. Celsus would have referred the matter to the Hellenic Society for Psychical Research. If the divinity of Jesus was to be tested in this way, he claims that Jesus ought to have showed himself after his resurrection to those who persecuted him and in general to all men, or, to have manifested his divinity, he ought to have disappeared from the cross.

"Now all these statements are taken from your own books: we need no further testimony; you fall upon your own swords." And in another place Celsus in referring to the resurrection of Jesus says: "There came an angel to the tomb of this said being (according to some, one; according to others, two), who answered the woman that he had risen. For the Son of God could not himself, as it seems, open the tomb, but needed the help of another to roll away the stone."

Celsus had read Homer, and the Homeric heroes do not generally get the gods to do things for them which they can do for themselves.

Celsus has been speaking through the mouth of a supposed Jew (except in the last paragraph), but it is easy to see that there is a Greek mind behind the pen. He is more intent upon making a strong argument than in representing a consistent Jew. Origen does not fail to discover that it is anomalous to have a Jew quoting Homer and Euripides. And occasionally the Jew says things which no Jew would be likely to say, unless he were a Sadducee or a Samaritan. Celsus is less fettered when he puts the supposed Jew aside and steps forth in his own person. But his method of argument, though more direct, is essentially the same. Freed now from the trouble of impersonating the Jew, he can set Judaism and Christianity against each other. "The Jews and the Christians," he says, "most stupidly dispute with one another concerning the expected King of the Jews. One side maintains that he has already come, while the other side denies the fact. The Jews being originally Egyptians, seceded from their nation and got up a religion of their own. The Christians have done to them what they did to their ancestors, the Egyptians. Both are opposed to the religion of the empire." Then he points to the multiplied dissensions among Christians themselves. "At first their number was small and they were all of one mind; but now that they are so numerous they are cut up into factions. They agree in one thing only, that is, the name, if indeed they agree in that." This was a description of Christianity seventeen hundred years ago. Has the reproach lost any of its point to-day?

"The Christians," he continues, "invent terrors and superstitions to gain their power over man. They terrify their followers by threatening them with future punishments. Heaven forbid that either I or anybody else should ever reject the doctrine that the wicked shall be punished and the

just shall be rewarded after death. But the Christians assert this doctrine without proof. Why is it a fault to have studied the best opinions and to have both the reality and the appearance of wisdom? What hindrance does this offer to the knowledge of God? Why should it not rather be an assistance and a means by which one may be better able to arrive at the truth? When a person is to be initiated into the other mysteries (that is, the heathen mysteries) the herald proclaims that where any one is pure in conduct, wise in speech, where any one is free from wickedness, and is not conscious of having committed any wicked act, let him come. But what do these men say to those who are invited to join them? Whoever is a sinner, whoever is destitute of sense, whoever is foolish, and in general whoever is wretched, let the kingdom of heaven receive him. You say God was sent to sinners, but was he not also sent to the sinless? Is sinlessness a crime? According to you, God will receive the sinner if he humbles himself before him; but will not receive a person that is righteous."

Celsus then goes back to the Old Testament. He objects to the cosmogony of Moses, because it makes the universe only ten thousand years old, whereas the universe is eternal. He finds in its myths opportunities for his favorite speculations in comparative mythology. In the story of the tower of Babel he sees but a perversion of the story of Otus and Ephialtes, who attempted to pile Ossa upon Olympus and Pelion upon Ossa. The story of the destruction of Sodom he compares to Phaethon burning the earth. Celsus's conjectures in comparative mythology are not wilder than those of many who have lived in modern times. The interest that attaches to them is not that he succeeds in identifying such myths, but that he perceives that they spring from similar attitudes and exertions of the human mind.

But he has no patience with literalism. "The Jews, an ignorant people, occupying a corner of Palestine, not knowing what Hesiod had written, wove together incredible and insipid stories, and imagined that God created with his own hands a certain man and a certain woman from his side; that this man received certain commands from God, and that a hostile serpent opposed these and gained a victory over the commandments of God. "God," he says with biting scorn, "could not persuade even one man. Such absurd stories are fit only for old women. They speak also of a deluge with a

monstrous ark having within it all things, and a dove and a crow as messengers, falsifying and ridiculously altering the story of Deucalion."

It is somewhat humiliating in the midst of our nineteenth-century culture to reflect that the theology of Christendom is still founded on literal and materialistic interpretations of this old Eden myth. It is but a few months since a professor in a Presbyterian theological seminary in the United States was arraigned and condemned by the courts of his denomination for teaching that Adam's body might have been derived from other animals instead of from the red earth of Eden. And it is but a year or two since a preacher to the University of Oxford was summoned before six omniscient doctors of theology on the charge of heresy concerning the fall of Adam. Celsus on the other hand thought that the Ophites, a heretical Christian sect of his time, very justly denounced the character of the God of the Old Testament because he pronounced a curse upon the serpent who introduced the first human being to a knowledge of good and evil.

This cultivated and refined Platonist constantly rebels against Jewish anthropomorphism. It was too coarse and materialistic. But Origen did not like it any better. He himself was poetic and allegorical in his interpretation, too much so to be orthodox in his day or orthodox in ours. The modern sciences of geology and astronomy have demonstrated the impossibility of taking the cosmogony of Genesis as in any sense a history of the creation of the world. It was comparatively easy work for Mr. Huxley to vanquish Gladstone when he rashly undertook to defend the inspiration of that account. But without the modern sciences at his command, Celsus could have done it almost as well. "The most stupid thing," he says, "about the Mosaic cosmogony is the introduction of days before the creation of the sun. As the heaven was not yet created, nor the foundation of the earth laid, nor the sun yet revolving, how could there be days?"

In exposing the untenable character of the Christian doctrine of the resurrection, Celsus again plants himself on scientific ground. As a Platonist he believed in an absolute God of pure spirit, and that matter was evil. In this latter respect he stands far apart from modern scientific thought. And yet in dealing with matter he anticipates a fundamental modern scientific doctrine in regard to it. He advances as a sufficient argument against the resurrection of the body the

fact that "there is no difference between the body of a bat or of a worm or of a frog and that of a man; for the matter is the same and their corruptible part is alike; a common nature pervades all these bodies, and one which goes and returns through the same recurring changes." In his "New Astronomy" Prof. S. P. Langley calls attention to the shelf in South Kensington Museum which contains in various jars and vials an exhibition of the materials of which the human body is composed. "They suggest not merely the complexity of our constitutions, but the identity of our elements with those we have found by the spectroscope; not alone in the sun, but even in the distant stars and nebulæ. We have literally within our own bodies samples of the most important elements of which the great universe without is composed; and you and I are not only like each other and brothers in humanity, but children of the sun and stars in a more literal sense, having bodies actually made in large part of the same things that make Sirius and Aldebaran. They and we are near relatives." This seems but a modern reproduction of the thought of Celsus; and we find Origen in unfolding and paraphrasing the idea saying: "It is evident from what has been said that not only does a common nature pervade these bodies which have been previously enumerated (that is, bats, frogs, worms, and men), but the heavenly bodies as well." And Origen adds, "If this be the case, it is clear also according to Celsus (although I do not know whether it is according to the truth) that it is one nature which goes and returns through all bodies amid recurring changes."

Exposing then the irrational character of the doctrine of the resurrection, Celsus says, "It is folly on their part to suppose that when God, as if he were a cook, introduces the fire which is to consume the world, all the rest of the human race will be burned up while they alone will remain, not only such of them which are alive, but also those who are long since dead, which later will arise from the earth clothed with the self-same flesh. Such a hope is simply one which might be cherished by worms."

It has been maintained by some that the primitive Christians held only to a spiritual resurrection, that the doctrine of the bodily resurrection was of much later growth. But it is clear that at the time of Celsus it was a firmly established doctrine of Christian sects, although Celsus with fairmindedness adds: "This opinion of yours is not shared by some of

the Christians, and they pronounce it to be exceedingly vile and loathsome and impossible; for what kind of a body is that which without being completely corrupted can return to its original nature, to that same first condition out of which it fell into dissolution? Being unable to return any answer, they betake themselves to a most absurd refuge, viz.: that all things are possible with God. And yet he cannot do things that are disgraceful; nor does he wish to do things that are contrary to his nature; nor if (in accordance with the wickedness of your own heart) you desire anything that was evil would God accomplish it; nor must you believe that it will be done. For God does not rule the world in order to satisfy inordinate desires, or to allow disorder and confusion, but to govern a nature which is upright and just. For the soul indeed he might be able to provide everlasting life, while dead bodies on the contrary are, as Heraclitus observes, more worthless than dung. God is the reason of all things that exist, and therefore can do nothing either contrary to reason or contrary to himself."

There is another very interesting series of passages which show still further anticipations of modern scientific thought. Celsus blames the Christians for asserting that God made all things for the sake of man, and especially for the sake of Christians; and he enters into an argument to show that considering man with reference to his place in nature it cannot be maintained that all things exist mainly for him. His arguments and illustrations are so suggestive of some phases of the modern theory of evolution in their relation to teleology that Pelagaud after reading it says: "Who would have expected to find in a Pagan of the second century almost a precursor of Darwin?" And Kind, a German writer, has written a monograph on this phase of Celsus's work, "Teleologie und Naturalismus in der altchristlichen Zeit." "Rain, thunder, and lightning," argues Celsus, "are brought into existence not more for the support of us who are human beings than for that of plants, trees, herbs, and thorns. By labor and suffering man earns a scanty and toilsome subsistence, while all things are produced for animals without their sowing and ploughing. If one were to call us the lords of the animal creation because we hunt the other animals and live upon their flesh, why should not we say that we were created on their account since they hunt and devour us? Men require weapons and dogs when they engage in the chase; but

animals are provided with weapons which easily bring us into their power." Celsus pushes his argument so far and with such bold and ingenious paradox that when he is through one feels that instead of merely placing animals on a level with man he has almost put them above him. To show that animals are not without the power of social organization and that they possess an endowment of reason he draws an argument from the habits of ants and bees which is clever enough for Sir John Lubbock. "If one were to look down from heaven upon the earth," he asks, "in what respect would our actions appear to differ from those of ants and bees?" It is interesting to note, as we are comparing Celsus's ideas with phases of modern thought, that Prof. Langley,* in the work already alluded to, uses almost the same illustration. "Look down at one of the nests of those smaller ants which are made in our paths. To the little people we may suppose the other side of the gravel walk is the other side of the world, and the ant who has been as far as the gate, a greater traveller than a man who comes back from the Indies. It is very hard to think not only of ourselves as relatively far smaller than such insects, but less than such an ant-hill is to the whole landscape is our solar system itself in comparison with the new prospect before us; yet so it is. What use is it," he continues, "to write down a long series of figures expressing the magnitude of other worlds, if it leaves us with the old sense of the importance to creation of our own; and what use to describe their infinite number to a human mite who reads and remains of the opinion that *he* is the object they were all created for?"

It is a very large and beautiful view of providence into which Celsus emerges: "All things therefore were not made for man any more than they were made for lions or eagles or dolphins. All things have been adjusted *not with reference to each other, but with regard to their bearing upon the whole.* God takes care of the whole, and *his providence will never forsake it.* It does not become worse, nor does God after a time bring it back to himself, nor is he angry on account of man any more than on account of apes and flies, nor does he threaten these beings each one of which has received its appointed lot in its proper place. Each individual thing comes into existence and passes away for the sake of the safety of the whole." It will be seen that Celsus is not a disbeliever

*"The New Astronomy." Chapter on the stars, page 223.

in providence, but that his view of it is large enough to include the whole universe in its operation. And here is a striking passage which shows how far he is from pessimism: "God does not need to amend his work afresh. Although a thing *may seem to you evil*, it is by no means certain that it is so. For you do not know what is of advantage to yourself or to another or to the whole world."

That Celsus was not a mere narrow-minded cynic, but a man of broad religious sympathies, is seen in his views of comparative religion. And here again I find one of the most interesting anticipations of modern thought. Col. T. W. Higginson has written a broad and catholic essay on the "Sympathy of Religions;" but the very roots of his thought are found in the "True Discourse." Its author might be called a Broad Church Pagan. His breadth of conception is seen in the earnestness with which he repels all Jewish exclusiveness. "It is absurd," he says, "to claim that the Jews are the chosen people of God alone." He has already shown that the Egyptians and Colchians also practised circumcision, and that if abstinence from swine's flesh is meritorious, the Egyptians not only do this, but abstain from the flesh of goats, sheep, oxen, and fish as well. He declares it is not probable that the Jews enjoy God's favor or are loved by him differently from others; or that angels were sent from heaven to them alone. In the Egyptians, the Persians, and the Indians he sees equal evidences of inspiration. He reproaches the Christians with setting no value on heathen oracles, while those which are uttered in Judea they think are marvellous. "Grant that Jesus is a messenger from God, is he the first one who came to men, or were there others before him? If God, like Jupiter in the comedy, on awakening from a lengthened slumber, desired to rescue the human race from evil, why did he send this spirit of which you speak into one corner? He ought to have breathed it alike into many bodies and then sent them out into all the world."

Celsus did not believe in the need of a special incarnation, that the great God of the universe needed to come down and take upon himself human flesh in order to mend the affairs of the world. The general order of providence was sufficient for its management. But if there was to be an incarnation he claimed that it should be universal. The name of God and the form in which he was worshipped were of less impor-

tance to him than the idea of God beneath all symbols. "I think it makes no difference," he says, "whether you call the highest being Zeus or Zen, or Adonai, or Sabaoth, or Amoun like the Egyptians, or Pappæus like the Scythians." He finds in this unity in diversity an argument for observing the established laws and the religion of the country in which one has been raised. "There are very great differences," he remarks, "prevailing among the nations, yet each seems to deem its own religion far the best." To show the effect of inherited custom he tells a story which he quotes from Herodotus. Among the Indians there are some who deem that they are discharging a holy duty in eating their deceased fathers. Darius during his reign having summoned before him those Greeks who happened to be present, asked them what would induce them to eat their deceased fathers. They answered with abhorrence that for no consideration would they do such a thing. Then Darius turned to the Callatians, the parent eaters, and asked them through an interpreter how many of them would be willing to have their deceased fathers burned; on which they raised a terrible shout and bade the king say no more. Such is the way in which such matters are regarded. Pindar appears to me to be right in saying that "Law is the king of all things." Later on Celsus shows that it is unreasonable to suppose that all people must act under one religious law. The belief of Origen, on the other hand, was that Christianity would eventually prevail over the entire rational creation.

Long as this paper is, it must leave undeveloped many points in the argument of the author of the "True Discourse." In representing his anticipations of modern thought, we have naturally brought out those ideas which are most interesting to the thought of our time. And it is important to notice that where Celsus joins the thought of our age, it is on its most progressive side. But pleasing as this comparison is, we must not forget that he wrote primarily for his own age. He had a mission then and there to fulfil. He might, however, have found some support for his own view that history revolves in cycles, in the fact that the conditions under which he wrote are paralleled to some extent in our own day. That was an age of intellectual, religious, and social revolution. And so is ours. If we were to point out three prominent aspects of the spirit of our own age, we might distinguish:

1. The rise of the modern critical and scientific spirit in the midst of an age of credulity.

2. A period of world-wide social revolution exhibited in a protest or revolt against the established order.

3. A profound revolution in religious thought accompanied by an ethical revival, a fresh enthusiasm for the application of the law of righteousness and love to human society. So when Celsus wrote we might discover, with more or less distinctness and in varying proportions, the existence of these same elements: the scientific and critical spirit, a religious revolution marked by a new social theory, and a fresh ethical enthusiasm. In Celsus we see the scientific spirit; in Christianity, the social revolution and the ethical enthusiasm. How much Celsus felt the pressure of the scientific spirit of his day is seen in the wonderful facility with which he applied it. We cannot suppose that he was the only embodiment of its influence. It was the spirit which Lucian directed as effectually against Paganism as Celsus had against Christianity; for Paganism needed its application just as much. The fact that Lucian mentions a friend of his, Celsus by name, who wrote a treatise against magic, has led to a strife among critics as to whether this Celsus is the same as the author of the "True Discourse." The difficulty has been that the two men do not stand on the same plane of thought and religion. But Keim advances the very natural supposition that the two men, Lucian and Celsus, the one an Epicurean and the other a Platonist, and both representing the highest type of Greek culture, joined hands in this crisis to combat the superstitions of their age. In this work the scientific and rational method was a powerful weapon. But in Celsus we see a man who could apply the scientific spirit without losing his own faith; who could exhibit the untenable character of the Hebrew and Christian cosmogony, and yet believe in the divine origin of the world; who could assail the doctrine of the bodily resurrection, and still believe in the immortality of the soul; who could dispute the deity of Jesus, and still believe that there were messengers or spirits from God to men; who could, like Theodore Parker, unsparingly satirize the materialism of the Hebrew-Christian God, and still believe in a pure, spiritual theism.

But if Celsus uses the critical or rationalistic method, it is not as an end, but as a weapon. He was about to follow it with an ethical appeal. Far more than the pressure of the

scientific spirit did he feel the pressure of the social revolution and the political danger. He sees the rise of what he regards as a secret organization without any national character, without unity in itself, a hodge-podge of quarrelling sects. It had its origin among a lot of Galilean fishermen. It is distinguished by arrogance and ignorance. It is hostile to the temples and symbols of the ancient religion. It deifies man; it is a hotbed of superstition. It is the Salvation Army of his day, and Celsus does not see any salvation in it. Viewed from the lofty height of Platonism, it is atheistic and materialistic. As Pelagaud, comparing it with our own time, has said, Celsus might have adopted for his treatise the title used by a modern writer, "Atheism and the Social Peril." If it sounds strange to us to hear him stigmatize Christians as atheists or non-atheists, we may cool our indignation by reflecting that Christians in their controvesies with each other have visited similar reproaches upon the heads of their opponents. But standing in the position in which he did, it is not strange that this Pagan should have been blinded a little by the mote in his own eye. He looked upon Christianity as an American Christian may look at Mormonism, as something which religiously and politically is opposed to the genius of American institutions, as a deluded lot of ignorant people setting up a hierarchy of their own. But he hopes that they will listen to the voice of reason.

His eloquent appeal to the Christians in behalf of the established order of government and religion is most completely given in the seventh and eighth books of Origen's reply. Previously Celsus has stood in sharp antagonism to the Christians. But now his tone is one of reconciliation. His apology for Pagan idolatry is that which a cultivated man would make. He shows that the Christians are unreasonable in their opposition to images, which are after all only symbols. "For who, unless he be utterly childish in his simplicity, can take these for gods and not for offerings consecrated to the service of the gods or images representing them. The Christians do not discriminate. But the Christians say that the beings to whom they are dedicated are not gods but demons, and that worshippers of God ought not to worship demons." Celsus explains: all things are ordered according to God's will; his providence governs all things; everything which happens in the universe, whether it be the work of angels or other demons or of heroes, is regulated by

the will of the most high God. He believes that God has assigned to the lower order of agencies, popularly called gods or demons, various departments of authority and activity and various nationalities. Jesus, he remarks, said, "No man can worship two masters." But Celsus submits whether it is not just that he who worships God should serve those also to whom God has assigned such power. His argument is simply the divine right of kings applied to an order of invisible beings. In honoring the king you do not dishonor God; and in honoring one of the king's officers you do not dishonor the king. The way in which he reproaches the Christians with inconsistency will be interesting to modern Unitarians: "If those people worshipped one God alone and no other, they would perhaps have some valid argument against the worship of others; but they pay excessive reverence to one who has but lately appeared among men, and they think it no offence against God if they worship also his servant." His argument is essentially: "If you are going to worship Jesus, why can you not pay respect to the other heroes and messengers? What is to hinder those who are most devoted to the service of Jesus from taking part in various public offices?"

That Celsus was not a man without faith in the prevailing religion is shown in his earnest defence of oracles. It might almost be published to-day by Dr. Wallace as a defence of modern spiritualism. And Origen accuses him of being quite as superstitious in his way as the Christians. But Origen here, as often before, misses the point. Celsus does not disbelieve in spiritual communication and what we call the supernatural; but to him there is no gap between the natural and the supernatural; it is all a part of a divine order. But in another passage he does not hesitate to warn people against being too much influenced by the demonology and the spiritualism of the day, to the neglect of higher things. After reading this passage, we have thought it possible that Celsus might have written the book against the magic of which Lucian speaks. Celsus has first used the similiarity of Christianity to other religions to show that it cannot establish exclusive claims to inspiration. Now he uses the same fact to urge a reconciliation with the prevailing religion. "Just as you believe in punishment after death, so do the priests who interpret the sacred mysteries. The same punishments with which you threaten others, they

threaten you. It is worthy of examination which of the two is more firmly established as true, for both parties contend with equal assurance that the truth is on their side." Celsus is tolerant; he is willing to submit everything to the tests of reason and examination. In an earlier part of his work (6, 42) he has attacked the Christian doctrine of the devil, and expresses his opinion that it is the devil who ought to be punished rather than those who are deceived by him. But he declares his own conviction that those who live well in this life shall be blest in the next, while the unrighteous shall be punished hereafter. From that doctrine he hopes that neither Christians nor others will swerve. We are reminded here of the words of Paul: "Tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man who does evil; but glory, honor, and peace to every man who worketh good." He brings out his own lofty view of God: "Of him are all things. He is not to be reached by word. He cannot be expressed by name." He quotes substantially from Plato: "It is a hard matter to find the maker and the father of this universe. And after having found him it is impossible to make him known to all. But wise men endeavor to set before us that which it is impossible to express in words." There is another passage in which he says: "Truth is the object of knowledge, and if you think that the divine spirit has descended from God to announce divine things to man, it is doubtless this same spirit that reverences the truths. It was under the same influence that men of old made known many important truths." (Origen was much impressed by the passage and confesses that Celsus has a glimpse of truth.) Again he says in a noble sentence, "We must never in any way lose our hold of God, whether by day or night, whether in public or in secret, whether in word or in deed, in whatever we do or abstain from doing."

Advising them to shun deceivers and jugglers, he has a beautiful passage about seeing God: "If instead of exercising the senses alone you look upward with the soul; if, turning away the eye of the body, you open the eye of the mind, thus and thus only will you be able to see God." Only once has this been said any better. It was by the very man whom Celsus misunderstood. Jesus put it in ten Greek words: "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God."

These are the words of a deeply reverent soul. They show that the keenness of the satire with which he repudiates

the deity of Jesus is only because of the purity of his own idea of God. And when he finds a lofty place from which undisturbed by passion or sensuality he may contemplate God it is side by side with Jesus in the sermon on the mount. Celsus was nearer to Jesus than he himself knew; and if he had published the book of practical rules of life which he promised, or if it had been preserved to us, might we not have found it to be the sermon on the mount translated from the dialect of Jesus into the language of Plato?

Celsus then earnestly exhorts Christians to fulfil their duties to religion and the State. "It is our duty to protect what has been enacted for the public advantage. Christians can make a choice between two alternatives, either to render service to the gods and respect those who are set over this service, or else let them not come to manhood or marry wives or have children or take any share in the affairs of life, but let them depart hence with all speed and leave no posterity behind them. If, on the other hand, they will take wives and bring up children, and taste the fruits of the earth, and partake of the blessings of life and bear its appointed sorrows, — for nature herself has allotted sorrows to all men, for sorrows must exist, and earth is the only place for them, — then must they discharge the duties of life until they are released from its bonds." To show that he does not ask the Christians to do anything wrong or impious he says: "If any worshipper of God should be ordered to do anything impious or to say anything base, such a command should be in no wise regarded; but we must encounter all kinds of treatment or submit to any kind of death rather than say or even think anything unworthy of God. But if any one commands you to celebrate the sun or to sing a joyful triumphal song in praise of Minerva, you will by celebrating their praises seem to render the highest praise to God; for piety in extending to all things becomes more perfect."

If the opinion of Keim and the majority of modern critics that Celsus wrote about 177–8 be accepted, his work appeared about the time that Marcus Aurelius was engaged in the second Marcomanic war. This affords an explanation of the strenuousness with which Celsus urges Christians to come to the help of the emperor. "Help the king with all your might; labor with him in the maintenance of the laws and the support of religion."

It is with this patriotic appeal that Celsus closes his re-

markable work. The question which may be passing through the mind of the reader is, how much of the argument of this brilliant Greek remains valid to-day? But there is a previous question: How much did Origen himself refute? According to some of the church theologians, Origen annihilated him root and branch. Froude, on the other side, does not do justice to the intellectual strength of Origen when he compares him to a pigmy in the hands of a giant. Origen was no pigmy, not even when measured against Celsus. We must not forget that while Celsus attacked Christianity on its weakest and worst side, Origen stands for Christianity on its strongest and best side. He had some advantages of position. He was given to what in the orthodox circles of our day, indeed in those of his own day, were considered dangerous speculations. But his heresy was only a help to him in answering a man like Celsus. Nevertheless, with all his breadth and learning he was no match for his opponent, simply because the Pagan had first choice of position, and he chose it so well that seventeen centuries have not succeeded in dislodging him. Then as now there was no unity in the Christian body, and it was not possible to say which branch of the Christian sects was best entitled to the Christian name. Occasionally Celsus attacks a belief which has dropped out of sight because the sect that represented it has perished; but that he did succeed in getting at the beliefs which are common to the Christians is evident from the fact that the things which he attacks are held by the largest number of Christians to-day. In answering his complaint that the Christians worshipped Jesus as well as the Father, Origen brings out his own heresy of subordination and says: "Grant that there may be some individuals among the multitudes of believers who are not in entire agreement with us, and who incautiously assert that the Saviour is the Most High God, however, we do not hold with them, but rather believe him when he says: 'The Father, who sent me, is greater than I.'" Sometimes Origen completely misses the point of Celsus and actually strengthens his argument, as when he tells him that he need not complain of the Christians for believing in appearances after death, because there are many instances recorded by the Greeks themselves of persons having risen from the tomb. If Celsus could himself have risen from the tomb after reading this reply of Origen he might have said: "Well, my dear man, that is just what I have been telling you."

The very point of Celsus's argument was that these phenomena were not the special property of Christianity.

Again, Origen sometimes quoted the prophecies of the Old Testament as if they were evidences of the very fulfilment which is disputed. He is far above much of the gross literalism which Celsus attacks. In replying to the demand of evidence that the dove descended upon Jesus, he treats it simply as a waking dream, a subjective impression. He thus unconsciously applies the same method which Celsus applied to the resurrection of Jesus when the Pagan suggests that that may have been a waking dream of a distracted woman. The story of Eve's creation from a rib of Adam, Origen considers to be simply allegorical, and asks whether the Christians shall not have the privilege of allegorizing their scriptures as well as the Greeks. In regard to the ark, he readily admits that according to the general opinion of its dimensions it was impossible that it could contain all the animals that were upon the earth. But by a process of allegorical mathematics he concludes that the ark was ninety thousand cubits long, twenty-five hundred cubits in breadth, that it was as big as a whole city. Such an argument would have made Celsus smile in his tomb.

The intellectual insufficiency of Origen's argument is everywhere apparent. Where then does its strength lie? Wholly on its ethical side. Here Origen is simply impregnable. He chose his position with an instinct as unerring as that of Celsus, and we may say of him as of the Pagan, that sixteen hundred and fifty years have not dislodged him. The unanswerable fact with Origen is that Christianity converts multitudes from a life of wickedness to one of virtue, from cowardice to courage. He points to the moral reformation which Christianity wrought in the homes and in the cities over which it had obtained sway. The churches of God are moral beacons in the world. Origen could not prove against Celsus that Christianity was the way, he could not prove that it was the truth, but he could prove that it was the life. Standing on the moral side, Origen was invincible, and Froude, though not doing full justice to his intellectual power, confesses his moral strength. Origen was too great a man to deny moral power to the other religions. He confesses Celsus had glimpses of truth, and after the Pagan has quoted some beautiful precepts of Plato against injustice, Origen cannot withhold his assent, and says: "It is no objection to the principles of Christianity that the same things were said

by the Greeks." But Plato, he says, addressed only the cultivated few; Jesus adapted himself to the common people. Plato spoke in abstract terms; Jesus in concrete. He thus admits that Christianity stands on the same ethical basis as Judaism and Platonism, but finds its moral mission to be to the whole world.

In this magnificent duel, the first ever fought in the arena of Christianity, we see the combatants pausing now and then to clasp each other's hands. It is the same light of the spirit which plays over their swords. Externally they stood in irreconcilable positions. Christianity could not then exchange its symbols for those of Paganism. Its democratic heritage stood opposed to the aristocracy of the empire. But when each of these men leaves his metaphysics and the forms of his philosophy and comes down to the universal principles of religion and the universal principles of ethics, then they stand side by side. It is Origen who joins the hand of Plato with the hand of Jesus, it is Origen who, recognizing the diffusion of the divine word even before the advent of Jesus, says, "For no noble deed has ever been performed amongst men where the divine word did not visit the souls of those who were capable of it." Throughout, Origen is as sweet and magnanimous as the religion he defends, and the very last sentence he writes is to request Ambrose to send him the book of Celsus on "Practical Living," "if Celsus ever carried out his intention of writing it; that we may answer it as the father of truth may give us ability, and either overthrow the false teachings that may be in it, or, laying aside all jealousy, we may testify our approval of whatever truth it may contain."

One thing let us remember to the everlasting credit of Celsus, that the weapon he used against Christianity was a pen and not a sword. There is not a hint of persecution in his treatise. He summons these Christian socialists to the ordeal of laughter, to the bar of truth. Would that Christianity had never employed any harsher weapon than the pointed pen of this Pagan! It is Christianity which comes with dyed garments from Bozrah; and the blood that stains them is that of her own children.

Could we bring Origen and Celsus together again to-day, which one of the twain would be more surprised? Origen would be delighted to find how the little grain of seed had grown and spread into the heavens; but would he not feel a

little hurt to find his own effigy hanging like a criminal from one of its boughs? This noble and sweet defender of the Christian faith assailed by the councils of the Christian church; branded as a schismatic by the Roman pope in 498; while Protestant Luther joins his curses in sonorous Latin to the anathemas of the church? Would he not be amazed to find in the nineteenth century that a vigorous branch of the Christian church refuses to send men to India to preach the gospel to the heathen because they believe in the possible salvation of deceased Pagans? But imagine his astonishment at learning that a few years before our own age a great subject of discussion was not the salvation of the heathen, but whether he himself had been saved or not; that several books had been written on this burning question, and one of their authors (Picus Mirandulanus) had magnanimously concluded that, on the whole, it was more rational to believe that Origen was saved than that he was lost.

And what would Celsus find? That the empire in whose defence he wrote had broken into fragments; that its religion had gone with it; that the Greek language in which he wrote had ceased to be the principal medium of modern thought; that the religion of these fishermen and cobblers had nominally taken possession of Europe and a hemisphere to him unknown. But with his keen discernment he would see that the victory was not one for Christianity alone. Paganism had its share of the spoils. Celsus could go into a Roman Catholic Church cathedral and find in its priestly service enough of Paganism to make him feel quite at home. He could see that the Pagan doctrine of demons had been transmitted into the Christian doctrine of angels, and the virgin Mary transferred from the Grecian Pantheon into the Christian. He might say, "Well, Origen, how could your Christianity have conquered so much of the world without the help of Paganism, its symbols and its sword?" Origen would be forced to confess that monotheism after all could hold a good deal of polytheism. And Celsus might add: "You see, Origen, that after all Christianity has spread over relatively but a small portion of the globe. In the vast section of the East it has scarcely made a dent on the globe. Much of that which you call Christianity is nothing but the result of political conquest. How can Christianity conquer the world when it has no unity in itself?"

Celsus himself, too, would be obliged to confess humbly

to the presiding genius of human history that he was mistaken in supposing that nothing good could come out of Nazareth; for civil and intellectual liberty had been the final outcome of the ancient communism. In the light of history he would be forced to abandon his position that God would not be likely to send down his spirit to a low-born Galilean peasant. He would be impelled perhaps to seek some extant copy of his work, that he might add to it a footnote that the saviour of the American Republic was a man born in a log-cabin. If it were humiliating to find that not a single copy of his own work existed, that it was only to be found scattered in patches through the work of an opponent, he would still have this consoling reflection: "The empire has gone; my book has gone; but my thought still lives, and was never more living than it is to-day." He might point to scores of modern works, to Socinus, Erasmus, Priestley's "Corruptions of Christianity," Channing's "Moral Argument against Calvinism," to the works of the English Deists, to Theodore Parker's "Discourses," to Bishop Colenso, to Huxley and Darwin, all of whom, together with an endless number of German critics, have repeated with excusable plagiarism some of the points of his indictment against popular Christianity and its conception of the universe.

What part of his argument might Celsus justly claim as still valid to-day?

1. His arraignment of the deification of Jesus.
2. His scientific objections to the doctrine of the resurrection of the body.
3. His demonstration on scientific grounds of the untenability of the Mosaic cosmogony.
4. His exhibition of the mythical character of the Eden legends on which Christian theology is built.
5. His argument that the Hebrew prophecies were not fulfilled in Jesus of Nazareth.
6. His belief that mythology was a comparative science, and that Jewish and Christian mythology must be tested by the same laws which are applied to the mythology of other religions.
7. His claim that the miracles of Christianity must be tried by the tests which we apply to all similar manifestations.
8. His protest against the claims of Judaism or Christianity to exclusive inspiration.

9. His claim that Jesus must be regarded not as a special incarnation of God, but as one of many messengers sent for the inspiration and guidance of mankind.

10. His recognition of a universal basis and a universal inspiration for all religions.

These seem to us but modern reaffirmations of the thought of Celsus.

If we ask what is still valid in Origen's refutation, we shall find it not in his allegories, not in his philosophy, not in his speculations, not in his tedious exegesis, but in his claim that the moral fruits of Christianity are the best vindication of its place in human history. The divinity of any religion is best shown in its worth to humanity. Not through its metaphysics, but through its ethics, has Christianity reached the heart of men.

Here they stand, the living thought of Celsus and the living moral faith of Origen ; and the revolution that is going on in Christianity to-day is simply the attempt to reconcile the intellectual and scientific rationalism of Celsus with the moral faith of Origen.

THE DIRECT LEGISLATION MOVEMENT AND ITS LEADERS.

BY ELTWEED POMEROY, EDITOR OF THE DIRECT LEGISLATION RECORD.

The origins of Direct Legislation are veiled in the mists of antiquity. On the one side they reach back to the ancient Greek and Latin civic assemblies of freemen ; on the other to the Teutonic Landsgemeinden, still surviving in the mountain cantons of Switzerland and revived in the New England town meeting.

But in its modern form of a demand for the Initiative and Referendum in communities too large to have direct legislation by town meeting, it is a growth of the last half century. It has been developed and firmly rooted in the model republic of Europe, Switzerland. Half a century ago Switzerland was not a nation, but a loosely federated group of states, wrenched by a bitter civil war, rent by violent religious prejudices, torn by class feelings and race antipathies ; to-day it is a nation bound together by self-government. Vice-President Hammer said recently of his country : " Never has our country been so united. Never have our resources been more abundant nor its military force more considerable and better organized."

The movement in Switzerland for the Initiative and Referendum, while it had its roots in the Landsgemeinden of the mountain cantons, in the Volksanfragen or popular consultations established in Zurich and Berne in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and in the fact that the members of the Swiss Diet up to 1848 could only vote *ad referendum*, — subject to ratification, — yet did not fairly show itself above ground till after the civil war of the Sonderbund and the adoption of the first national constitution in 1848. That constitution provided for its own ratification by the people, and also provided that the cantonal constitutions should be " according to republican forms, representative or democratic," and that they should be " ratified by the people and may be amended whenever the absolute majority of all the

citizens demand it." The three men who did the most to crystallize democratic public opinion at that time were the two Frenchmen, Louis Blanc and Emile Girardin, and the German, Martin Rittinghausen. The latter for years wrote and published, travelled and spoke, particularly in Germanic Switzerland. His writings are valuable to-day.

Various of the cantons went on changing their constitutions, ever making them more democratic; but the next great registration of this democratic movement was in 1869, when the canton of Zurich adopted a new constitution by which the Grand Council of that State ceased to possess legislative powers. They could frame laws, but they could not pass them. This is the obligatory Referendum, that all laws passed by the law-making body shall be sent to the vote of the people for acceptance or rejection. The people alone are sovereign. As a necessary correlative to this, the Initiative was adopted. This is the power of a group of voters to effectively propose laws independently of the law-making body, which, after discussion in the law-making body and among the people, are finally voted on by the people.

The man who was the most influential in the drafting and adoption of this constitution was Charles Burkly of Zurich, who has served his country in many capacities, but in none more signally than in his work for Direct Legislation. He is living, a hale and hearty man of seventy-three, and is still actively corresponding and writing on Direct Legislation, and serving in his city's Grand Council. He has been well called the Father of the Referendum.

Here a point and there another, the other cantons and the Federal Government have followed the lead of Zurich until now Direct Legislation is imbedded in the federal constitution and in all of the cantonal constitutions save that of reactionary Freiburg. In the French cantons during this time, Victor Considerant, by pen and voice, was a great factor. It has been extended to municipal government with most happy results, and every year sees some improvement in the methods used, or strengthening of the principle in statute or constitution. But, above all, it is imbedded in the hearts of the people, and no public man dares to openly even suggest its weakening.

In England there has been some progress. Prof. A. V. Dicey, as early as 1886 or 1887, wrote in favor of it in the *Nation* published in New York and later in the London

Spectator, the *Contemporary Review*, the *National Review*, and other papers. The London *Spectator*, the *Daily Chronicle*, the *Weekly Times and Echo*, and other papers have championed it. Lord Salisbury has come out in favor of a variation of the Referendum. Mr. Strachey, editor of the *Spectator*, writes:

"Generally it is fair to say that the Home Rulers reject the Referendum and the Unionists theoretically approve though they have not as yet made it a part of their platform. More and more interest is yearly attracted to the subject."

The local veto bill which failed in the last Parliament applied a form of the Referendum to the liquor question. Most of the large trades unions have used the Initiative and Referendum for years, and "they find," writes J. Morrison Davidson, an active worker for it, "the results in every way superior to that obtained by representation." Alexander M. Thompson, associate editor of the *Clarion*, an influential labor paper, has written a brilliant pamphlet on it and is continually working for it. The Fabian Society is discussing it. But while the signs point toward the dawn, Direct Legislation cannot be said to have yet risen above the horizon as a political issue in England.

The situation is similar, though perhaps a little more advanced, in France, despite the bad name which Louis Napoleon gave to the plebiscite by his gross abuse of reference to the people. It has also started in New Zealand, where it is an issue, and in Australia.

But next to Switzerland, the movement has made the most progress in the Republic of the New World. It should. Chief Justice Marshall, who has been called "the second author of the Constitution," has truly said:

"That the people have an original right to establish, for their future government, such principles as, in their opinion, shall most conduce to their happiness, is the basis on which the whole American fabric has been erected."

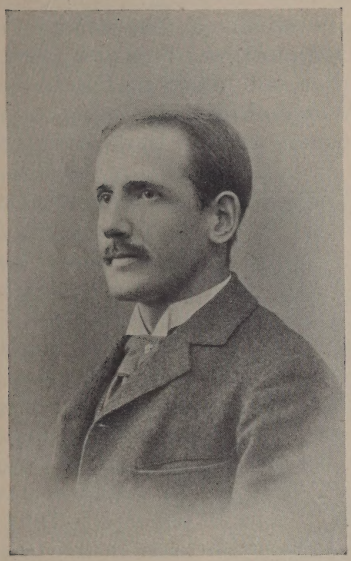
Direct Legislation is the culmination of democracy or self-government, and "democracy," as Charles Borgeaud has said, "is more than a form of government; it is a state of society toward which all contemporary nations are tending by a seemingly inevitable law of evolution."

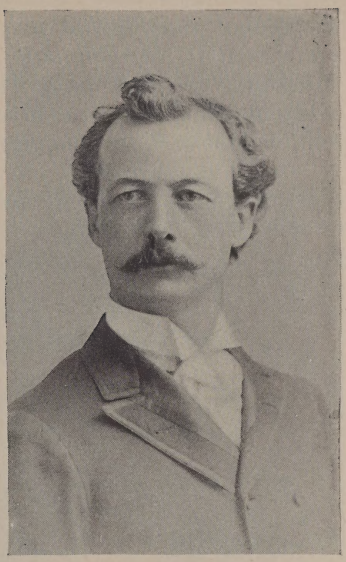
The literary movement began some seven or eight years ago, and two or three years before there was any educational propaganda or political movement. It is curious how the same ideas seem to strike men entirely unknown to each

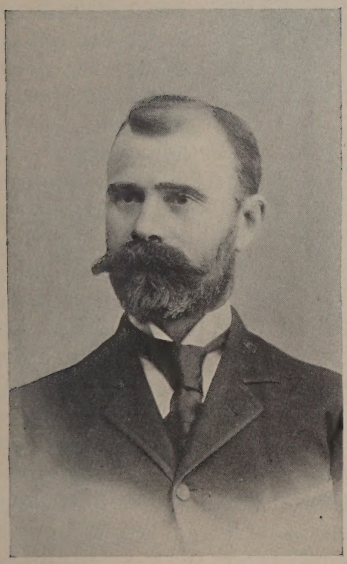
other. They come spontaneously, a growth of the time. This is seen both in the literary and political movement for Direct Legislation. In 1888, Boyd Winchester, then United States Minister at the Swiss capital, began to write on Swiss institutions, and it culminated in his book published in 1891. In 1889, Prof. Bernard Moses published his essay on "The Federal Government of Switzerland," and Sir F. O. Adams and C. D. Cunningham their book, which was followed in 1891 by J. M. Vincent's scholarly "State and Federal Government in Switzerland," and since there have been many others.

In 1890, W. D. McCrackan sent a series of letters on the Initiative and Referendum to the *Evening Post* of New York City, and followed it with articles in the ARENA, *Atlantic*, *New England Magazine*, and other periodicals, and with lectures given in many places. Mr. McCrackan is a prolific and agreeable writer and an entertaining speaker, and while he has not entered the propaganda in politics where alone Direct Legislation can be achieved, he has given scholarly thought and literary energy to it which have been very valuable in the formation of the movement, and has reached a class of people which otherwise might not be numbered among the supporters of Direct Legislation.

J. W. Sullivan began to collect data relative to direct Legislation in 1883, and in 1888 went to Switzerland to study it on the ground. He spent four months there interviewing men and getting facts. In the spring of 1889 he published a series of letters on it in the New York *Times*, and in May, 1889, he had an article on "The Referendum in Switzerland" in the *Chautauquan Magazine*. This was followed in March, 1892, by the publication of his book "Direct Legislation," the third edition of which, completing the eighteenth thousand, has just come from the press of the *Coming Nation*. Ample material has been collected to make a book three times the size, which would have reposed serenely in libraries and been occasionally referred to; but the author deemed it best for the purposes of immediate circulation to give the gist of the subject in compact form at a cheap price. It has only one hundred and twenty pages, and was published first at twenty-five cents and now at ten cents. With its compact, clear statements and complete review of the field, it has done more in this country to crystallize and give definiteness of aim to the sentiment of the really democratic leaders (not leaders of

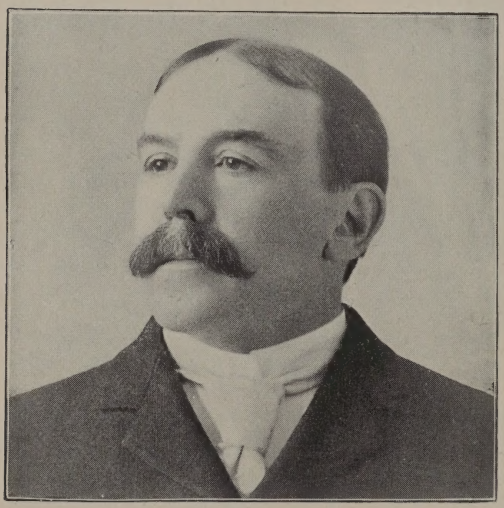






1. ELTWEED POMEROY.
2. WM. A. COTTER.
3. HON. THOMAS McEWAN, JR.
4. J. W. ARROWSMITH.

the Democratic party) than any other one thing. It made converts, and they spread its circulation. A thousand copies were sold in one lump in Oregon, three hundred went to Montana, five hundred to Kansas, and many in hundreds to clubs and individuals. Mr. Wayland of the *Coming Nation* sold a thousand, and another person paid for the free distribution of two thousand. "Fewbooks," says the Rev. W. D. P. Bliss, "have done more good in this century."



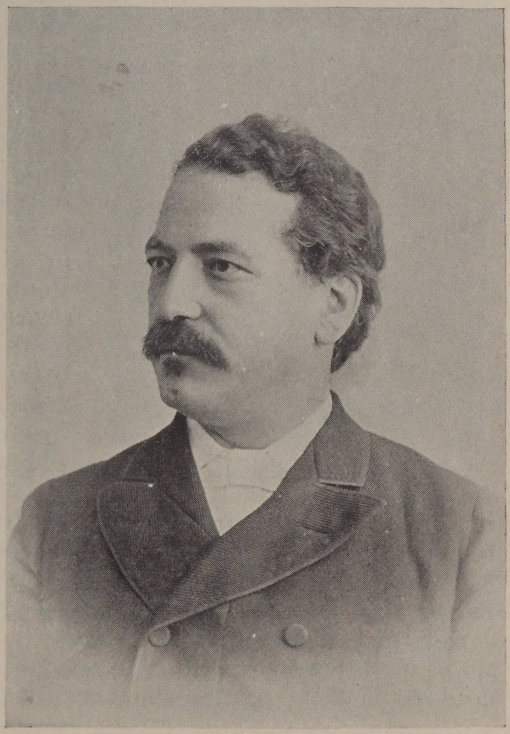
J. W. SULLIVAN.

Mr. Sullivan followed it up with lectures, articles in periodicals, and in his editorial work on a reform newspaper. In 1894 he started the *Direct Legislation Record*, a little monthly which he defined as "A non-partisan advocate of pure democracy." This he issued with marked ability for nearly a year, when the writer took it up, and since it has been issued quarterly, with an occasional extra number. This little magazine, in gathering and preserving proposed laws and constitutional amendments, in recording its progress, and in stating arguments for it, has given the movement stability and strength. It is a repository of fact, an assistance to the thoughtful and scientific, rather than a means for popular propaganda.

The labor organizations, being almost of necessity conducted on democratic lines, were good fields for educational work. Uriah Stevens, the wise founder of the Knights of Labor, at its start proposed a thorough and carefully wrought out referendum for its government. Since 1882 the general executive board have asked opinions from the local assemblies, and the decision to enter upon independent political action was made by vote in response to a circular of the General Master Workman. In 1891 Master Workman Powderly

recommended that the referendum be adopted in political government, and shortly after such a plank was inserted in the Knights of Labor preamble.

Many of the trades unions are successfully using Direct Legislation, and in 1891 ten of the largest national and international unions with a membership then close on to two hundred thousand were using it; others have adopted it since. From 1892 it was the only political demand of the American Federation of Labor until 1894, when others were added. But it has been repeatedly and emphatically indorsed by this large and powerful though thoroughly democratic organization. Samuel Gompers, its president, is a firm believer and assists wherever he can, and at times his assistance has been very valuable. He only needs to be notified when and where to speak, when he comes, if possible. The same is true of the other officers of the Federation.

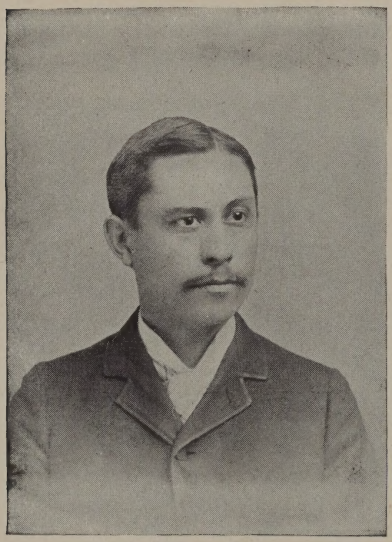


SAMUEL GOMPERS.

But this stand was largely influenced by Mr. Sullivan, who has been identified with the Typographical Union for years and has also been a national lecturer of the American Federation of Labor. He has aided in the political work in New Jersey and New York and elsewhere. One of his best contributions to the movement has been the popularization of the name, Direct Legislation. At

first it was generally known as Initiative and Referendum, which have an alien sound. Direct Legislation is more comprehensive, including the town meeting as well, and it expresses the meaning of the movement better.

The Farmers' Alliance has been behind the other large labor organizations, as for two or three years its Supreme Council only passed resolutions favoring discussion of Direct Legislation. But at the Washington meeting last winter an emphatically worded demand for it was inserted in their platform.



GEORGE H. STROBELL.

Outside of some curiously interesting but not fully known experiments in methods of legislation in New England and Pennsylvania in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there has been no political movement in this country for the Initiative and Referendum proper until 1891 and 1892. Previous to this, in 1882, Benjamin Urner of Elizabeth, N. J., who had been defeated in an election by bribery, started a short-lived paper which actively advocated the Initiative and Referendum. It was thus known and agitated among reformers in New Jersey before the literary movement, which did not begin till six or seven years later. But the seed then planted evidently needed the facts, figures, and arguments furnished by the articles and books of later date before it could germinate. But it is odd that the starters of it in 1892 did not know of Sullivan's book which had just come out.

Early in 1892 a few gentlemen met in Newark, N. J., and organized the People's Power League. The three main movers were J. W. Arrowsmith, George W. Hopping, and Henry A. Beckmeyer. On April 19, 1892, George H. Strobell introduced resolutions calling for Direct Legislation, at the Prohibitionist State Convention held at Trenton,

N. J. They were tabled, but were the first Direct Legislation resolutions in any political convention in this country outside of the Direct Legislation plank in the Socialist Labor party platform, which cannot be said to have been adopted in this country, as it was taken in a mass with many other things from the foreign platform where it was put mainly through the work of Charles Burkly of Zurich. The Socialist organizations have done nothing to promote Direct Legislation in America, but, on the contrary, have deemed it inadvisable to help in its advancement lest attention might be diverted from the movement for the co-operative commonwealth. Mr. Strobell has since done some valuable work, particularly in Christian Endeavor and Prohibitionist circles.

The People's Power League was turned into the People's Union, which drafted a law and constitutional amendment and circulated many tracts and pamphlets. In January, 1893, this was merged into the Direct Legislation League of New Jersey.

Though a number of earnest men had come in, yet the main moving spirit was J. W. Arrowsmith, a far-sighted manager, a deliberate and forceful speaker, and an able pamphleteer. He was president of the People's Union, and could have had the same office in the League which followed it if he had not thought it wiser to put other men forward. His voice has often been heard in legislative halls and on the stump, and his pen is familiar to readers of reform papers. His latest pamphlet, "The Social Democracy Programme," published last fall, is a particularly valuable plea for a union on and an argument for Direct Legislation. He is the first Vice-President of the League and actively at work.

In July, 1893, a permanent organization was formed for the League, with William A. Cotter as president. Mr. Cotter brought to this work the trained knowledge of an experienced lawyer, and his services in drafting the amendment to the Constitution of New Jersey, which has since been copied in many other States, and later in addresses and honest legislative lobbying, have been invaluable.

The legislative work began in the winter of 1894, when the amendment was introduced by Hon. Thomas McEwan, Jr., a Republican elected from a Democratic district and of so high a character that he was made the leader of his party on election without any previous legislative experience. He

was ably seconded by Hon. William Harrigan, the Democratic leader. Special hearings were given, but when it came to a vote the measure was defeated by Republicans, all but one of the Democrats voting for it. The bosses in power had seen that it would overthrow them. But it had a close vote, twenty-eight to thirty-one. It was the cheapest propaganda yet devised, as the hearings and speeches were reported all over the State.

In the summer of 1894 the League organized and held a valuable and widely noticed convention at Asbury Park. An amendment was introduced in 1895, but not allowed to come out of committee. But the agitation was not even barren of laws, as the Referendum was attached to several important bills. The new parks of Essex County (appropriation of $2,500,000), the increase of the pay of the firemen and policemen of Newark, all came about through a vote by the people obtained by a Direct Legislation member, Hon. George L. Smith.

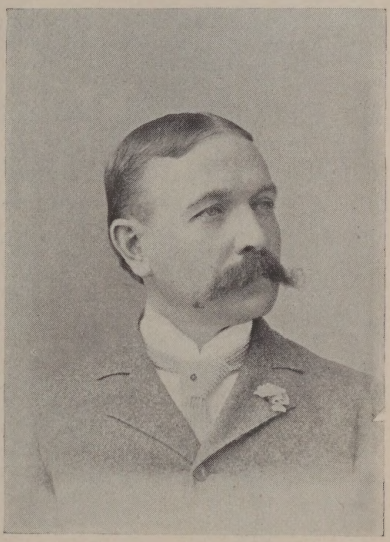
Mr. McEwan has been promoted by the people from the State Legislature to Congress, still being elected as a Republican from a Democratic district, and he has introduced in the House a resolution for a committee of inquiry on the application of Direct Legislation to the federal government. But such a mild thing as a committee of inquiry has not been granted by the autocrat whose permission is necessary even for recognition to speak. Mr. McEwan is ably filling the very difficult position of an honest man who thinks in politics, and in one of the old parties.

Out of the many others in the New Jersey work, only one more can be mentioned. Joseph R. Buchanan of Newark, N. J., held the floor for two hours in the platform committee at the Omaha convention in 1892, pleading for the insertion of Direct Legislation in the People's Party platform. He finally secured a resolution favoring it.

But New Jersey is not the only State that has moved. In 1894, Edgar L. Ryder pushed through the Assembly at Albany, N. Y., a bill giving Direct Legislation to cities, but it did not go through the Senate. A constitutional provision, very elaborately drawn, was urged at a special hearing on the Constitutional Convention of 1894, by Samuel Gompers, J. W. Sullivan, Clarence Ladd-Davis, Henry White, and others. In 1895, through the energy of Miss Florence Fairview, a constitutional amendment went through the Senate and had

enough members pledged to vote for it in the Assembly, but was held up by Speaker Fish on the last day of the session.

In Massachusetts, Hon. Richard W. Irwin, backed by the labor organizations of Boston and Haverhill with Harry Lloyd and Frank K. Foster at their head, secured the passage of the city bill in the lower house by a vote of one hundred and fifty to three, but it did not pass the Senate. In 1895 the same bill did not get out of committee, although every political party — there were five organizations — in the State had for two years had a demand for the Referendum in their platforms. But Mr. Irwin, who has now gone from the House into the Senate, is still urging it and doing magnificent work.



RICHARD W. IRWIN.

Meanwhile a group of men acting independently had started Initiative and Referendum Leagues in 1894, in South Dakota and Kansas, and they were followed in 1895 by Direct Legislation Leagues in Michigan, Nebraska, and Colorado, and constitutional amendments had been introduced in these States, in Kansas and Colorado passing one house. John R. Morrisey of the Detroit Typographical Union was the first voice crying almost alone in Michigan; but there is an efficient league there now. Hon. J. Warner Mills of Denver ably drafted the Colorado amendment, which has some novel and effective features. The entire reform press in that State, led by the Denver *News*, advocates Direct Legislation.

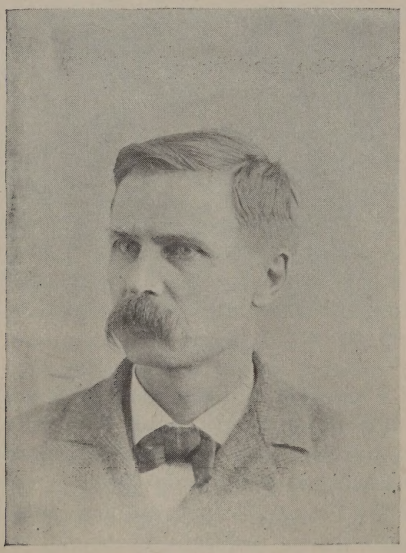
A constitutional amendment was introduced in Washington by the Hon. L. E. Rader, and received strong support. And last fall, by a voluntary arrangement, the town of Buckley, Wash., put the Initiative and Referendum into actual use.

In Oregon, W. S. U'Ren has been the mainspring of the movement, and in the winter of 1895 was employed as the legislative agent of all the labor organizations in the State to work at the capital for Direct Legislation. He came within one vote in the House and a tie in the Senate of getting what he wanted. He wrote recently:

"We are sure of success soon. No great reform ever made such great strides before. Two years and two months ago not one man in a thousand in Oregon knew what Initiative and Referendum meant. To-day I believe three fourths of the intelligent voters understand and favor this revolution."

Mr. U'Ren is an active, devoted, and able worker.

A curious development of the Oregon movement is for the voluntary Initiative and Referendum. Candidates for legislative offices are not nominated till they have signed a pledge that they will pass and refer to the people interested, for the final enacting, any law which is petitioned for by ten per centum of the people, and that they will refer to the people any law which they may pass, for which there is a petition signed by ten per centum of the people. They are preparing to apply this to both State and local matters, and desire to extend it to national affairs.

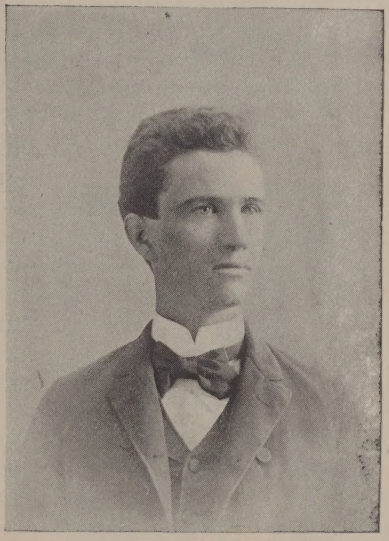


W. S. U'REN.

The Oregon associated societies which Mr. U'Ren has served have circulated seventy thousand pamphlets in English and German, presented a petition to the Legislature signed by thirteen thousand people, and secured the indorsements of the People's and Democratic parties' State conventions and many Republican county conventions.

In California, F. J. Eddy has written ably and frequently and has perhaps been its most prominent advocate. Assemblyman Bledsoe urged an amendment in 1895. S. E. Moffett, editor of the San Francisco *Examiner*, has written repeatedly

on it, and in 1894 published his book, "Suggestions on Government," which is almost an ideal argument. And the city of Alameda has actually put an advisory Initiative and Referendum into operation, the result of the first vote at the polls being to advise the city council to build a public library at a cost of $25,000. The reform press on the coast is unanimously in favor of it, and several of the papers have gotten out special Direct Legislation editions which have had large circulations.



F. J. EDDY.

Space forbids but one more notice, and that one is of the first bill actually drawn and introduced. It was done in 1891 by S. C. Whitwam at Guthrie, Oklahoma, and was a creative act of his own. It did not pass, but he has been fighting for it since with ever-increasing chances of success. All causes have their pioneer heroes, and quite unconsciously Mr. Whitwam writes:

"I am talking Referendum every night in the week the year around. Our country is poor, and during the summer I have camped on the open prairie without shelter, many nights. I carry a half of a fifty-pound flour sack filled with biscuits, slung over my shoulder, and my pony and I share these; and the next legislature will pass my bill or a better."

Several semi-secret but political societies have started with Direct Legislation as their basis. One of these, the Peers of Kosmos, was begun in Pennsylvania a quarter of a century ago, and in their declaration, revised in 1889, there is a very clear demand for the Initiative and Referendum. Another, the Ancient Order of Loyal Americans, started in Michigan in 1893, has branches in many States, and is particularly strong in its birthplace and in Oklahoma; and a third, the F. P. S. F., has quickly spread over Washington and into Oregon.

There are not wanting indications that the wily political managers of the old parties, with the editors of the old-party

papers, are willing to steal the reformers' thunder with regard to Direct Legislation. As a matter of fact the reference of bills by legislative bodies is becoming more and more frequent. Notable recent instances have been the rapid transit and city consolidation bills in New York and the civil service and the Torrens Title Registry System in Chicago.

Again, the word "Referendum" is constantly in the daily papers, so that the reader must be far behind the times who is not familiar with the term.

The course of the New York *Sun* has been significant. Their leading book reviewer, surveying the movement as a philosopher, gave Mr. Sullivan's "Direct Legislation" such a notice as is accorded only to books of unusual importance — one of four columns. The funny editor of the *Sun*, however, saw something to ridicule when the New Jersey movement started. But to-day the *Sun's* news column headings contain the word "Referendum" on every occasion possible. The paper has accepted the Referendum as in operation now as democratic, American, and practicable.

S. C. WHITWAM.

Many other reform movements are merging into this Direct Legislation movement. While the silver men, the fiat money man, the sound money man, the civil service reformer, the civic reformer, the socialist, the prohibitionist, the single taxer, etc., may each think his own special reform the most important and needed, they are all beginning to see that they cannot even get a hearing without Direct Legislation. So that it is the first thing to get, — not necessarily the most important, but the first. It is thus proving a real bond of union between heretofore warring economic beliefs.

In every reform platform constructed nowadays, anywhere in the United States, Direct Legislation is one of the foremost planks, if not the foremost.

There is already out a call for a national Direct Legislation Conference, which has been numerously signed by men of thought and action. Here it is:

We, the undersigned, unite to call a Direct Legislation National Conference to be opened at St. Louis, Mo., on the morning of July 21, 1896.

This Conference is called to secure:

First. In all future platforms, municipal and local, as well as State and national, the strongest possible Direct Legislation declaration.

Second. The widest possible discussion of Direct Legislation.

Third. A union of reform forces, local or national, for the same candidates, but without necessarily giving up their separate organizations or distinctive issues and platforms, providing each organization thus uniting places at the head of its platform the following to be followed by its other demands:

"We demand Direct Legislation through the Initiative and the Referendum in local, State, and national government. We advocate the following, but are willing to submit these or any other questions advocated by a reasonable minority to a vote of the people interested, and to abide by their decision until the people themselves reverse it."

Perhaps this summer may register another great advance. Such a union would be. It is worth working for. Possibly it may be postponed. History alone can tell.

This rapid and necessarily incomplete survey of the field shows at least one thing. This movement is not the work of one man or of one group of men. Its genesis is that of a true democratic movement arising spontaneously in many parts of the country. It is caused by conditions which have been growing progressively worse for the last quarter century. These conditions are economic, but are caused by the irresponsibility, corruption, and imbecility of legislative action. This is being more and more widely and deeply recognized. The movement has men who voice it, but not a man or men who make it. If it had it might stop with their defeat or discouragement. But its present leaders might be swept out of existence to-morrow, when the movement would be delayed but not stopped, — perhaps in the long run not delayed much.

Its growth has been so rapid that some of us fear it may not be solid. But such forget that while the outward movement has only recently spread over all the country saving some of the old southern slave States, — and there are signs of an awakening even in them, — yet the inner desire for power in the hands of the people themselves is coexistent with the founding of our social system, and has grown with its growth, and the disgust with the legislative action and inaction has been becoming more intense during a quarter of a century.

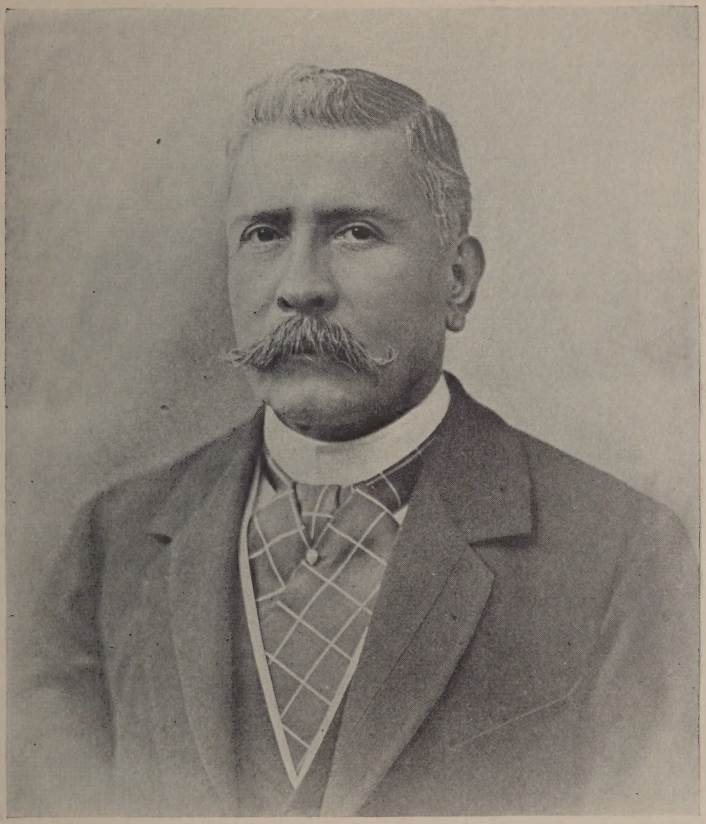
"History," says Prof. Herron, "is the progressive disclosure of the self-government of man as the providential design." And a not far-distant time will see the inevitable accomplishment of this Direct Legislation movement.

THE LAND OF THE NOONDAY SUN.—MEXICO IN MID-WINTER.

BY WALTER CLARK, LL. D., OF SUPREME BENCH OF NORTH CAROLINA.

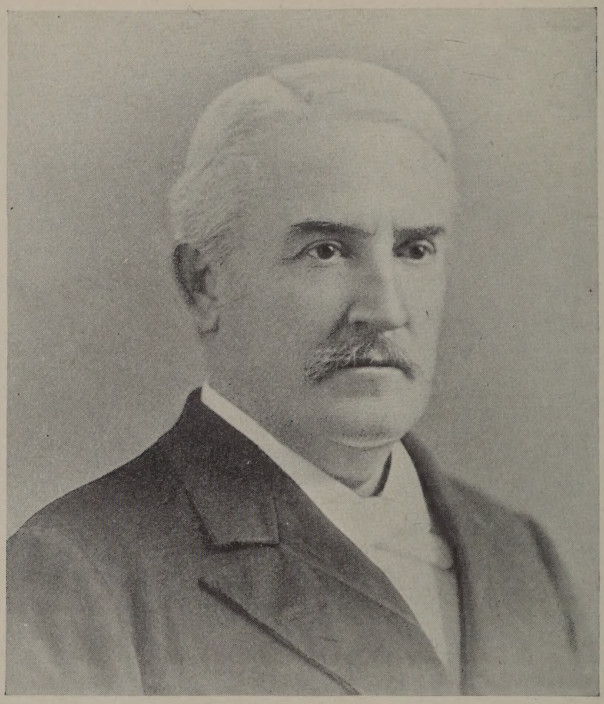
In Mexico, exactly as in this country, the money in circulation is paper and silver, and in both countries in about the same proportions. In neither is a gold dollar often seen by the masses or used in the ordinary transactions of life. The sole difference between the currency of the two countries is that in Mexico gold and silver remain still, as formerly, the money of redemption, and hence prices of all things remain as formerly, while in the United States, half the money of redemption having been struck down, the value of the dollar has doubled, with the necessary effect that fixed charges, like debts, public and private, and interest thereon, taxes, salaries, railroad passenger and freight rates, etc., though nominally the same, have in effect doubled, while those things which

MEXICAN GIRL AMONG WHAT ARE CALLED THE MIDDLE CLASS.



PORFIRIO DIAZ, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF MEXICO.

have to buy dollars, as produce, labor, etc., have decreased. Produce is half its former prices, while labor has had need for all its organizations and efforts to prevent falling quite so far when, in fact, owing to natural development, labor in this country should have advanced, as it is doing to some extent in Mexico. On both sides of the Rio Grande, paper and silver are intrinsically of the same value, and till we demonetized silver, were exchanged between the two countries at par. That one of our paper or silver dollars is now exchangeable for two of theirs, is due to the fact that our money of redemption is only half the volume it was when the currency of the two countries — paper and silver — was at par, our redemption money being now practically gold only, instead of gold and silver as at that time. To undo the surreptitious act of 1873 would



EX-GOVERNOR THOMAS T. CRITTENDEN, CONSUL-GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES TO MEXICO.

be to place this country, as to prices, where it stood before that act. We have an object lesson of that unmistakable import in the fact that in Mexico, where the standard of redemption has remained gold *and* silver, cotton brings sixteen to eighteen cents, and wheat and corn $1.25, and fixed charges like debts, taxes, and railroad rates have not gone up. Gold does not circulate there in the ordinary transactions of life, nor does it do so here. That it is the standard of value and not the metal that causes the appreciation of our dollar, is proven by the fact that our silver dollar is worth as much there as our gold dollar.

The magnificent climate of Mexico should attract thousands of people to spend the winter there, as it is superior, immeasurably, to the south of France and the Riviera. If the Mexican railroad companies would copy the example of the English railways and erect and run their own hotels at each important city, travel would increase tenfold. It is a

A MEXICAN BELLE.

great inducement to travellers, especially in a foreign country, to be able to get off the train directly into a first-class hotel, owned and managed by the railroad, without having to inquire for a good hotel or to bother with a hack. These hotels have proven a fine investment for English railways, as they would for those in Mexico.

Artesian wells are not infrequent in Mexico, and furnish excellent water. In some places aqueducts are still used, notably at Queretaro, where there is an aqueduct five miles long passing through the valley on tall arches, many of them one hundred feet high, resembling those in the Campagna around Rome.

While "the reform" in Mexico, which overthrew the

power of the Catholic Church and confiscated its entire property, was not religious, but economic and democratic, there was a necessity that its leaders should have an association into which no devout Catholic could enter, — into which the church itself forbids them to enter, — hence it is said to be a fact that, almost without exception, every holder of an office of any importance in the whole country is a Freemason.

Bull fights have too often been described to enter into details here. They have been occasionally suppressed, first in one place and then another, to be afterward permitted again and again. But there is a public sentiment gradually growing up against the custom; and while ladies of the better classes still attend, I was told that there was a marked diminution in their numbers.

A MEXICAN PEASANT GIRL.

The bull rings are built like the old Roman amphitheatres, round as a circle, with seats rising rank after rank. As in ancient Rome, seats on the shady side bring far more than on the sunny side, and in the latter seats, of course, are to be found the populace. The bull has no chance from the beginning, and the matadores and picadores run small danger. The horses are always wretched beasts, and are ridden with their eyes bandaged, and are purposely turned so that they may receive the sharp horns of the bull. The men take care to keep their own eyes open, and are very rarely hurt. They carry a red flag to infuriate the bull to charge, and as he always shuts his eyes to do so, they nimbly step aside, and he strikes only the

flag. It is said that these men will not dare to tackle a cow, for, feminine like, she always keeps her eyes open. Six bulls killed complete the entertainment. Most people who go from this country to Mexico probably attend one bull fight, and one is enough. I witnessed the exhibition at the Bucarelli ring in the city of Mexico near the Belen Gate. One of the novelties to be seen is the horse racing at night by electric light at the Indianilla race track near the city. At some of the theatres they have a plan of charging a *real* (twelve and one-half cents) for each act, and as there are usually five and the burlesque afterpiece, one who cares to see it all pays seventy-five cents. Thus one who does not like the play, pays for the acts he sees and quits, and those coming in late only pay for as many acts as they attend. Where the seat is more than seventy-five cents, it is at the same rate of one sixth of the whole charge for each act. While this custom is a convenience to the audience, it is said that it pays the management also, as many go who would not be willing to pay for a whole evening without knowing that they would be pleased.

The hearses are run on the street-car track, and not infrequently are followed by a long line of street-cars for the friends and relatives. Necessarily, however, they make as good time going out to a cemetery as in returning. Our habit of going out slowly and returning rapidly is, of course, simply *our* custom — that is all.

While Mexico preceded us forty odd years in placing the abolition of slavery in its Constitution, and has also anticipated us by incorporating provisions for the election of the Federal Senators and Supreme Court judges by the people, it has only recently adopted a constitutional amendment, which is to go into effect July 1, abolishing the *alcabala*, or tariff between the several States. Repeated efforts have been made in this direction, but unsuccessfully till now, when the increased railway traffic has made it a necessity. Of course the cars have never stopped to pay duties at State lines, but the interstate tariff dues were added to the freight. Another bad feature in the Mexican economic system is that land pays a very light tax, in some States perhaps none, and in all very much less than its fair share. As a rule unimproved land pays no tax whatever, with the result that land in Mexico is held in large tracts, the number of landowners in the republic being only some thirty-five thousand. As a class they

have been powerful enough to prevent any change so far, but the prosperity of the country demands it, and when a fair share of taxation is put upon the land, and especially when the taxation upon unimproved realty is made heavy enough, the *haciendas* will perforce be divided up, the ownership of the soil will pass, as it did in France after the great Revolution, into the hands of the people, and Mexico will add the cap-stone to the wise measures which are building up the country. At present few of the owners of the great *haciendas* reside upon them, and the revenues of these estates are spent in the large cities or abroad, to the detriment of the country districts.

The law against carrying concealed weapons is not a dead letter there as it is in parts of the United States, but is strictly enforced; hence a traveller in Mexico at first is astonished at the number of pistols carried buckled around the waist. The reason is, the wearers dare not carry them in any other way. As a rule at the hotels the chamber-maids are men. The bedsteads are generally of iron, and the bowls and pitchers are very light, being sheet-iron enamelled, or something of the kind, and imported from Germany. In each hotel a large blackboard is fastened in the wall of the clerk's office giving the number of each room, after which is always written in chalk the name of its temporary occupant, and a glance at this board saves inquiry of the clerk. The old prejudice that 13 is an unlucky number still lingers in Mexico, as is shown by these blackboards, on which "No. 13" never appears, but the space between 12 and 14 is usually filled by "X" or "50" or "100." Of course a traveller can follow his own wishes as to his meals, for the hotels are all kept on what is known in this country as the "European plan;" but if he conforms to the Mexican custom he will find it to be the same as in France or Italy; *i. e.*, the first meal, *almuerzo*, generally consists only of coffee and a little bread. Between twelve and two is a somewhat heavier meal — *comida;* and about six is the meal of the day — *la cena.* Butter is rare, and when made in the country is very poor. I met some Americans who, with the quick wit of our countrymen, have seen the opening and have gone down there to engage in the dairy business. From twelve to two the stores and places of business, as a rule, even in the city of Mexico, are shut up and a placard, "*Cerrado*" (*i. e.*, closed), is hung on the door. The places of business are far

more generally closed up on Sundays than in most European countries, outside of the British Isles, and indeed on Sunday afternoons the closing is almost universal.

On the high plateau on which the city of Mexico stands meat will dry up, but it will not spoil or mould. Droughts are a great loss to some sections, for places can be found where scarcely any rain has fallen for three or four years past. The best remedy for this, of course, is to reforest the land; for in ancient times it is said to have been well wooded, but now, except in the mountains, the great central plateau is almost as devoid of trees as the country from Omaha to Cheyenne, or the Llano Estacado of Texas. The *tierra templada* has plentiful showers, and it is there that the coffee trees grow. They require a warmer climate than the great central plateau, and plenty of rain, but have to be sheltered from the sun, which is done by planting other and larger trees or bananas among them. The Mexican coffee is very superior, and indeed by competent judges is said to equal the best Mocha. In Mexico all the trees are, properly speaking, evergreens.

Oranges are equal to the best Florida, and in good seasons they sell at the *haciendas* six for a cent, American money. There are American firms down there, notably on the line to Guadalajara, who buy up the produce of entire *haciendas*. They then carefully box the fruit, wrapping each orange separately in tissue paper, and ship by carload or trainload to Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, etc., and manage to get very low through rates. At nearly every street corner is a vender who sells sugar-cane at a *centavo* (Mexican cent) for each cane, and they always do a thriving business with passers-by, especially with the children. One peculiarity of the maguey plant is that if the central bulb is cut out overnight the volatilization is such that even in this climate, where frost never comes, ice will form. The principle is the same as that used in the more scientific American ice-machines, which are now in use all over Mexico.

Whiskey and brandy are unknown, except when imported. The maguey, or century plant, furnishes the mild, unfermented drink which wells up in the plant when the bulb is cut, and which is called *pulqué*. There are also distilled drinks made from that, or from the roots of certain plants, which are known as *mescal*, *tequila*, etc.

Mexico has been called the "Land of *Mañana*," which is the not unfrequent reply made to an application. Literally,

mañana means to-morrow, or in the morning, but practically when you are promised anything *mañana*, it means "some time, by and by — in the sweet by and by." But railroads are changing this easy-going life and these indolent customs, and are introducing movement and vigor and punctuality here as elsewhere. When railroads were first introduced, there was of course considerable opposition, but it has all died out. I heard of only one man who was still declaring they had "ruined the country," and he was the owner of a stage and freight line which had been recently displaced by the opening of a new railroad. He was like a certain party in Raleigh, N. C., soon after the war, who was complaining to Gen. Miles, now commander-in-chief of the United States army, but then commanding the post of Raleigh, that emancipation had forever ruined the South. The general tried to reassure him by asserting that in a few years the South would be more prosperous than ever, and would itself rejoice that emancipation had taken place. This party insisted so strenuously that his business at least was hopelessly ruined, that the general asked what it was, and ascertained that he had been a dealer in slaves. The Mexican stage line owner was fully as irreconcilable.

Postage between points in Mexico is five cents on letters, two cents on postal cards, and one cent on newspapers, and the rate of postage to the United States is the same, while postage rates from the United States to Mexico are likewise the same as our internal postage — two cents for letters and one cent on postal cards and newspapers. The post office in Mexico operates the telegraph as a part of the postal system. This is true of all countries except the United States, Hawaii, and Honduras. We in the United States are kept in subjection to the enormous tolls levied upon us by the telegraph monopoly, solely through its influence with a large part of the daily press, whose interest it is to keep down competition in telegraphic news, and by an expensive lobby maintained in Washington, which furnishes every senator and member of Congress willing to accept them with books of telegraphic franks. One of the first reforms should be to make the telegraph and telephone an integral part of our postal system, with telephones at every country post office, and a uniform five, or ten, cent telegraph or telephone rate throughout the country. It pays the government and is a blessing to the people in all other countries, and would be so with us also.

Mexico is now offering great opportunities to capitalists, and the number of Americans settling in the country or investing there is evidence that our people are alive to the fact. It is not yet a country for the laboring man, for the reason that the land, as I have said, is still in large holdings, and the price of labor has always been low, though somewhat advancing. As their dollar has not enhanced in value, there have at least been no strikes to prevent "cuts" in wages as with us. The yield of all crops is large, and in the *tierra caliente* I saw corn crops which had simply been planted by making a hole in the ground and covering the seed with the foot, and never worked. The weeds and corn come up together, and the corn makes forty to fifty bushels to the acre. Three crops a year can be raised thus, the sole labor being the planting and harvesting. Humboldt, in his "Cosmos," estimates the average yield of wheat in France as six-fold, and in Mexico as twenty-two for one. Minerals of every kind are abundant, of course, in a country seamed and furrowed with mountains. Pueblo is known as the "onyx" town, and Queretaro as the "opal" town. The latter place has four cotton factories, one of which, the "Hercules," has nearly or quite two thousand employees. This factory is run both by steam and water, and its steel overshot wheel is said to be the largest in the world.

The church bells are numerous and large, and are rung by being turned over by hand, which is easily done, as the bell's weight is exactly balanced by wood. When not being rung, the bells hang with the mouth part uppermost. In some towns, as Guadalajara, all the church bells seem to be rung every half hour. The cabs in the city of Mexico are divided into three classes, designated by little colored tin flags which they carry. The blue flag rates are $1.50 per hour, or seventy-five cents per passenger; red flag, $1 per hour, or fifty cents per passenger; and yellow flag, fifty cents per hour. The street-cars are first and second; the first class are painted buff, and the others green. The street lines also carry freight cars, box and flat cars, cars for sheep and goats, and "special" cars are also to be hired. Besides these, as already said, are the funeral cars with a raised dais and catafalque beneath a four-post canopy, surmounted by a cross and painted black or white. The street railway system of the city of Mexico has one hundred and sixty miles of track, five locomotives, twenty-six hundred mules and horses,

three hundred passenger cars and thirty funeral cars, besides freight cars. Last year it carried eighteen million passengers, besides freight. The entire system with its equipment has very recently been sold to two Americans for about $8,000,000. They propose to increase the investment by extensions and putting in electricity to a total of $20,000,000. It is to be regretted that the depression caused here by our financial system forces such large quantities of American capital and such enterprise to seek investment in a foreign country. As large as this transaction is, it is but a small part of the amounts annually going from this country to seek profitable employment in a more prosperous one.

The markets in the Mexican towns are large and roomy and well filled, especially with tropical vegetables and fruits. They are well worth visiting in every town. In passing through the canals of the floating gardens or Chinampas, as we were being rowed along, a couple of young girls, evidently fresh from the country, were so overcome by curiosity that, entirely unconscious to themselves, they stared at our party of foreigners. Staring at strangers is exceedingly unusual, for the Mexicans are by nature a very polite people. To recall them from their absentmindedness, one of the party remarked loud enough for the girls to hear, "*Muchaca bonita*" (pretty girl). Instantly the old man, evidently of the very lowest class, but with the instincts of a gentleman, with great deference suggestively said in an undertone, "*Muchacas bonitas*" (pretty girls). The amendment was adopted, and the startled look of pleasure which surprised their faces showed that human nature is much the same in all climes, the snowy and the sunny. The old man did not want one of the girls to go away thinking that only the other was handsome.

The washerwomen in this sunny, pleasant clime do their washing out of doors, and may be seen at their occupation at every river's marge and rivulet brink as the train whirls by. Tobacco is much used, and the country furnishes a fine quality, but there are no pipes and no chewing. Cigars are called *puros*, and cigarettes are *cigarros*. Not a few of the hotels were formerly convents, as these institutions have been rigorously suppressed. Bicycles are becoming as common as with us, and this country of perpetual spring, with many months in which no rain falls, must become some day a paradise for cycling tourists. It is interesting always to notice foreign customs. The men embrace on meeting each other

as on the continent of Europe, and it is amusing to see two fat men put their arms around each other, and each patting his friend on the back. When an elderly lady kisses a young lady, if she kisses her on one check you may know the latter is married, but if she kisses her on both cheeks she is still single.

President Diaz, who was for a while a widower, in recent years has married a most charming and popular young lady, the daughter of Señor Rubio, now lately dead, who had formerly been a political opponent, but who after this alliance took a seat in his son-in-law's cabinet. Señora Diaz is exceedingly popular all over Mexico.

The Spanish pronunciation in detail would require a grammar, but in general it may be said that *a* is *ah*, *e* is *a*, *i* is *ee*, *o* is broad *o*, and *u* is *oo*. *Hu* is *w*, *ju* is *wh*, *j* is *h*, *h* is silent, double *l* is *y*, and *g* before *e* and *i* is *h*. Unlike French, in which no syllable is accented and in which, according to the French Academy, on an average two fifths of the letters on a page are silent, in Spanish every syllable is pronounced and there is an accent on some syllable, generally the next to the last, and this stress is more decided than in English, being in many cases almost a drawl on the accented syllable. As a curiosity the pronunciation of the names of several of the towns is here given, the accented syllable being in italics. Mexico is *Meh'*eco; Aguas Calientes is Ah-*was* Cal-i-*en'*tas; Catorce is Kay-*tor'*see; Guanajuato is Wah-na-*what'*to; Guadalajara is Ward-ly-*har'*rer; Guaymas is Wye-*mas'*; Jalapa is Ha-*lap'*per; Lagos is *Lah'*gos; Leon is Lay-*own'*; Morelia is Mo-*ray'*lya; Queretaro is Kay-*ret'*aro; Oaxaca is O-ah-*hack'*er; Orizaba is Oree-*zah'*bah; San Luis Potosi is San *Lu'*ees Poto-*see'*; San Miguel de Allende is San Me-*gil'* day A*yen'*dy; Tampico is Tam-*pee'*co; Torreon is Torry-*own'*; Tula is *Too'*la; Zacatecas is Zaky-*tay'*cas. Sometimes the meaning of a word depends on which syllable is accented, as *pa'*pa means a potato, while pa*pa'*, with the accent on the last syllable, means father.

While the Mexican leaders were wise enough and patriotic enough to save their country from the tortures and depression of the gold standard and falling prices which we have had to endure, many years ago when they funded their foreign debt (about $180,000,000) gold and silver were at par, and not anticipating any attempt to demonetize the latter in order to double the value of the former, they unwisely consented that the interest on this foreign debt — as a matter of convenience — should be made payable in London and in gold. They

did not know there was any *in*convenience in it then, but they have found it out now, as, like our own debtors and taxpayers, they are paying double what should be justly paid. It is just like contracting for ten thousand bushels of wheat and then doubling the size of the bushel. Mexico has about $100,000,000 of other debt created more recently, but, taught by experience, this is payable, like our debt, in coin, and their Secretary of the Treasury, unlike ours, pays the government creditors in coin of the same value as that in which the debt was created, and interest on this debt is paid in the same money in which taxpayers have just received $1.25 per bushel for their corn or wheat and fifteen to eighteen cents per pound for their cotton.

The railroads reflect the prosperity of the country and show steady increase in receipts, though their rates (owing to the enhancement in the value of our currency) are practically half what ours are. To take one railroad as an example. The receipts of the Mexican Central, which were $3,550,000 in 1885, were nearly doubled five years later, being in 1890 $6,425,000. This rose to $8,450,000 in 1894, and last year added over a million to that, the receipts for 1895 of this one railway being $9,496,000. The railroad station houses throughout Mexico are in the best style and many are very handsome, and plats ornamented with flowers and tropical plants are frequent.

These random observations have been thrown together, as they may possibly serve to amuse or interest some of your readers. Before giving some idea of the parts of the country I visited on my return, as will now be done, I may add that Americans will find it agreeable and very pleasant, if they can find friends to introduce them, to visit the American Club, just opposite the Iturbide Hotel. Our countrymen who frequent there, and especially those who maintain the club, are a fine type of men. The two dailies printed in English, the *Mexican Herald* and the *Two Republics*, are abreast in every respect with the dailies in our large cities, and are edited by gentlemen of the first order of ability. It is a sure sign of the numbers and wealth of the American population in the country that two dailies of the highest grade can be maintained. The United States Consul-General is ex-Gov. T. T. Crittenden of Missouri, who is exceedingly popular with Americans, whether residing in Mexico or merely visiting the country. Judge Sepúlveda, our Secretary of Legation

and President of the American Club, was formerly a judge of the Superior Court in California, though he has now resided many years in the Mexican capital. He also is very courteous and much liked. Our country is fortunate, far more fortunate than some European capitals which might be readily named, in having such representatives as these gentlemen. Minister Ransom was absent in the United States on leave during the period of my visit, so I did not meet him.

One of the pleasantest short excursions from the city of Mexico is due south to Cuernavaca. The railroad which is in process of construction to Acapulco, on the Pacific, is only completed as yet to Tres Marias, just below the summit of the mountain range, whence the journey to Cuernavaca is made by stage. This might be called the "battlefield route," as the railroad passes out by Chapultepec, through the fields of Casa Mata, Molino del Rey, Padierna, and Contreras, and within a short distance of Cherubusco, which is in full view. After leaving Contreras the track constantly climbs the mountains, giving at every turn a magnificent view of the valley of Mexico with its seven lakes, the castle-crowned hill of Chapultepec, the great city itself with its steeples and domes, and the scores of villages dotting the plain. At La Cima we have attained a height of nearly ten thousand feet, and begin to descend the Pacific slope. At Tres Marias we leave the cars and take a stage for Cuernavaca. A glorious view it is in this cloudless clime to see the valley spread for miles and miles before you and thousands of feet below, dotted with villages and *haciendas*, and the capital of the State in the centre foreground. We went down with four horses, we came back drawn by ten, and we saw some railway construction wagons which were being drawn by eighteen horses. This will be a great railway when it is completed through to Acapulco. The Interoceanic, already completed from Vera Cruz by way of the city of Mexico to Yautepec, is also stretching out to Acapulco, so there will soon be two lines from the capital to that port. The Guadalajara branch of the Central is also under process of construction to another port on the Pacific. Cuernavaca is a quaint old town as yet untouched by railroads. It has its grand old churches, and the castle in which Cortez lived in the midst of his princely land grant, and commanding a lovely view of mountains and valley. He lived here when no longer permitted to reside near the capital. Cortez was a good business man, as well

as conqueror; for he not only picked out and had the choicest lands granted to him, but he owned many of the most eligible corner lots in the capital, including that on which the government buildings now stand. But it is impossible not to recall that his name is unhonored by any memorial in the country of his triumphs, while in the Paseo the grand statue of his victim, the last Aztec emperor, Guatemozin, proudly lifts his hands and head to heaven. So true is it that "the victor has his day, but the victim has all eternity." And if some one shall say, What good shall it do him? it may be replied, Did not the victor fight that he might be remembered after death, and did he not struggle for fame,

> "That fancied life in another's breath,
> Which is beyond us, even in our death"?

And of Cortez, as of another and a haughtier name, it may well be said:

> "Who would soar the polar height
> To set in such a starless night"?

Here too are memorials of Maximilian and Carlotta in the lovely garden of La Borda, and the little "House in the Woods" where they attempted to rusticate in their "Little Trianon." The Indian name of the town was Quahnaahuac, meaning "where the eagle stops." This the more prosaic Spaniard has corrupted into Cuernavaca, which signifies "cow horn."

Having come into Mexico by the Mexican Central, when I got back to the capital I left for home over the shortest route, the Mexican National. Albeit a narrow gauge, it makes excellent time. The scenery is grand as we climb the mountain, leaving city and villages and gleaming lakes and glistening streams far below us. The transparent atmosphere, the cloudless skies, the exhilaration of the ozone in this perfect climate make one almost believe he is swimming through the air. And beyond, silent, unchanging, stand the sentinels of the land, the snow-crowned summits of the monarchs of the mountains. At eleven thousand feet elevation we cross the mountain and descend toward Toluca, on our way passing along the breast of the precipice a thousand feet almost directly over the red-tiled roofs of the village of Ocoyoacac. Toluca is the capital of the State of Mexico, a most interesting town of twenty-five thousand inhabitants, and one of the cleanest in the world. It is only three hours' run from the capital and is much visited. At

Acambaro we turn off from the main line for a run to Patzcuaro, over the western division, which will some day be completed to the Pacific at Manzanillo. We pass through the city of Morelia, one of the prettiest cities in all Mexico. Its beautiful plaza, magnificent cathedral, grand Paseo, aqueduct, and the Causeway of Guadeloupe would be attractions enough even if it did not have the most perfect of climates. Patzcuaro station is the terminus of the railway, and is on the lake of that name, the town being two miles away. On the lake is a steamer visiting port after port on its shores, like a humming bird passing from flower to flower. In one of these villages, in the old church at Tzintzunzan, is a famous painting by Titian, "The Entombment," which was presented by Philip II. of Spain. Fifty thousand dollars has been recently offered for this picture and was refused. Not far off is Uruapan, famous as producing the best coffee in Mexico. This State (Michoacan) and Jalisco just north of it (whose capital is Guadalajara) have the most perfect climates to be found in Mexico, or indeed probably in the world. The combination of lake and mountains, always beautiful, is nowhere more so than here.

Returning to the main line at Acambaro, we again proceed northward, crossing the Central at Celaya, the "candy" town, and passing through Dolores, whose parish priest, Hidalgo, began the war of independence in 1810; then on past town and hamlet, river and mountain, till we reach San Luis Potosi, three hundred and sixty-two miles from the capital. This is a city of over seventy thousand inhabitants and is the capital of the State of that name. It lies in the midst of a great level, fertile plain stretching away to mountains that are filled with silver and gold. It has many interesting buildings, the State capitol, the cathedral, the library and museum with one hundred thousand volumes, the State college, etc. It has several factories, and the street-car lines run out to the neighboring villages. On a Sunday afternoon I was strolling through the streets of this city of nearly seventy-five thousand people among whom I knew not a single human being, when on turning a corner I heard music which at once arrested attention. It was a well-known hymn of Charles Wesley which had come across the deep waters and many a vanished year to be anthemed beneath the shadow of cathedral towers on the great central plains of Mexico. Could the voices be traced, there I should surely find friends

and countrymen. As I proceeded the music floated out full and free, and, falling upon the quick fading twilight, "smoothed the raven down of darkness till it smiled." I found the band of worshippers and their beloved leader, a Methodist missionary who is devoting his life to the work which he has found to his hand in this great field. Only when straying in a foreign land does one know the strong bond of sympathy that lies in the accents of one's native tongue. The Protestant missions in Mexico are active and fairly successful. There is absolute freedom of worship, and all religions are protected. There is no State church, in which respect, at least, Mexico is in advance of England, Scotland, France, and many other countries.

The Tampico branch of the Mexican Central crossing the line of the National here goes down to Tampico. It is claimed by many that the scenery in the six thousand feet of descent to the *tierra caliente* over this line is more magnificent than between the capital and Vera Cruz. It is certainly very grand, but is entirely of a different kind. The descent to the coast is by terraces. In the first forty-seven miles we fall fifteen hundred feet. Further on, at the mouth of the great Tamasopo Cañon, you seem to have gotten to the "jumping-off place," for you can see the rails as they begin to bend downward. For seventeen miles you roll down by gravity, with every brake on to hold the train back, with the mountains rising on both hands thousands of feet above you, and between them the cañon opens a thousand feet below you. At one point is the "Devil's Backbone," a great spine of rough granite extending up the mountain, and reminding one of the "Devil's Slide" in the Wahsatch Valley on the Union Pacific. After passing out of the cañon and while descending the mountain, our track so turns and winds that at one point six tracks are seen. At the mouth of the cañon is the striking succession of waterfalls known as El Salto del Abra. Along here are the coffee groves, then a little lower we reach the *hot lands*, the "*tierra caliente*," and, rolling along the banks of the broad river Panuco, are soon at Tampico. This is in appearance the least inviting town in the Republic. It is dirty and untidy, many of the houses are of wood (a very rare thing in Mexico), and rains are frequent. But six miles further down, at the mouth of the river, are the jetties, which have given the port already twenty-six feet of water up to the wharves, and will give three or four feet

more. This will make it *the* port of the country, for Vera Cruz cannot compete with this, and already a railroad is contemplated between the city of Mexico and Tampico. Near here I found an American who already, in January, was shipping tomatoes by the carload to Chicago and Cincinnati. From Tampico it is three hundred and twenty-one miles over the Mexican and Gulf Railway to Monterey. In building this railway some of the cross ties, cut in the adjacent forest, were of ebony, as on the Tehuantepec Railroad some of them are mahogany. Monterey is only some one hundred and sixty-eight miles from the Rio Grande, and has a colony of several thousand Americans. The appreciation in our standard of value amounts to a protective tariff in favor of Mexico of the difference between our currency and theirs of over ninety per cent. As a consequence, instead of shipping ores as formerly to the United States, large smelters have been put up here, and are doing a fine business. The "Saddle Back" Mountain, the Bishop's Palace, and other places are redolent with memories of the fighting days of a half century ago. It was here that Gen. Worth, instead of charging up the streets, with the frightful losses sustained by our other columns, hit upon the plan Marshal Lannes had adopted at the siege of Saragossa in 1810, and cut his way through house after house to the central Plaza, and thus compelled a surrender.

Through a desire to visit the battlefield of Buena Vista, I turned back southward and ran down to Saltillo, seventy-five miles through a most picturesque succession of mountain cliffs. Though the railroad runs near to the famous battlefield, there is no station there, and it was necessary to stop at Saltillo and go six miles out by private conveyance. The Mexican War began, as is well known, in a contest for the little strip of land between the Nueces and the Rio Grande, Mexico claiming the former river as a boundary, and the United States the latter. Texas declared her independence in 1835, and after several battles made it good by the victory of San Jacinto, in 1836, when Santa Anna, the president of Mexico, and commanding its armies, was captured. For ten years Texas was an independent nation, till she joined this country by treaty. The boundary question then became our quarrel. After winning the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, on this side of the Rio Grande, Gen. Taylor boldly advanced into Mexico and captured Monterey with the Mexican army defending it. He then proceeded

to Saltillo, some two hundred and fifty miles south of the Rio Grande, when he was deprived of all of his army, except less than five thousand volunteers, that they might be sent as re-enforcements to Gen. Scott, who was to land at Vera Cruz to march on the capital. Suddenly Gen. Taylor was notified that Santa Anna with some twenty-two thousand men was advancing upon him. That general had conceived the soldier-like idea of falling upon Taylor's reduced army and after crushing it to hurry back and meet Scott. Though he failed to crush Taylor, he in fact got back and fought Scott with the same troops at Cerro Gordo, below Jalapa, and among the cannon taken by us at Contreras were two which had been captured from Taylor at Buena Vista. On hearing of the enemy's advance, Gen. Taylor, instead of waiting to be besieged in Saltillo, moved forward to a mountain pass —*Angostura*, or "the narrows," which is the Mexican name for the battle, while we give it the name of Buena Vista, from a *hacienda*, or cluster of farm buildings, in rear of our lines, which is still standing. Thus during our late war nearly every battlefield had a different name given it by the opposing sides, and Waterloo, which is known by that name to the English, is known as Mont St. Jean to the French, and La Belle Alliance to the Germans. The accounts of battles, as well as their names, depend much upon the standpoint from which they are viewed. Had there been any doubt of Gen. Taylor's splendid ability as a soldier, his choice of a battlefield stands to this day a proof that he understood his profession. A deep *barranca* or gulley running through the middle of the narrow plain makes it impossible to pass from one side to the other. On the left (facing south), running well out into the plain, is a long, very steep ridge, barring the passage except for a short distance between the end of the ridge and the *barranca*. This ridge was crowned with artillery, and breastworks were thrown up. Here, if anywhere, his four thousand seven hundred volunteers could hold in check Santa Anna's twenty-two thousand. The conflict took place on Feb. 22 and 23, 1847. The only hope possible for the Mexicans was to break through our lines on the extreme left at the foot of the mountain, and to take us in the rear by a force passing through a gap some miles further on near Saltillo. Both attempts were made, and twice the battle seemed lost. Col. Bowles' Second Indiana, which was broken by the enemy's

masses, in their flight ran squarely into the enemy's column, which, having come through the pass, had taken us in reverse. One account says that it was the utter *abandon* of these fugitives in running into them, and which the Mexicans mistook for a most reckless charge, which put this flanking column in our rear to flight. However that may be, there was enough gallant fighting and bloodshed on both sides. The Americans had the decided advantage in position, and they held it by a close margin. Santa Anna hurried back to meet Gen. Scott coming up on the line from Vera Cruz. The fight at Buena Vista made Gen. Taylor President of the United States. He was a splendid soldier and a man of strong common sense, though his opponents called him "an old frontier colonel," and it was said that in all his life he had never cast a ballot. The same battle made his second in command, Gen. Joseph H. Lane, later a candidate for Vice-President, and gave to Col. Jefferson Davis, Gen. Taylor's son-in-law, the prestige which carried him into the United States Senate, made him United States Secretary of War, and finally President of the Southern Confederacy; while Gen. Taylor's remark to the captain of a battery, "Give them a little more grape, Captain Bragg," started a popularity which ultimated in putting the latter in command of the Confederate Army of the West, in which position his marked incapacity and defects enabled him to damage the Confederacy more than any general that ever was opposed to him. These are a very few of the things effected by holding these few rods of ground, a result which long swung evenly in the balance, and which might have been changed by some accident of slight import, for great events often depend on very small ones. The battle, which, from the numbers of Americans engaged, would have been of small importance a little over a dozen years later, at the time created an immense sensation. Among the triumphal poetry written was that by Albert Pike, beginning:

> "From the Rio Grande's waters to the icy lakes of Maine,
> Let all exult, for we have met the enemy again!
> Beneath his stern old mountains we've met him in his pride,
> And rolled from Buena Vista back the battle's bloody tide."

Among the dead fallen on this field few were more regretted than the gallant young Lieut.-Col. Henry Clay of Kentucky, son of the "Great Harry of the West." All through this war the Mexicans fought well. It would

derogate from the truth of history and the glory of our own army to deny this. But they were torn by civil war among themselves, and their finances were broken down, and too many of their generals were merely prominent politicians. Could President Polk have succeeded in his effort to supersede Gen. Scott with a politician, — an able man, but not a trained soldier, Thomas H. Benton, — no one can tell what would have been the result. As it was, our two armies were commanded by our two ablest and best trained generals. So great were the dissensions among the Mexicans that after the capture of the city of Mexico it was difficult to ascertain exactly with whom to make peace. This was signed at Guadeloupe-Hidalgo (two miles north of the city of Mexico), which is noted as the place of the apparition of the Virgin. At the same spot Santa Anna, who was five times president or dictator and thrice exiled, and who had belonged in turn to all parties, reposes in the quiet of the grave after his restless life. By our two treaties with Mexico we obtained over half of the former territory of that country, paying twenty-five millions of dollars, however, for it, apparently then a poor bargain, for the ceded territory at that time was not much more than waste land — we had previously acquired Texas. The subsequent discovery of gold in California, the advent of railroads, and the energy and talent of the incoming American population have absolutely transformed the annexed territory and made it the splendid country it is to-day. At the time it was apparently a poor return for the blood and treasure spent in the war, exclusive of the purchase money. Indeed, even now the one hundred and fifty miles of Mexico next to the United States is its most unpromising and least inviting territory. No one who has not passed beyond the northern tier of Mexican States can have any idea of the scenery, climate, or resources of the country, which steadily improves as one goes southward.

Returning by way of Monterey, a run of two hundred and fifty miles brought me to the Rio Grande at Laredo. The river, which is crossed on a handsome steel bridge with stone pillars, is of course very much larger here than at El Paso, where I had passed over it on my entrance into the country. The frontier at Laredo is eight hundred and forty miles from the city of Mexico, and at El Paso it is one thousand two hundred and twenty-four miles.

A tour to Mexico will correct many preconceived opinions

of that country. There can also be seen the effect of money being maintained at its old value, not doubled (as with us) by legislative manipulation. If it be said that Mexico is still inferior to us in many things, then the greater is the just condemnation of the men who by their financial policy have made us so inferior in prosperity. If it be said that Mexican laborers are paid less than ours, the answer is, How much worse would have been their condition if Mexico had listened to the agents of the Rothschilds as we did and reduced cotton from sixteen cents per pound to seven cents? And we may also ask how much better off the wealth producers of this country would have been if we also had repulsed the same tempter, and for the last dozen years or more our farmers, like those in Mexico, had been paying their debts and taxes by selling cotton at fourteen to twenty cents, and wheat and corn at $1 to $1.50 according to the season.

From Laredo I passed through the Nueces section, the original bone of contention between the two countries, and then, crossing the Nueces, on to San Antonio. Here the historic Alamo still stands, in which one hundred and eighty-five Texans held at bay Santa Anna with four thousand troops. The latter at last took the fort, but not one defender was left alive. The grand but simple lines engraved on the building tell the heroic story:

"Thermopylæ had its messenger of defeat — the Alamo had none."

It was midnight when I boarded the east-bound train for New Orleans, as it rolled out into the boundless plains and beneath the darkened skies flecked with the countless worlds which shed their light on ours.

Power, which is "ever stealing from the many to the few," has with us already passed into the hands of the consolidated capital of the country, but, as in all such cases, the forms and fiction of a republic remain to deceive the people, while the actual exercise of power is in the hands of the plutocracy. The middle class is being destroyed, the farmers are gradually being changed into peasantry, the lower class is enlarging. Can the people be aroused to stop this before it is too late?

A visit to Mexico shows the great prosperity which rewards a country which refuses to change its standard of value in order to double the debts and taxes of the masses, and to divide the prices of produce that thereby the property of

bondholders and millionnaires may be doubled. It shows, too, the prosperity which will come to us if we shall be wise and strong enough to revert to that financial system under which we were prosperous and from which we should never have departed.

Will we, can we, undo the wrong? As the long train rolled eastward in the darkness there was the assured conviction that it would meet the sun in its glory; so may it not be that as this great orb of ours rolls eastward, amid the gloom of our financial night, it too will meet the light of the coming day, and that

> "Under the whitening wind of the future
> There rolls the wave of the world"?

ADIOS.

A NATIONAL PLATFORM FOR THE AMERICAN INDEPENDENTS OF 1896.

PROPOSED BY MR. WILLIAM P. ST. JOHN.
(PRESIDENT OF THE MERCANTILE NATIONAL BANK, NEW YORK.)

Leaving the domestic affairs of the several States to those party organizations already occupied therewith, and believing that the Senate of the United States is quick to respond to the clearly expressed will of the people, we confine our present attempt to the election of the President, Vice-President, and Representatives in Congress on the following demands:

FIRST. (a) That the mints of the United States shall be reopened to equally unrestricted coinage for gold and silver into the unlimited legal-tender money of the United States: the gold to issue in the present standard gold coins, and the silver to issue in the present standard silver dollars. (b) Depositors of the gold or silver at the mint to receive in lieu of coin, if they prefer, at the coining value thereof, coin-certificates which shall be redeemed on demand in gold or silver coin at the option and according to the convenience of the United States. (c) And as a safeguard against panic and money stringency the Secretary of the Treasury shall be empowered to issue such coin-certificates additionally against deposits of interest-bearing bonds of the United States, the interest accruing on the bonds to inure to the United States pending their re-exchange for the coin-certificates, which coin-certificates when returned shall be cancelled: provided that such additional issues of coin-certificates shall not reduce the percentage of coin and bullion reserved for coin-certificates and silver-certificates below sixty per cent of the aggregate sum of coin-certificates and silver-certificates outstanding. The now outstanding silver-certificates, gold-certificates, and Treasury notes of 1890 to be retired as they come into the Treasury.

This (a) is free coinage at 16 to 1, the convenient coin-certificate (b) to take the place of gold-certificates, silver-certificates and Treasury notes of 1890. The safeguard (c) would provide for a temporary increase of $300,000,000 of paper money against the silver on hand in the Treasury April 1.

SECOND. The threatened competition with our Southern cotton mills of those of China and Japan, the increasing importations of long-stapled Egyptian in competition with our Sea Island cotton, and the ill effects of the abrogation of the tariff on wool along with the reduction in the tariff on woollen manufactures combine to evidence the fact that the time has not arrived to abandon an adequate protective tariff system in vain pursuit of the phantom of free trade.

The effect of the wool schedule of the Wilson Bill has been to enrich the European manufacturer at the expense of our domestic manufacturer and enlarge the European market for foreign wools while lessening our home market for our domestic wools, occasioning an advance of two cents a pound for Port Phillip (Australian) wool in London, while unwashed Ohio wool has declined eleven cents a pound in Boston and New York; and producing such a depression of our home manufactures as has caused a reduction in wages of operatives and threatens to throw this branch of domestic labor out of all employment.

We are, therefore, opposed to opening our home market of seventy millions of consumers to the foreigner on any pretence of procuring thereby a foreign market for the productions of the United States. But we shall exact of our manufacturers that they accord to labor a liberal and more continuously certain share of the protection accorded them; and that the tariff devised shall afford also a protection to the farmer and the planter, and provide sufficient revenues for the necessary expenditures of government.

This second demand meets the requirement of the great mass of American labor, to whom McKinley threatens to become the embodiment of the protective tariff. While my reports from all sections, including the new South, are overwhelmingly in favor of protection, comparatively few manufacturers favor the restoration of the McKinley tariff.

THIRD. We demand the application of the principle defined as the Initiative and Referendum to all national legislation which involves any radical change in public policy.

A test of this principle, thus restricted to any radical change in public policy, seems warranted by the practice of Switzerland. The test may commend a broadening of the restriction, if found practicable. "*Should the great trunk lines of railway become a possession of the Government?*" would seem to be such a radical change in public policy as might wisely be referred to the people.

FOURTH. We condemn Clevelandism utterly; that debauching of legislators with patronage to achieve legisla-

tion opposed to the will of the people is a vicious prostitution of Executive influence, which we shall denounce as bitterly if it be the practice of an Executive elected as a Republican as when the practice of one elected as a Democrat.

If all who have become distrustful of old parties and tired of boss rule will unite in these demands and nominate, on this platform, some man of such achievements as commend him to the conservative element of the country, and who is not a seeker after the preferment, he can be elected in the approaching campaign to the Presidency of the United States.

If the Democratic platform demands the reopening of the mints to silver, as now seems likely, all the powers of the Democratic (?) Administration will be used to compass the defeat of the Democratic candidate. The prosperity to accrue to the people under the adoption of that policy would put in shameful contrast the current results of the Administration's policy.

If the Republican platform demands, unequivocally, the reopening of the mints to silver, the Democratic platform will necessarily demand the same, and the contest will be narrowed thereby to a protective tariff against free trade.

WILLIAM P. ST. JOHN.

THE TELEGRAPH MONOPOLY.

BY PROF. FRANK PARSONS.

VI.

EVILS OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM (*continued*).

The ninth evil of our telegraphic system is *discrimination.* We have already spoken of the Western Union's unjust distinctions as to wages in the case of men doing the same work, and of its absurd discrimination against women *en masse.*[1] We have now to discuss its injurious discriminations against certain persons and localities and in favor of others in respect to rates and service.

Sometimes the discrimination takes the form of refusing to render certain services to certain persons. For example, a merchant who is a member of the exchange can send a message four or five hundred miles from New York to Bradford in the oil region for ten cents and get an immediate reply, but a merchant who is not a member of the exchange cannot obtain any such service; he must go to another office and pay twenty-five cents and wait an hour or two for his answer.[2] Sometimes the company refuses to receive any messages at all from certain persons or for certain persons,[3] or declines to allow certain messages to go over its wires.[4]

---

1 The managers say that a man is paid more than a woman for the same work because a man needs more. He may get married and have a family to support. As a matter of fact, however, such considerations have nothing to do with Western Union policy. No difference is made between the salaries of married and unmarried men. Under present conditions a worker should not be paid less than the worth of her work simply because her need may be less. If the burdens of the worker were the guide, many an unmarried man and woman and many a married woman has quite as much need of good pay to support those dependent upon him or her as could ever occur in the case of a married man. If the Western Union really pay with a view to the requirements of married life, why is it that they pay so little that even their male operators cannot, as a rule, afford to marry, as we have seen is the case? The fact is that Western Union wages are simply auction prices for labor depressed as much as the buyer is able, and women, having home support of some degree in a greater number of cases than men, are able to sell their time for less than the average for men.

2 Sen. Rep. 577, part II., pp. 59, 63.

3 H. Rep. 125, 43-2, p. 11.

4 Congressional Record, 1875, vol. iii., p. 1422, where Mr. Albright tells how a committee (of which he was a member) sent to gather testimony at the South found it impossible to telegraph the facts to the North.

At other times the discrimination consists in delay,[5] confinement of market reports or other news to a few favored individuals for an hour or two, transmission by devious routes, violations of the due order of transmission, unjust distinctions as to rates, giving rebates to favored individuals,[6] persecuting others to compel their submission to the telegraph managers or punish them for a personal difference, etc.

Mr. D. H. Craig tells of a case in which the telegraph managers took up a personal quarrel and gave orders not to send C's messages until some time after rival reports had been forwarded. And C had to establish a horse express to carry his messages, with a loss of five hours' time and serious expense. The news came regularly from abroad, and as soon as the steamer was signalled at Halifax "one of the telegraph lines was conveniently out of order, and the operator on the other was ordered to send me the Bible and continue till the arrival of my horse express" (five hours).[7]

The Washburn committee reported that "rules of precedence in the transmission of messages are systematically disregarded by the leading American company."[8]

"Stock exchange business has the right of way over the wires in preference to any communication of a personal or social nature."[9]

The directors and managers of the Western Union are stock speculators and they favor their own class.

"The laws of the United States require the telegraph companies to transmit Government business ahead of every other business, but they never have done it. They did not do it on the Pacific line, and they have not done it on any other telegraph line. A message known as C. N. D. (the commercial news department) has precedence over everything else."[10]

An operator's testimony given to the Henderson committee informs us that "the Western Union favors one class of business and wilfully neglects to do justice to another. Cer-

5 "To delay a telegram which, in the words of the Western Union Company itself, 'from its very nature requires instant transmission and delivery,' is no less a crime than to rob or delay the mail, and yet it is the constant and daily practice of the company aforesaid." H. Rep. 114, p. 11.

6 Rebates amounting to twenty, twenty-five, and even fifty per cent have been given by the telegraph companies to influential business men in times of competition. Bingham Com. p. 25, testimony of A. B. Chandler, president of the Postal Telegraph Company.

7 Blair Com. vol. ii., p. 1279.

8 H. Rep. 114, p. 10.

9 Wanamaker, 1890, p. 223.

10 Bingham Com., Testimony of Victor Rosewater, a former Western Union manager, p. 5.

tain business, mostly brokers' messages, has special rights over everything else. The operator who is sending death messages, messages that summon children to the bedside of dying parents, or transacts legitimate business of merchants and manufacturers, is often obliged to lay them aside in order that the wires may be used for the business of a trust, a monopoly, or a ring of speculators." [11] "The discrimination between the messages of different customers both as to rates and order of transmission" was classed by Postmaster General Creswell among the four great and growing evils of the private telegraph. He prepared tables of existing telegraph charges, and declared that "the tables show most clearly the inequality and discriminating character of the American tariffs as opposed to the generally uniform rates of Europe." [12] The Ramsey committee also tabulated Western Union rates, and showed that very unequal charges were made for equal distances, and subject to very similar conditions except in respect to competition.[13] Similar inequalities exist to-day, though less in degree on the whole than formerly. A ten-cent rate is allowed in some cases for a service that costs twenty-five and fifty cents or more in other cases. A telegraph company, like a railway, can by arranging its tariff do much to send business to a town or city and aid its growth, or to keep trade away and hinder its development as may happen to suit the interest or caprice of the managers.

Victor Rosewater, testifying before the Bingham committee in 1890, about the rates when he was manager of the Western Union at Omaha, spoke as follows:

"While our rates from Omaha to San Francisco were never higher than $3 for a ten-word message, our rates to Denver were $4.50. Omaha to San Francisco, 1,700 miles, rate, $3; Omaha to New York, 1,400 miles, rate, $5.65; from Omaha to Chicago, 500 miles, we charged $3.55; from Council Bluffs to Chicago, a distance only five miles less than from Omaha to Chicago, we charged $1.55, a difference of $2 on

---

[11] I. T. U. Hearings, p. 5.

[12] Creswell's Rep. Nov. 15, 1872. Wan. 1890, pp. 155, 156.

[13] Sen. Rep. 18 and Sen. Rep. 242, 42-3, p. 9.

The first states that the

Rate from Washington to Boston was	$0.55
" " " " Waltham, 10 miles out of Boston	1.75
" " " " Chicago	1.75
" " " " Geneva, 40 miles from Chicago	3.00

The second report shows very uneven charges for nearly equal distances.

Washington to New York and Williamsport, 40 cts. and 75 cts.

" " Wheeling, Albany, and Parkersburg, 30 cts., 80 cts., and $1.00.

" " Indianapolis, Bangor, and Grand Haven, 50 cts., 90 cts., and $1.70.

" " Memphis, Mobile, and St. Augustine, $1.25, $2.50, and $3.50.

every ten-word message in favor of Council Bluffs. I have known people to get on the stage coach, pay seventy-five cents fare from Omaha across the river to Council Bluffs, and seventy-five cents back, making $1.50, and still save fifty cents on a ten-word message to Chicago." [14]

In his letter favoring public ownership of the telegraph, Cyrus W. Field lays much stress upon the fact that "A government system would prevent unjust discriminations." [15] Mr. Field is the only one of the Western Union directors, so far as I know, who has raised his voice against the company's policy of arbitrarily favoring certain persons and localities at the expense of others. After detailing a flagrant case, he says, "Such an unjust discrimination as this would not be allowed by the government for a day." [16]

By means of discrimination in rates or service or both, the telegraph company can turn the tide of business and prosperity toward a locality or an individual, or it can hinder the growth of a city and ruin a tradesman or a newspaper by excessive rates or delaying messages, governing persons and

---

(Note 13 continued.)

The said second report (242) then proceeds to illustrate the arbitrary character of the whole tariff, as follows:

	District.	Rate.
Washington to Harrisburg	125	$0.40
" " Philadelphia	140	.35
" " Cumberland	180	.40
" " Williamsport	220	.75
" " New York	230	.40
" " Wheeling	380	.30
" " Wilmington, N. C.	380	1.20
" " Pittsburg	330	.25
" " Boston	460	.55
" " Cincinnati	600	.50
" " Chicago	800	1.00
" " Indianapolis	700	.50
" " St. Louis	940	1.75
" " Memphis	1,050	1.25
" " Des Moines	1,100	2.30
" " St. Augustine	1,000	3.25
New York to Morristown	30	.35
" " " Albany	150	.30
" " " Boston	230	.30
" " " Pittsburg	430	.25
" " " Norwich	120	.50
" " " Easton	75	.50
" " " New Haven	70	.25
" " " New Brunswick	32	.25
" " " Concord	300	.50
" " " Rochester	385	.50

[14] Bingham Com., Rosewater, p. 5.
[15] H. Rep. 114, p. 70.
[16] Ibid.

places somewhat as a railway does by means of freight and passenger rates, the supply or non-supply of cars, and the quickness or delay of transportation.

In Cincinnati some years ago, a Mr. Davis started a bureau of information to keep the merchants posted on the state of the New York markets. He secured many subscribers and worked up a flourishing business. The Western Union saw the value of the enterprise, and established a "Commercial News Bureau" of their own for the purpose of furnishing these same market reports to the various cities throughout the country. They appointed an agent in Cincinnati, offering to take Davis's subscribers off his hands, and pay him a small part of what he was making out of his business. Davis refused, whereupon the Western Union told him they would break up his trade. They did, and Davis sued and got judgment for $3,000 damages. The evidence was conclusive that the Western Union, while receiving pay regularly from Davis for his despatches, purposely delayed them and sent them by circuitous routes; whereas their own despatches of a similar nature were sent through in advance of all others.[17]

A few years ago two papers in San Francisco favored a postal telegraph a little too briskly. Their telegraph rates were raised. One of them died in consequence; the other ceased to publish attacks on the Western Union, and was restored to good fellowship.[18] While Mr. Orton was president of the Western Union, a certain paper criticised some

[17] H. Rep. 114, p. 68. Contrary to their usual self-complacency under all circumstances, the Western Union officers do not seem to enjoy discussing this Davis case, but when it has appeared necessary to do so they have followed their usual custom of varying the facts and contradicting even their own sworn testimony previously given. See H. Rep. 114, p. 100. This News Bureau case is referred to by Mr. Hubbard in Sen. Rep. 577. In the course of his remarks he said: "The Western Union stopped sending his (Davis's) messages on the through line, and transmitted them on a way line. There was no priority for their messages. Oh, no! they only sent them on the through line, while the others went on the way line. Those that went by the way line were longer in getting through, and when received the customers of the Western Union had already received the prices and acted upon them. No priority, only the man was ruined."

[18] Sen. Rep. 577, part II., p. 65. In the case of the *Herald* owned by John Nugent, the rates were raised 122 per cent or from 6.92 cents per word to 15.38 cents a word, while at the same time the rates to other papers were reduced from 2.4 to 1.2 cents a word. Being discriminated against and entirely excluded from the Press Association, he tried to establish news agencies of his own, but the news cost him twenty times as much as it did the *Call* or the *Bulletin*, or the other papers in San Francisco, equal despatches costing him ten to fifteen times as much as was paid by the combined papers in the Associated Press of San Francisco. After losing in this way about $200,000 in eight months he failed. Sen. Rep. 242, 42-3, p. 4; H. Rep. 125, 43-2, pp. 9, 11; I. T. U. Hearings, 1894, pp. 30, 50, 51.

act of his, and the next day, or the next but one, the rates of that paper were doubled. It ceased to receive any telegraphic despatches because it could not pay for them.[19]

Mr. A. P. Swineherd, editor of the *Mining Journal*, Marquette, Mich., wanted to start a daily, — a population of 150,000 people desired a daily, and he wished to supply the need. A daily cannot live without the telegraphic news. Fully aware of this, Mr. Swineherd made an agreement with the Western Union before moving further into his plan. He contracted for 3,500 words each week at $30 a week and half a cent a word extra. On the strength of this he spent $5,000 for materials and improvements in preparation for the daily. Then the Western Union refused to fulfil its agreement, telling Mr. Swineherd that he must get his news from the *Associated* Press ; if he got it from the United Press the telegraph rate would be $105 a week for 3,500 words. The Associated Press when applied to refused to give the service necessary for the paper, and demanded $1,000 bonus at the start for the service it would give. Mr. Swineherd would gladly have paid this extortion, but the service offered was entirely unavailable, so that his plan had to be abandoned at great loss.[20]

Lloyd Breeze, the editor of the Detroit *Evening Journal*, testified that he had found it impossible to get into the Associated Press, or to obtain the market reports. The best he could get was a contract for special telegraphic news at one half the commercial rate. The result was that he had to pay from six to fifteen times as much for news as other papers did, and employ special correspondents beside. He added that the Western Union could abrogate the contract at any time, thereby compelling him to pay more than double the burdensome telegraph taxes then resting upon him.[21]

This complaint that newspapers are barred out of the Associated Press, and so denied the benefit of low rates for telegraphic news, is of frequent occurrence in the congressional investigations. Such news being necessary to a large daily, it follows that the allied monopolies, the Western Union and the Associated Press, are able to dictate terms to any one proposing to start a new paper, and can checkmate his enterprise altogether if they wish to do so. They also

[19] Sen. Rep. 577, part II., p. 65.

[20] Sen. Rep. 577, part II., p. 279.

[21] Sen. Rep. 577, part II., p. 283.

have the power to destroy almost any existing daily, except the few that are wealthy enough to stand the drain of discriminating telegraph rates. The said monopolies have not been slow in recognizing their power nor at all abstemious in its exercise.

The International Typographical Union complained at the hearings in 1894 that there was "a tremendous bar in the way of starting newspapers," it being practically impossible to start a daily without the consent of the Western Union and the Press Association, and that the chances were that "any paper attempting to assert its own individual opinion as against the Western Union would suffer for it."[22] The Hon. Marion Butler spoke of cases where one paper in a town enjoys a telegraph franchise and the other papers cannot get it. Mr. Quigg of the committee said:

"No doubt about that. To my mind that is one of the greatest evils we have to contend with, the fact that newspapers combine to create press associations, and thereby shut out other newspapers."[23]

The final responsibility, however, rests with the Western Union. It is Western Union favor that gives the press associations their power of life and death over so many dailies.[24] It is the fact that the Western Union serves a paper *in* the association for a fraction of the price that must be paid for the same service by a paper *not* in the association — it is this fact that enables the press association to control the newspaper field. If the Western Union would stand for fair play and equal rates to all, and make it a part of the press agreement that all papers should receive the news at fair rates without discrimination, the Associated Press would lose its tyrannical power of exclusion. But the Western Union prefers to be a co-conspirator in the building of a press monopoly, because in return for its aid it gains a mighty hold upon the press.

This brings us to the *tenth* evil of our present system of distributing intelligence, viz., the *infringement of the liberty*

---

22 I. T. U. Hearings, pp. 30–32, 50 *et seq.*

23 I. T. U., p. 45.

24 "The Western Union discriminates against papers not belonging to the association — the price for the same despatch is at least double if the paper does not belong to the association." (Sen. Rep. 624, 43–2, p. 2.) The division of expense in the Association gives a further advantage of much weight in the cities. The Western Union, if it chose, could secure the equalization of all advantages in respect to the daily news, as stated in the text.

of the press. The Western Union and a number of leading newspapers have formed a sort of double-star monopoly for mutual advantage and protection against competition. The understanding between the telegraph company and the press associations secures to the latter low rates and the power of excluding new papers from the field, and to the former a strong influence upon press despatches, the support of the papers in such associations, and the exclusive right to transmit and sell the market quotations. Besides the force of direct agreement and the powerful motives of mutual support that naturally develop between two individuals or corporations working together year after year with an ever-present consciousness in each of the vital relation to its prosperity that is sustained by the other, — besides all this, the men who run the Western Union control a number of papers directly, and can control others whenever it may be thought best. The Western Union not only has the power of causing serious loss to newspapers that oppose it, — it has millions with which to buy the stock of an obnoxious paper, so capturing the fortress entire and spiking the guns or turning them against its enemies.

In one of the Ramsey reports we read that "The president of the Western Union is a trustee of the New York *Tribune*, which is one of the Associated Press. The publisher and one of the proprietors of the New York *Times* is a director in the Western Union Company." [25] Turn back to Part IV. and run over the names of the Western Union directors, and you will begin to realize the tremendous influence over the press that results to the Western Union simply from the summation of the individual influences of its directors. And the Board of Directors is only the head-light, the smoke-stack, and the engineer, — the big locomotive is made up of all the power of the whole body of Western Union stockholders, and its pull is tremendous. When we add to this the power of the company through its control of rates, and its alliance with the Associated Press, it becomes a matter of grateful surprise that so many papers have shown an independent spirit in discussing the telegraph question.

The Washburn committee reported that "the associations themselves, and consequently the newspapers, are completely in the power of the telegraph companies, which can at any moment raise the rates for news telegrams to a par

[25] Sen. Rep. 242, 43-1, p. 5.

with those charged for private messages, and thus prevent their transmission almost altogether."[26]

President Orton testified that the company had a compact with the Associated Press, by which the latter agreed to stand by the Western Union.

Here is a copy of the agreement:[27]

Contract of Telegraph Company with the Press. [Extract.]

"And said Associated Press agrees, that during the continuance of this agreement they and their agents, and all parties furnished by them with news for publication, and the agents of such parties, shall employ the said telegraph company, exclusively, to transmit to and from all places reached by its lines, all telegraphic messages relating to the news or newspaper business; *and that they will not in any way encourage or support any opposition or competing telegraph company.*"

Private Circular. (Not for Publication.) [Extract.]

CINCINNATI COMMERCIAL OFFICE, April 15, 1867.

To the members of the Western Associated Press:

"Your attention is invited to the clause in our contract with the telegraph company, which forbids us to encourage or support any opposition or competing telegraph company. That clause was to the telegraph company a valuable consideration for the favorable terms upon which they contracted with us."

M. HALSTEAD,
Ex-Com. W. A. Press.

The press of Great Britain appears to have been nearly unanimous in its demand that the government should take control of the telegraph in that country, and have displayed an independence which might be imitated advantageously by some of our leading presses. Though the leading telegraph companies of England threatened the press that their despatches would be stopped in case they did not cease their advocacy of the telegraph bill, they did not cease, but talked stronger and plainer than before. As a specimen of the attempted interference with the freedom of the press, we quote the following from a letter addressed by the superintendent of the telegraph to the proprietor of the Belfast *Whig*, who had advocated the postal bill:[28]

"The time appears to have arrived when the directors should seriously consider whether the contract with your journal should be continued, and I have no doubt they will come to a decision which may afford you an opportunity of making your own news arrangements on less exorbitant terms."

---

[26] H. Rep. 114, pp. 46, 47.

[27] From H. Rep. 114, p. 104; H. Rep. 125, p. 10; I. T. U. Hearings, p. 34; and Sen. Rep. 242, 43–1, p. 3.

[28] H. Rep. 114, p. 104.

The English committee, in examining the proprietor, said:[28]

Question. "So the company had the power, if they wished it, of saying that you should not receive telegraphic news unless you took a particular line in your paper on particular questions?"

Answer. "Yes."

Question. "Is that a condition of things which could be tolerated by the editor of a newspaper?"

Answer. "It is a condition of things that I should not tolerate at any rate, and I should think it would be intolerable to any man of independence."

In the second Ramsey report it is stated that "papers favoring the postal telegraph have subsequently either lost their telegraphic news or been provided with it at a price so high that they could not afford to pay it."[29] We have seen that death has sometimes resulted from this bleeding and blistering process prescribed by the Western Union doctors for removing dangerous symptoms of public spirit. Speaking of the feelings of editors who find themselves compelled to silence, complete or partial, the report says:

"These gentlemen have regretted that they were thus controlled by the telegraph company, and that under its constant pressure they could not speak freely."[30]

Another passage from the same report is too important to omit:

"The operation of a postal telegraph system would result in the speedy termination of this alliance (between the press and the telegraph), and will be a very important step toward the freedom of the press."[31]

D. H. Craig told the Blair committee that "The Western Union and the Press Association work together to ruin a paper that buys news from any competing telegraph line. The editor of the only morning journal in one of the largest interior cities in New York State began to take news from a rival company, and refused to discontinue. The Western Union complained to the Associated Press, and its manager negotiated with the publisher of an evening paper to run a morning edition, pledging him free and exclusive telegraphic press reports for a year. The rebellious editor quickly yielded."[32]

The censorship of news established by the Associated Press is clearly contrary to the public good. All Eastern news goes to the agent of the Associated Press in New York

---

28 H. Rep. 114, pp. 46, 47.

29 Sen. Rep. 242, 43–1, p. 22.

30 Ibid. p. 23.

31 Ibid. p. 5.

32 Blair Com., vol. ii., pp. 1279, 1280.

and is "edited" by him to the newspapers of the nation. "This editing consists in selecting such parts as the central officer thinks proper to send out, and in modifying the language, etc.,"[33] to adapt the matter to the use of the press.

Senate Report 624, 1875, contains these significant words:

"The news furnished to every leading and almost every other daily paper comes from one source, and its preparation, wherever it is collected, is under the direct supervision of the agent of the seven associated papers in New York. It is inevitable that the views, opinions, and interests of those seven papers should be expressed through this channel, especially by the full or short reports upon topics they favor or oppose and by the bias of the writer's mind."[34]

Gardiner G. Hubbard said to the Hill committee:

"The man who rules the Associated Press has an instrument for shaping the opinions of the millions which, by the constancy, universality, and rapidity of its action, defies competition. The events which take place in all business, political, and religious centres, together with the actions of public men and their imputed motives, are all presented simultaneously to the public, from ocean to ocean, through this instrumentality. The agents who collect the news respond to the central authority at New York, and are subject to removal at its pleasure. Here is a power greater than any ever wielded by the French Directory, because in an era when public opinion is omnipotent, it can give, withhold, or color the information which shapes that opinion. It may impart an irresistible power to the caprice of an individual, and the reputation of the ablest and purest public man may be fatally tainted in every town and village of the continent by a midnight despatch. It is incompatible with public safety that such an exclusive power to speak to the whole public in the same moment, upon every subject, and thus to create public opinion, should be under the absolute control of a corporation."[35]

It is not much trouble for the Western Union to control the engine that carries opinions to millions of men. If it does not hold the lever in its own hand, it is in partnership with the engineer, who is under heavy obligations to it and might be subjected to enormous losses by its displeasure.

Mr. Thurber, representing the National Board of Trade, said to the Bingham committee during a description of a previous discussion of the telegraph question:

"One reason why, perhaps, we have not had a postal telegraph long ago has been the fact of the close relations existing between the Western Union Telegraph Company and the Associated Press, which latter corporation has daily educated public opinion in the opposite direction. Mr. Wiman (a Western Union director who had just spoken) is evidently a fair man. But unless Mr. Wiman sees to it that both sides of this question, as presented here to-day, are sent out with equal fairness over the wires, you may be sure that all the points he has made will go flashing

[33] Sen. Rep. 577, p. 18, testimony of William Henry Smith, manager Associated Press.

[34] Sen. Rep. 624, 43-2, p. 3.

[35] Sen. Rep. 577, 48-1, testimony, p. 19.

out to all parts of this country, and that all those that have been made against him will find their resting place only in the published proceedings of the National Board of Trade. [Laughter and applause.] "[36]

It was well known that Dr. Green's testimony in behalf of the Western Union had been sent in full to leading papers all over the country *free of charge*, while it was impossible to get anything but very meagre and unsatisfactory reports of the opposing testimony, even on payment of the ordinary press rates. The only way to get such information was to employ a special correspondent and pay special telegraph rates.

When England bought the telegraph a strong effort was made to counteract the effect of the move upon public action on this country. The British post office assumed control Feb. 1, 1870.

"Immediately thereafter efforts were made to discredit the British system in this country, and many were the ocean cable despatches received by the Associated Press and sent to the country by the Western Union Telegraph Company calculated to give an entirely false impression to the public."[37]

One of these despatches was sent to the secretary of the British post office, and he said, "The cable despatch which you enclosed in your letter is nothing else than a series of malicious exaggerations with the very slightest groundwork of truth in them, strung together for the purpose of damaging your plan" of establishing a postal telegraph in America.[38]

Not only does the press monopoly select and color the news, it even forbids the papers receiving such news to criticise it.[39]

"The Associated Press has notified newspapers that they would withhold the news from all papers that criticised such despatches. This power was exercised in the case of the Petersburgh *Index*."[40]

Such an order we might expect from the Czar of Russia, but in America it is astounding, until we remember that a great industrial monopoly and a Czar are next of kin and very like in disposition and methods of action.

Freedom in temperate criticism and the sober expression of honest thought is one of the fundamental and all-important rights of man. No person or corporation should have the power to suppress criticism upon its own conduct or upon any other subject whatever.

---

36 Bingham committee, Thurber, p. 24.

37 H. Rep. 114, p. 8.

38 Ibid.

39 "The press reports, by the rule of the New York Associated Press, cannot be criticised by any paper receiving them." Sen. Rep. 624, 43-2, p. 3.

40 Sen. Rep. 242, 43-1, p. 3, Sen. Rep. 624, 43-2, p. 2, and Sen. Rep. 577, part II., p. 65.

No person or corporation should have the power to mould the daily news, or exclude any paper from printing it on equal terms with its rivals. It is doubtless true that there are too many newspapers already,[41] but the Western Union and the Associated Press are not the proper ones to decide whether or not a new paper shall be started or an old one depart this life. The success of a paper should depend upon its merit, not upon the favor of the Western Union or the assent of other papers.

It is a good thing to gather the news to a central point and edit it to the country. An enormous amount of useless repetition is thereby avoided, and a better distribution of news secured. But very careful provision should be made to insure the impartiality of such editing and distributing. If the association were open to all newspapers on equal terms, and the editor-in-chief were elected by all the newspapers, each casting one vote, and were sworn to impartial service, subject to removal by a vote of dissatisfaction on the part of fifteen or twenty per cent of the constituent papers, — if any paper or papers choosing to pay extra for a special representative could have one entitled to a seat in the editing chamber with full access to all materials received, and authority to add a supplement to the chief's report, to cover important matters omitted or misstated by the chief, — if the report and supplements in full were sent to central points in various parts of the country, set up and sold as plate matter, at uniform rates, to all subscribing papers, — if each and every paper were free to criticise the despatches, — then we should have laid the foundation for a free and impartial press. The very presence of the supplemental editors would probably, as a rule, prevent the necessity of supplemental reports by their potential effect upon the chief's reports.

The first step toward the establishment of an unfettered press is a National Telegraph System carrying the news or

[41] Our helter-skelter competition has given us about one paper to seven hundred voters — in many an Eastern town one to three hundred voters. Co-operation and common sense will doubtless greatly diminish the number in the future. We shall have a paper to represent each great interest as the *Christian Advocate* represents the Methodists, the *Examiner* the Baptists, the *Outlook* the Congregationalists, the *Youth's Companion* the instruction and entertainment of youth, etc. The church papers will probably some time unite into one representative of Christian life. We shall have other papers that represent the thought of great men, as the *Liberator* represented Garrison. But the great mass of local papers that people take to keep on the smooth side of the editors will die the death that sooner or later awaits all rubbish.

renting wires at very low rates on condition of impartial editing and distribution of despatches on some such plan as that outlined above or a better one. The chains of the Allied Monopolies will thus be broken, and the co ordinate growth of intelligence and co-operation will gradually free the press in larger and larger degree from the limitations placed upon it by ignorance, prejudice, and the strife of competitive business and politics.

I hope the time will come when the news reports in chief and supplemental will be published each day at central points on sheets of uniform size devoted exclusively to condensed and classified statements carefully indexed and divided into sections with black-faced headings. A file of such sheets would constitute a day-book of the world's history free of all extraneous matter. A man could buy the news without purchasing several rods of advertisements, and the cost would probably not exceed twenty-five cents a year to each subscriber. For the local news of towns, bulletin sheets, or, in many cases, bulletin boards would be amply sufficient. Some such organization of the business of distributing news is sure to come because of its inherent economy and its manifest advantages over the infinite confusions, entanglements, and duplications of the present system.

With the growth of co-operation advertising will no longer be a battle of rival wares each seeking to force itself upon the public by the size and multitude of its appeals, but will shrink to the moderate bulk required by its true function of affording information to those upon a quest. The mass of this service will also probably differentiate into a series of bulletins devoted exclusively to advertising.

Freed from the burdens of obtaining, arranging, and printing vast duplications of news and advertisements, the papers will be able to devote themselves to the criticism of men and events, the enlightenment and amusement of mankind, and the moulding of public opinion. Papers would live then, not because they controlled the press despatches or had a large advertising patronage, but because they said something the people wished to hear, because their editors were leaders of thought, selected by the subscribers to represent large co-operative interests as is now the case with the church papers and trade journals, or drawn to the work by their love of it and adopted by a wide constituency because of demonstrated power. In the good time coming

we may hope to get the bulletins of news and advertisements and papers full of the best thoughts of leading thinkers on current events, and all unstained by words we should not wish impressed upon the brain of a lovely child. Why does not some one make a start right now by publishing a daily paper on as high a plane as the *Youth's Companion* weekly, containing the substance of legitimate news, with calm, strong comment, and introduce it into every school in the nation to be read and discussed in a sort of school congress half an hour or so each day? It would do more to teach the boys and girls to think and talk than all the text-books in the world; and growing up on such wholesome food, when they came to be men and women they would demand a clean and honest press, — pardon the digression, it's all a part of the great subject of the distribution of intelligence.

(*To be continued.*)

BIMETALLISM.

BY A. J. UTLEY.

In the discussion of the money question that is now agitating the people throughout the length and breadth of the land, the advocates of gold monometallism insist that we should have money that has "*intrinsic value;*" that the material on which the money stamp is placed should possess an intrinsic value equal to the money value stamped upon it; that gold possesses this property and that silver does not, and for this reason they favor a single gold standard.

Are the premises true? Has gold intrinsic value? If the premises are not true, if gold has no intrinsic value, then some other reason must be assigned for monometallism.

The word intrinsic means internal, inherent, not apparent or accidental, opposed to extrinsic.

Now the fact is, gold has no intrinsic value whatever. All commodities have certain inherent or intrinsic properties which tend to make the particular commodity more or less desirable, and to the extent that such properties influence the desire for their possession, such inherent properties may enhance their value or ratio of exchange, but value itself is independent of and extrinsic from all commodities.

If value were intrinsic, if it were inherent in a thing, it could not change or fluctuate. If the value of gold or silver were inherent in the metal, the same quantity of metal of the same degree of fineness would always be of the same value. In 1873, 371¼ grains of pure silver were worth as much in all the markets of the world as 22.2 grains of pure gold. Now they are worth only about one half as much. Is it possible that the intrinsic value of one or both of these metals has changed since 1873? Certainly not. The intrinsic properties of gold and silver are the same now as they were in 1873, as they always have been; but their relative values, when uncontrolled by legislation, are subject to great fluctuations.

Value is a relative term and is necessarily extrinsic. Value is created and controlled by the law of supply and demand. The inherent or intrinsic properties of a thing may

be of such a character as to limit the supply and by limiting the supply may enhance the value; or extrinsic circumstances may increase the demand and by so doing enhance the value; but value always and under all circumstances is determined by the law of supply and demand.

But what say the authorities on this question? Condillac, a celebrated French economist, says:

"The value of a thing is founded on the want of it, or the demand for it. Therefore, if the want is more strongly felt, it gives the thing a greater value; if the want is less felt, it gives it a less value. The value of a thing increases with its scarcity and decreases with its abundance. It may even on account of abundance decrease to nothing. A superfluity, for example, will have no value, if we can make no use of it."

Gide, another French economist, says:

"Value, then, which is the dominating idea of all political economy, denotes nothing more than a fact which, in itself, is very simple, the fact that a thing is more or less desired. Were the word French, we should only have to say value is desirability. Since value arises from desire it proceeds from us rather than from things; as we say nowadays, it is subjective far more than objective. It is not attached to objects which can be perceived; it is born at the moment when desire awakes, and vanishes when it dies out. Like a butterfly, desire flutters from thing to thing, and value abides only where desire rests."

Aristotle defined value as follows:

"Value is not a quality of an object, but an affection of the mind. The sole origin, source, or cause of value is human desire. When there is a demand for things they have value; when the demand increases (the supply remaining the same) the value increases; when the demand decreases the value decreases. When the demand altogether ceases the value is altogether gone."

Prof. Perry, in his work on Political Economy, says:

"A sudden change in the fashion will frequently take away at a stroke one half the value of goods that were fashionable but are so no longer. The matter is all there and the form of the matter is all there, but the value is one half escaped. It is clear that there is no inherent quality called value in anything. Value is the relation of mutual purchase established between two services by their exchange. Value starts in desire, gives birth to efforts, proceeds by estimates, and ends in satisfactions."

Senator Jones, in his great speech delivered in the United States Senate in October, 1893, said:

"Qualities may be said to be inherent in objects, but value being a conception of the mind cannot be intrinsic or inherent. If value were intrinsic, if it resided in an article, it could not be taken from it, and it could not be changed by changes in the number of objects of which value is asserted, or with modifications in the desires of men to become possessed of such articles. Qualities that are inherent do not vary with the shifting degrees of estimation in which they may be held by mankind. Hardness in a stone, gravity in lead do not suffer either augmentation or diminution by reason of any increase or reduction of the appreciation of men. If value were intrinsic in articles it would remain intrinsic whether people wanted them or not. But things can have no economic properties

by and of themselves; those properties exist only because there are people. A thing can have no use unless some one wants to use it; it can have no value unless, in addition to being wanted, some one is willing to incur sacrifice to obtain it."

Prof. Macleod, an eminent English economist, says:

"Value, like distance or an equation, requires two objects. We cannot speak of absolute or intrinsic distance or equality. Single objects cannot be distant or equal. If we are told that an object is distant, or equal, we immediately ask — distant from what? or equal to what? So it is equally clear that a single object cannot have value. We must always ask — value in what? And it is clear that as it is absurd to speak of a single object having absolute or intrinsic distance, or having absolute or intrinsic equality, so it is equally absurd to speak of an object having absolute or intrinsic value."

Barbour, an able writer on economics, who lived about two hundred years ago, said:

"Value is only the price of things; that can never be certain, because to be certain it must at all times and in all places be of the same value; therefore nothing can have intrinsic value. But things have an intrinsic virtue in themselves, which in all places have the same virtue: as the loadstone to attract iron, and the several qualities which belong to herbs and drugs. But these things though they may have great virtue may be of small value or no price according to the place where they are plenty or scarce. Things have no value in themselves: it is opinion and fashion brings them into use and gives them value."

The International Cyclopædia, published in Boston in 1894, defines value as follows:

"Value, in political economy, is one of those terms that demand attention more for the clearing away of its application to vague and fallacious uses than for an attempt to give it a strict scientific definition. It has a distinct meaning only when it is used as 'value in exchange' and between things coexisting in time and place. Two articles each of which will bring $25 in Boston are equivalent in value there. Cost has nothing to do with value. If a bale of silk costs $500, and if from disease of the silk-worm the price of the commodity rises so that it will bring $750, that is its value; so also if there be a fall in price so that it will only bring $375, that is its value."

Prof. Jevons, in his work on Political Economy, says:

"A student of economics has no hope of ever being clear and correct in his ideas of the science if he thinks of value as at all a *thing* or an *object* or even as anything which lies in a thing or object. Persons are thus led to speak of such a *nonentity as intrinsic value*. There are doubtless qualities inherent in such a substance as gold or iron which influence its value; but the word value, so far as it can be correctly used, merely expresses the circumstance of its exchanging in a certain ratio for some other substance.

"Value in exchange expresses nothing but a ratio, and the term should not be used in any other sense. To speak simply of the value of an ounce of gold is as absurd as to speak of the *ratio of the number seventeen*. What is the ratio of the number seventeen? The question admits of no answer, for there must be another number named in order to make a ratio; and the ratio will differ according to the number suggested."

In a work entitled "Money and Mechanism of Exchange," Prof. Jevons says:

"It has been usual to call the value of the metal contained in coin the

intrinsic value of the coin; but this use of the word intrinsic is likely to give rise to fallacious notions concerning value, which is *never* an intrinsic property or existence, but merely a circumstance or external relation."

There are certain properties in gold that make it desirable for certain uses independent of legislation, but gold derives its chief value from the fact that by virtue of law a certain quantity of it may be coined into a dollar and when so coined the dollar is a legal tender and lawful money. If the demand for it as a money metal is increased (as it would be by the demonetization of silver), its value will be increased; while, on the other hand, if gold should be demonetized its value would almost entirely disappear. The stock of gold now in use as money amounts to something more than $3,500,000,000. There is enough in stock to supply the demand for use in the arts for seventy years. The artisan will not pay much for material that must be kept in stock seventy years before consumption. It is safe to say that if gold should be demonetized, if the fictitious value given it by law should be taken from it, 22.2 grains of gold would not bring ten cents in the markets of the world; that 90 per cent of the present value of gold is fictitious and caused solely by legislation.

I have devoted considerable space to the discussion of the phrase "intrinsic value," because it has been so long and so persistently asserted by the money kings, and especially by the gold monometallists, that gold has "intrinsic value," that it is a "standard of value" and a "measure of value," that many people who have made no special study of economics have been and are deceived, and because no man can understand the true character and function of money until he realizes the fact that there is no intrinsic value in anything. On account of the importance of a correct understanding of the meaning of the word value I was not content with a simple statement of the fact that value is a relative term, and could not be intrinsic or inherent in anything; but I have introduced authorities that prove beyond the possibility of a doubt that there is no intrinsic value in the so-called precious metals, and that, consequently, the plea for gold money on account of its supposed intrinsic value is fallacious.

It is claimed by the gold-standard men that if we restore to silver its ancient right of free and unlimited coinage the United States would become the dumping-ground of all the cheap silver in the world.

If the United States should restore to silver its ancient right of free and unlimited coinage there would be no cheap silver in the world. The reason why silver is worth less (measured by gold) now than it was in 1873 is because and only because of adverse legislation; and when the laws that discriminate against silver are repealed, silver will resume its ancient place at the ratio existing prior to such adverse legislation.

Men tell us that you cannot legislate value into a thing nor out of a thing, but that value is controlled by the inexorable law of supply and demand. Now, while it is true that value is controlled by the law of supply and demand, it is also true that anything which tends to increase the demand for a thing (the supply remaining the same) must necessarily enhance its value; and if the legislative demand is for the total supply, and if the legislative demand fixes a price at which the total supply will be received, it necessarily follows that the value of the commodity so fixed cannot fall below the price fixed. It might rise temporarily slightly above the legislative limit, but it could not by any possibility fall below it.

In order, however, to have this effect, the legislative demand must be for the total available supply. The reason why the Bland Bill or the Sherman Act did not restore silver to its ancient place as a money metal, at the ratio previously existing between gold and silver, was because the demand was not for the total available supply; and an act to coin the American product, if such an act should be passed, would fail for the same reason.

That legislation does influence values is not only self-evident, it is historic. When the Bland Bill was passed in 1878 (which provided for the coinage of not less than $2,000,000 worth of silver per month) it created a demand for silver bullion that did not exist prior to its passage, and by reason of this increased demand, caused solely by legislation, silver rapidly advanced in value in all the markets of the world. Again, in 1890, when the United States Senate passed a free-coinage bill, and it was generally understood that it would pass the House, silver bullion rose in value in a few days from 94 cents per ounce to $1.20 per ounce, not only in the United States, but also in Europe. And when legislation was adverse to silver in India in 1893, silver fell almost as much in value in twenty-four hours. In view of all of these facts

can there be any doubt that legislation did, in the instances named, affect the value of silver bullion?

If silver had free and unlimited coinage at the ratio of 16 to 1 in the United States, silver bullion in this country would be worth $1.29 per ounce. No one disputes this proposition; it is self-evident. What would it be worth in London, Paris, or Berlin? If the coinage were free and unlimited in the United States and there were no demand in Europe or Asia for this European bullion, it would be worth the mint price in the United States, less the cost of transportation to the United States; there can be no question about it.

Mr. Jevons, in his "Theory of Political Economy," published in 1879, page 137, says:

> "The ratio of equivalent weights of silver and gold, which had never before risen much above 16 to 1, commenced to rise in 1874, and was at one time (July, 1876) as high as 22.5 to 1 in the London markets. Though it has since fallen, the ratio continues to be subject to frequent considerable oscillations. The great production of silver in Nevada may contribute somewhat to this extraordinary result, but the principal cause must be the suspension of the French law of the double standard and the demonetization of silver in Germany, Scandinavia, and elsewhere."

Mr. Jevons says the *principal* cause of the divergence in the ratio between gold and silver was the "suspension of the French law of the double standard and the demonetization of silver in Germany, Scandinavia, and elsewhere."

I propose to show that the only cause of the divergence between the metals was the adverse silver legislation in the United States and elsewhere, and that the great production of silver in Nevada had nothing to do with it.

Mr. Laughlin, in his work on Political Economy, publishes a chart by which he shows that the value of the world's production of gold from 1493 to 1850 was $3,314,550,000, and the value of the silver produced during the same time was $7,358,450,000, or more than twice as much in value of silver as of gold. From the same chart it appears that the value of the gold produced from 1850 to 1885 was $4,425,525,000, and that the value of the silver produced during the same time was $2,397,475,000, only a little more than one half as much in value of silver as gold. During the first period named the ratio between gold and silver was much lower than during the second period. If the amount of the production had a controlling influence or any influence over the value of the bullion, the reverse of this would have been true.

If the legislative demand is for the total available supply

of both gold and silver at a certain ratio, it necessarily follows that, while the value of the metals may fluctuate as compared with commodities, the ratio between the metals will remain unchanged. Of course there will be slight fluctuations arising from local causes. While neither of the metals can fall below the coinage value, either of them may temporarily rise above it on account of some local demand. If silver should rise in value the ratio would fall. If gold should rise in value the ratio would rise. But as soon as the local demand was satisfied the former ratio would be restored. If the rise or fall in either of the metals was general, caused by an abundant yield of the mines or from any other reason, so long as free and unlimited coinage was guaranteed to both metals the metal changing in value would carry the other with it.

In proof of the above proposition, I need only cite the facts shown by Mr. Jevons, that the value of gold fell 46 per cent between 1798 and 1809, and that from 1809 to 1849 it appreciated 145 per cent.

In 1798 the commercial ratio between gold and silver was 15.59 to 1, in 1809 it was 15.96 to 1, and in the mean time gold had fallen in value 46 per cent. If gold had not carried silver down with it, the ratio between gold and silver in 1809 would have been 8.42 to 1. The ratio between gold and silver in 1809 was, as we have seen, 15.96 to 1, in 1849 it was 15.78 to 1, only a trifling fluctuation, but in the mean time gold had appreciated in value 145 per cent. In 1809 15.96 pounds of silver were equal in value to one pound of gold, in 1849 gold had appreciated 145 per cent, and if it had not carried silver up with it, it would have taken, in 1849, 39.68 pounds of silver to buy one pound of gold. But, as a matter of fact, the ratio between gold and silver in 1849 was 15.78, a trifle lower than before the appreciation of gold. Is it not conclusively established from the above facts that a general rise or fall in the value of either of the metals will carry the other with it as long as free and unlimited coinage is guaranteed to both? and is it not necessarily true that the mass of both metals combined would be less liable to serious fluctation in value than either standing alone would be?

Is it not also conclusively established from the foregoing facts that legislation can, by creating a demand for the total available supply of an article at a fixed price, prevent the article from falling below the price fixed, and that when the

legislative demand is for the total available supply of two metals such as gold and silver, to be used for a common purpose, and a ratio is established at which the total supply will be received, the ratio so fixed between the metals will remain substantially invariable? The metals may rise or fall in value as measured by commodities, but they cannot change in value as measured by each other, except only such slight variations as may be produced by excessive local demands for either of the metals, and such slight variations will be temporary only.

That legislation may establish and maintain any ratio between gold and silver, so long as they both have free and unlimited coinage, and that the ratio established by the country producing the greatest amount or able to control the greatest amount of bullion of either of the metals will have a controlling influence, is a fact well authenticated by history.

The Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. XXII., page 73, says:

"In Spain, by the edict of Medina (1497), the ratio was 10¾. When America was first plundered the first fruits were gold, not silver; whereupon Spain, in 1546, and before the wealth of the silver mines of Potosi was known, raised the value of gold to 13⅜, and, as Spain then monopolized the supply of the precious metals, the rest of the world was obliged to acquiesce in her valuation. During the following century Portugal obtained such immense quantities of gold from the East Indies, Japan, and Brazil, that the value of her imports of this metal exceeded £3,000,000 a year, whilst those of Spain had dwindled to £500,000 in gold, and had only increased to £2,500,000 in silver. Portugal now governed the ratio, and in 1688 raised the value of gold to sixteen times that of silver. Except during a brief period of forty years this ratio has ever since been maintained in Spanish and British America and the United States. A century later the spoils of the Orient were exhausted, the Brazilian placers began to decline, and Portugal lost her importance. Spain thus again got control of the ratio, and, as her colonial produce was chiefly silver, she raised its value in 1775 from one sixteenth to one fifteenth and a half that of gold for the Peninsula, permitting it to remain at one sixteenth in the colonies. France, whose previous ratio (that of 1726) was 14½, adopted the Spanish ratio of 15½ in 1785, and has adhered to it ever since. These three historical ratios, and the bearing of each upon the others, have influenced all legislation on the subject, and, where there was no legislation, have governed the bullion market for more than two centuries."

From the foregoing historical account of the ratio between gold and silver it appears that any nation producing the greatest amount of the precious metals has always been able to control the ratio and fix the relative values of the metals.

When Spain made her gold discoveries in America and obtained a considerable supply of this metal and anticipated still larger gold discoveries, she became master of the situation and at one stroke of the pen arbitrarily raised the value

of gold from $10\frac{3}{4}$ to 1 to $13\frac{1}{3}$ to 1, and "*the rest of the world was obliged to acquiesce in her valuation.*" Why? Because she controlled the supply.

A century afterward the little kingdom of Portugal, not one quarter as large as the State of California, and at that time not producing one tenth of the wealth now produced in California, was able to come to the front and dictate to the world what the ratio should be between gold and silver, simply because at that time she was producing more gold than any other nation in the world. She exercised her prerogative as the greatest gold producer, and arbitrarily raised the value of gold from $13\frac{1}{3}$ to 1 to 16 to 1, *and the rest of the world was obliged to acquiesce in her valuation.*

A century later, the mines theretofore controlled by Portugal having become exhausted, "Portugal lost her importance," and Spain, then being a heavy producer of silver, again got control of the ratio and raised the value of silver, or reduced that of gold, which amounts to the same thing, from 16 to 1 to $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, which ratio has remained the European ratio since that time (1775). It also appears from the historical account quoted from the Britannica that the metal of which there was the greatest production was always the one that was increased in value.

From the above and foregoing is it not conclusively shown that the relative value of gold and silver, so long as they have free and unlimited coinage, is not influenced in the slightest degree by the amount of bullion that may be produced of either of the metals? In the instances given by Laughlin when the greatest production was silver, silver was more valuable when measured by gold; and when the greatest production was gold, then gold was more valuable when measured by silver. And in the instances cited in the Britannica it was the metal of which there was the greatest production that was increased in value in every instance. It is the law and not the amount of the production that fixes and maintains the relative value of the metals.

What are the facts to-day as to the production of silver, and where is it being produced?

The report of the Director of the Mint dated June 24, 1894, shows that the world's production of silver for the year 1893, rated at the ratio of 16 to 1, amounted to $208,371,000. Of this amount the United States produced $77,575,700, and Mexico produced $57,375,600. The amount produced in the United States and Mexico was $134,951,300, and all

the balance of the world produced $73,419,700. But of this $73,419,700 the South American and Central American States, all of which are silver-using countries and equally interested with the United States in maintaining the price of silver, produced $25,044,700, and the Dominion of Canada produced $321,400, which makes a total production in America of $160,317,400, and all the balance of the world produced only $48,053,600. The amount actually produced in Europe was $19,155,100. The amount produced in Great Britain, the country that now assumes the prerogative of fixing the value of the silver bullion of the world, was $327,700. England's production of silver is less than two mills on the dollar of the total production. Instead of being able to dictate the value of silver bullion, she ought not to be consulted at all. She should have no voice in the matter. In fact Europe combined could not, as against the wishes of America, exert much, if any, influence on the value of silver. The amount of their production or of their actual consumption of silver is too trifling to have any material influence on its market value. Europe requires a certain amount of silver bullion annually to keep up her supply of token money, even though she might discontinue its use as money of ultimate or final redemption. The amount now being consumed by her for coinage purposes averages about $32,000,000 annually, to which if you add the amount consumed by her in the arts it will be found that instead of having silver to sell, she annually consumes more than double the amount of silver that she produces.

It may be a fine thing for Europe to allow her to fix the price of silver bullion, but it is contrary to all precedent, and an outrage on the silver-producing countries. America produces more than three times as much silver as all the balance of the world, and more than ten times as much as the amount produced in Europe.

The total amount of silver produced in the world, outside of America, is not sufficient to supply the demands of Europe for coinage purposes and for use in the arts. It is not sufficient to supply the demand of India for coinage purposes alone. It would hardly be sufficient to keep the silver gods of China in decent repair, to say nothing about the necessity of a new one now and then.

Mexico, and in fact all of the South American and Central American States, are equally interested with us in maintaining the price of silver bullion, and will gladly co-operate

with us in any effort we may make to restore silver to its former position and value in the monetary system of the world. It would be an act of imbecility for America, producing as it does more than three fourths of the silver produced in the world, and more than ten times as much as the European production, to allow Europe to fix the price of our silver bullion. We have no interests in common with Europe on the silver question. We are heavy producers of silver. We have silver to sell. It is to our interest to maintain the price of silver bullion. Europe is a heavy consumer of silver. She does not produce enough to supply her demands. She must enter the market and buy silver, not only for coinage purposes, but for use in the arts. It is to her interest to buy silver at as low a price as possible. We cannot combine with Europe. Let us combine with those who have interests in common with us.

America commands the supply of silver bullion. The annual consumption of silver for coinage purposes, notwithstanding the suspension of the coinage of silver by the Latin Union, averaged for the years 1891–2–3 over $143,000,000, and the consumption in the arts for the same years averaged over $27,000,000 (see report of Director of the Mint for 1894), making a total annual consumption of $170,000,000, only $48,000,000 of which are produced outside of America. After consuming all the silver bullion produced outside of America, the world must buy from us $122,000,000 worth of silver bullion annually for coinage purposes, and they must pay the price fixed by us if we have manhood enough left to fix a price. In fact, the world has been paying at the rate of about $1.29 per ounce for silver bullion ever since 1873, while we have received on an average only about two thirds that amount, and the speculators of Europe have been pocketing the difference. Is it not about time to dispense with the European middleman and sell direct to the consumer at actual value?

How about the gold production of the world?

The report of the Director of the Mint shows that the world's production of gold for the year 1893 was $155,521,700, and that the amount produced in the various countries was as follows:

America	$49,050,700
Europe	28,165,100
Asia	13,311,500
Africa	29,305,800
Australasia	35,688,600
Total	$155,521,700

It appears from the above and foregoing that America is not only the greatest producer of silver in the world, but that she is also the greatest producer of gold. Certainly, then, according to precedent, she has the right to fix the ratio between the metals, and when she exercises her prerogative and fixes the ratio *the world would be obliged to acquiesce in her valuation.*

The total output of gold of America, Asia, and Russia, all of which are silver-using countries, is $87,168,400, and the production of the rest of the world is but $68,353,300, and of this amount $29,305,800 is produced in Africa. Nearly all of the African gold is produced in the South African Republic, a pure democracy in Southern Africa. Africa has but little interest in monetary affairs, and is never consulted on monetary matters. If the African product is deducted, or not counted on either side, we have for the world's annual production, exclusive of Africa, $126,215,900, of which America, Asia, and Russia produce $87,168,400, and the balance of the world produces $39,047,500.

The amount of gold produced in the countries now clamoring for a single gold standard is not enough by more than $11,000,000 to supply the demand for gold for use in the arts, even after counting in Australasia with the gold monometallists. All the gold produced in these countries and $11,000,000 worth of that produced in silver-using countries would be consumed in the arts before a single dollar's worth would be available for coinage purposes.

The amount of gold produced in Europe, exclusive of Russia, — and Russia is not clamoring for gold, Russia is a silver-standard country to-day, — is only $3,358,900, or a trifle more than two per cent of the total output. The greatest objection to silver comes from England. England's bitter fight against silver dates from 1816, and from that time until the present she has constantly opposed its use as money. How much gold does she produce? In 1893 she produced the enormous sum of $42,300, less than three tenths of one mill on the dollar of the world's production for that year. To allow a country virtually producing no gold or silver to dictate to the bullion-producing countries what the ratio between the metals shall be, or to have any influence whatever in fixing the ratio, or to be even consulted in any manner, is an outrage on the intelligence of the rest of the world.

But it may be claimed that Great Britain should be credited

with the gold produced in her colonies and dependencies. If this was done let us see how the account would stand.

Gold produced in	Great Britain	. . . . .	$42,300
" "	" Australasia	. . . . .	35,688,600
" "	" Dominion of Canada	. . .	927,200
" "	" British India	. . . .	3,813,600
" "	" British Guiana	. . . .	2,567,400
			$43,039,100

But of the gold produced in Australasia $32,059,354 was coined into money in the Australian Mint (see report of Director of the Mint), consequently that amount of the Australian bullion could not have been exported to England; therefore this amount must be deducted, which leaves $10,979,746 as the total supply that the mother country could by any possibility have received from her colonies.

It may, however, be claimed that England should have credit for at least a part of the African output. Undoubtedly a portion of the gold mined in Africa is taken out by English operators, but I have no means of ascertaining what proportion. The gold mines of Africa are common plunder for the entire world. Every nationality has its representatives in Africa digging for gold; and as nine tenths of the world to day are using silver as full legal tender money, all of whom are interested in maintaining the value of silver, I take it for granted that the nine tenths can get away with as much African gold bullion as the other one tenth, consequently I leave the African output entirely out of the case. If, however, Great Britain controlled all of it she would still have less than the American output. If she controlled all the African gold she would still have less than the demand for consumption in the arts, to say nothing about controlling the coinage ratio of the world.

If in 1546 Spain, simply because she was the greatest producer of gold, was able to arbitrarily establish and maintain for one hundred years the ratio between gold and silver, and then Portugal, because she had become the greatest producer of gold, was able to arbitrarily raise its value as compared with silver and maintain her ratio for another hundred years, and if Spain, then having become again the greatest producer of the precious metals, but now, silver being the metal of which there was the greatest production, by her arbitrary edict was able to raise the value of silver as measured by gold, and the rest of the world was obliged to acquiesce in these several valuations so fixed first by Spain,

then by Portugal, and afterward by Spain again, simply because at the time the several ratios were fixed these nations were the greatest producers of gold or silver, what is to prevent the United States with her immense commerce, and annually producing, as she does, hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of the absolute necessaries of life that Europe needs and must have and can procure nowhere else, and controlling as she does a monopoly of both gold and silver, what is to prevent her from establishing and maintaining any ratio between the metals that she sees fit to establish? Nothing but the ignorance, stupidity, cowardice, or rascality of the members of our National Legislature.

Is there any danger of our getting too much silver money in the United States? The report of the Director of the Mint published in 1893 shows that the total amount of silver coin now in existence is $4,042,700,000. If we had all of it, it would make a *per capita* circulation of about $58 for our present population, and that is not too much money for the business interests of this country. France has nearly that sum *per capita*, and France is now the most prosperous country in the world.

In 1865 and 1866 we had in the United States, including the seven-thirty notes and the various other issues that were by law a legal tender and lawful money, a greater *per capita* circulation than all the silver in the world would give us now; and it must be conceded that we then had the most prosperous times this country ever experienced. Even Hugh McCulloch admitted that at that time "the people were prosperous and comparatively free from debt."

But it is insisted by the gold-standard men that silver is too bulky and heavy to be used as money, that the silver we now have will not circulate, and that the government has impoverished itself already in building vaults in which to store it.

So far as its circulation as money is concerned we now have a law allowing any person who has ten or more silver dollars to deposit them with the Treasurer or any Assistant Treasurer of the United States and receive silver certificates therefor; and the only reason so much silver is now on deposit is because the people prefer the certificates. Every silver dollar now on deposit in the United States Treasury is discharging the money function by its paper representative. Silver certificates could be advantageously used in the United States for every dollar of silver in existence in the world.

All the coined silver in the world could be put into a single room sixty-six feet square and sixty-six feet high. It would not take a very large vault to hold all of it; and all this talk about impoverishing the government to build vaults to hold our silver is the veriest nonsense.

But what is the probability of our getting all the silver in the world or any considerable portion of it?

About one half of the silver in the world is in India and China. India and China are silver-using countries. They do not use gold as money. China and India now are, and for many years have been, heavy consumers of silver. In order to obtain the amount of silver required by them they have established a ratio of 15 to 1. Every ounce of silver they have costs them $1.37. This certainly is not cheap silver. Not a dollar's worth of this silver could be brought to the United States without a loss of at least seven per cent to the shipper, besides cost of transportation. No one supposes, even the gold-standard men do not claim, that any silver would come to this country from Asia.

The total amount of silver in Europe is $1,484,000,000, all of which is coined into money, none of it at a higher ratio than 15½ to 1, and most of it at a much lower ratio. None of the European silver is cheap silver, and none of it could be shipped to this country without a loss of at least three per cent to the shipper besides cost of transportation. None of it can be spared from the circulating medium of the several nations where it is now being used as money.

Not only can none of the stock now on hand be spared, but the demand in Europe is for more silver. In 1893 the amount of silver coined in Europe was over $34,000,000. And the amount coined for the years 1891–2–3 averaged over $32,000,000 annually (see Report of Director of the Mint for 1894). Europe has no silver to spare. The United States, under free and unlimited coinage, instead of importing silver, would continue in the future as she has been in the past, a large exporter of silver bullion.

It is insisted by the gold-standard advocates that the free coinage of silver would drive gold out of the country. Of course no person can know that such would be the result, he can only guess that such a thing might happen. These same men told us that the compulsory coinage of silver under the Bland Act would drive all the gold out of the country, but it did not do so. The report of the Director of the Mint

shows that in 1878, when the Bland Act became a law, there was but $213,000,000 in gold in the United States, and that from that time until 1893 there was coined in the United States from $2,000,000 to $4,000,000 of silver every month, and that in 1893 we had $646,000,000 in gold in the United States. Instead of driving out the gold there was a constant stream of gold flowing into the country. They were certainly false prophets in 1878, and we have no evidence that they have received any special inspiration since that time. There is not a particle of danger of silver driving gold out of the country. Foreign demand for gold may cause its exportation, but silver will not drive it out of the country.

The report of the Director of the Mint for the year ending June 30, 1894, on page 57, shows that the world's production of silver for the years 1891, 1892, and 1893 amounted to $583,464,000, rated at the ratio of 16 to 1. The same report shows (page 54) that the annual consumption of silver for use in the arts is $27,554,280. This will give a total consumption in the arts for the three years of $82,662,840. On page 270 the same report shows that the silver coinage of the world for the same time was $430,169,558. If these figures are correct, — and without doubt they are substantially true, — there was a surplus left over each year, on an average, of $23,547,200 worth of silver bullion.

The loss of silver from abrasion and from other causes is enormous. The Director of the Mint published a tabulated statement in 1893, from which it appears that the world's production of silver from 1492 to 1893, a period of four hundred years, was $9,726,072,000, and that the total amount of silver money in actual existence in 1893 was $4,042,700,000, less than one half of the amount produced.

With such a ratio of loss, I think any fair-minded man will concede that the $23,547,200 yearly surplus will not be more than sufficient to make up the loss from abrasion and accident to the stock of coin now in existence.

Is there enough gold to furnish the people with the necessary circulating medium? Turning again to the report of the Director of the Mint for 1894, we find (on page 57) that the world's production of gold for the years 1891–2–3 amounted to $432,470,000, or an annual average production of $144,118,666. On page 53 of the same report it is shown that the annual consumption of gold in the arts is $50,177,300. This leaves for coinage purposes $93,941,366.

If gold is to be the money of the world, we shall find, by dividing the amount of gold available for coinage purposes by the population of the world, that it would give us an annual increase in the circulating medium of six cents *per capita*, providing none of the stock on hand was lost or destroyed.

But the advocates of the gold standard insist that it is not fair to divide the available supply by the total population of the world, because they say a large proportion of the people of the world do not use gold as money. Very well, suppose only one fourth of the people use gold as money; then the annual *per capita* increase in circulation, provided none of the stock on hand be lost or destroyed in any manner, would be twenty-four cents. But would there not be some loss from abrasion and accidents? The Director of the Mint, in the tables heretofore referred to, published in 1893, shows that the world's production of gold since 1492 amounts to $8,204,303,000, and that the total supply of gold money in existence Aug. 16, 1893, was $3,582,605,000. This shows a tremendous loss of gold, particularly when we take into consideration the fact that more than two thirds of the eight billion dollars' worth of gold was produced within the last hundred years. There can be no question but that with a single gold standard there must be a constantly diminishing volume of money.

None of the nations of Europe are benefited by the demonetization of silver except England, and all of them, with the exception of England, would follow the United States in its remonetization.

England is the great creditor nation of the world; her imports are largely in excess of her exports; she is therefore interested in having dear money and cheap commodities. If commodities are cheap and money dear, but little money will be required to settle her balances of trade; and if money is dear, that is, if its purchasing power is great, the amount received as fixed charges on the interest-bearing obligations she holds against other nations and the people of other nationalities will be much more valuable, and will go farther in paying for such commodities as she must obtain from abroad than it would with a large volume of money in circulation.

Again, England, or English capitalists, who control the financial policy of England, are making large sums of money

annually in buying silver bullion at much less than its coinage value from the American producer and exchanging it in India and other silver-using countries at its full coinage value for wheat, cotton, and other commodities for import into England. England will not agree to international bimetallism. It is not necessary to have her co-operation in order to maintain bimetallism.

Bimetallism has existed since the first dawn of civilization; England, however, as long ago as in the first half of the eighteenth century favored monometallism. Desiring dear money and cheap commodities, she exerted all the influence she possesses in favor of the discontinuance of the use of one of the metals; and believing that silver would be the most abundant and that it was a plebeian money, the money of the common people, she sought to discredit it. Dutot in 1739, Dessortous in 1790, and Lord Liverpool in 1808, as the champions of the aristocracy and money lords of England, urged upon Parliament the propriety of monometallism. Finally, in 1816, silver was demonetized. Notwithstanding the fact, however, of the demonetization of silver by England, bimetallism was still maintained, all the mints of the world, except those of England, were still open to the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and silver did not depreciate a single point in value as compared with gold. England could accomplish nothing alone. Although she did all that she could do to discredit silver, silver remained on a parity with gold always at a ratio below 16 to 1, even in the London market, at all times between 1816 and 1873. It was not until after the demonetization of silver by the United States, the greatest silver-producing country in the world, that silver began to decline in value as measured by gold.

A peculiar combination of circumstances favored England in her war against silver in 1872–3. Germany, elated by her victory over France, adopted the single gold standard under the impression that the $1,000,000,000 gold indemnity extorted from France would place her upon a solid financial basis and make her a creditor nation. She obtained her gold standard, but instead of becoming a creditor nation she has so impoverished and degraded the great mass of her people as to imperil the very existence of the empire. Germany sees her mistake and would to-day be glad of any reasonable pretext to return to bimetallism.

France has not demonetized silver, but only temporarily

closed her mints to its free coinage. She was obliged to do this to prevent Germany from unloading her silver upon France for still more French gold. The action of Germany and France, two great commercial nations, induced several of the smaller nations of Europe to discontinue the further coinage of silver, not because they did not like silver money, but to prevent Germany, who had a large stock of silver, from exchanging, after having demonetized it, her silver for their stock of gold.

In the United States in 1873 our currency was paper money. Gold and silver were not used as a medium of exchange. In 1873 an act was passed by Congress entitled "An Act revising and amending the laws relative to the Mint, assay offices, and coinage of the United States."

It is charged that this act, which demonetized silver in the United States, was corruptly passed through both Houses of Congress. Whether British gold was used to corrupt certain members of Congress is not, and probably never will be, positively known. But certain it is that not to exceed half a dozen members of Congress knew at the time of the passage of the act that it demonetized silver, and they said nothing about it in public. Certain it is that President Grant when he signed the act did not know that it demonetized silver. Certain it is that the press of the country, which was represented in both Houses of Congress by their special reporters, knew nothing about it. Certain it is that the people had never petitioned Congress for any such legislation, and did not know that there had been any such until nearly two years after the passage of the act.

The act demonetizing silver in the United States was the most important and far-reaching in its consequences of any act ever passed by Congress, and yet no paper published anywhere in the United States at or near the time of its passage contains any reference to it whatever.

Had the United States at that time been using gold and silver as a medium of exchange, it would not have been possible to pass such an act without close scrutiny by the members of Congress and by the press of the country; but no metallic money was in circulation, and an act to revise the laws of the Mint was at that time not considered of much importance; and with the assurance of the chairman of the committee having the bill in charge that the act under consideration was simply an act revising the laws relative to the

Mint and assay offices, etc., it passed without careful inspection. Such a combination of circumstances is not likely to occur in the United States again, and certainly no act to revise the Mint laws of the United States will ever again pass Congress without careful scrutiny.

It is claimed that free coinage of silver would stimulate production to such an extent that we should soon have too much money, that everybody would rush to the mines, and that in a short time we should be flooded with money. It is quite probable that with the price of commodities as they now are, — wheat fifty cents per bushel, cotton five cents per pound, and other things in proportion, — many people would desert the farm and ranch for the mine, for the reason that they could realize more from their labor as miners than they could from raising commodities.

But it should be borne in mind that the value of money is regulated by the amount of money in circulation, and that as the volume of money was increased, its purchasing power would be correspondingly decreased; that as the purchasing power of money was reduced, commodities would increase in value, and a point would soon be reached where the individual could realize more from his labor in producing commodities than he could by mining silver. As soon as that point was reached the great mass of miners would desert the mine for the farm, and the further increase of money would cease.

If coinage were free and unlimited, and extended to both metals, the system would become self-regulating. When the interests of the people demanded more money, more bullion would be produced; when the demand for money was satisfied, the energies of the people would be employed in producing commodities. The only thing that could possibly interfere with this automatic regulation would be the exhaustion of the gold and silver mines, or the discovery of immense deposits of the so-called precious metals in excess of the demand for money, — neither of which events is likely to occur. But should either of these things happen, it would only be necessary to limit the coinage, or use some other commodity as the bearer of the money stamp as the representative of the money function. It is not necessary, however, to cross this bridge until we get to it.

If there is a large volume of money in circulation it will find its way into the hands of the people and it cannot be so easily cornered by trusts, syndicates, and combines; but if

the volume of money is small, in proportion to the demand, it can be cornered by the money king. If the volume of money is small, its purchasing power is great and commodities cheap, and the creditor class, the men with fixed incomes and large capital, can manipulate the money and control the destiny of the people.

There are thousands of men in moderate circumstances, men who to-day are producing commodities which they must sell on the market for less than the cost of production, men whose every interest would be promoted by bimetallism, that are shouting themselves hoarse for a single gold standard, simply because such a standard is demanded by their party leaders. These men are honest and unselfish, but they are blinded by partisan prejudice. But how about the honesty of the leaders, the men who are informed, who know the consequences that must result from the destruction of one half of the money in existence? These men are not honest; but instigated by selfishness or by hope of party supremacy, in utter disregard of the misery, poverty, and absolute serfdom and slavery that must be entailed on the great mass of the people, they have entered into the most gigantic and fiendish conspiracy ever conceived by man to enrich themselves and enslave the world.

While the money-using people have been more than doubled within the last half century, and the demand for money has been more than quadrupled by reason of the immense advance in productive industry, these men propose to destroy one half of the money in existence and prevent the people from making any more.

If a single gold standard is adopted, the annual production of gold will not be sufficient to supply the demand for use in the arts and keep the old stock good. If the single gold standard can be forced upon South America and Asia, gold must inevitably appreciate to at least four times its present value, commodities must decline to one fourth of the present price, and not a dollar for all time to come can be added to the circulating medium, but on the contrary there must be a constantly diminishing volume of money.

This is the contest. If the money kings can force gold monometallism upon the world they will succeed in establishing the most gigantic moneyed aristocracy among the rich, and the worst system of peonage, serfdom, and slavery among the masses that has ever cursed the human race.

A PROPHET OF FREEDOM.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

O Freedom! if to me belong
Nor mighty Milton's gift divine,
Nor Marvell's wit and graceful song,
Still with a love as deep and strong
As theirs I lay, like them, my best gifts on thy shrine!
— *Whittier.*

Or should he deem wrong there at the public weal,
Lo! the whole man seemed girt with flashing steel,
His glance a sword thrust, and his words of ire
Like thunder tones from some old prophet's lyre. — *Hayne.*

We already see, and the future will see it more clearly, that no party ever did a vaster work than his party; that he, like Hampden and Milton, is a character not produced in common times. — *E. C. Stedman.*

In the history of many an individual, especially among those who have left their impress on their age, there comes a time when the trend of life seems to turn on the most insignificant happening. This apparently destiny-shaping event or decision does not, of course, change the character of the individual, making him good or bad, when before he had been the opposite, although it may greatly strengthen and develop the good or bad characteristics of his nature; for it must be borne in mind that behind the momentous though seemingly unimportant happening is the individual's personality with its dower of sunshine or shadow received through the complex and interblended influences of heredity and prenatal and postnatal conditions. There is the brain with its potential grasp — its imagination and the marvellous alchemic power by which ideas are transmuted into living agencies capable of influencing other minds and shaping the destiny of nations and civilizations. There is the conscience, awake or asleep, but ever present. There is the soul, awaiting the moving of the waters by the Spirit of God. Thus this trivial something which is so influential if not so absolutely destiny-fixing in character, acts as a branch which falling from a tree changes the course of a river near its source so that it flows into the ocean hundreds of miles from where it would have entered the sea had nothing deflected its current. Does anything *happen* in our world? Have the *ifs* of history any real place in serious contemplation? Is man a creature of free will or of destiny? Or do both these

agencies act and react upon each other? I incline to think the last view correct. But the fact that the most momentous events in the history of humanity seem frequently to have hung on the most trivial occurrences, often the will of a fragile child (as, for example, in the case of the Maid of Orleans), affords a most interesting subject for speculation. And so with the lives of many who have powerfully influenced the brain and conscience of their fellowmen; frequently it seems that the current of their destiny has veered at the whim of chance or turned at the beck of a trifling circumstance.

In the life of Whittier we find one of these momentous but seemingly insignificant incidents, — the sister secretly sends her brother's poem to William Lloyd Garrison, whose first impulse is to destroy without reading it. The young editor, however, is impelled to glance over the creation and is impressed with its power. He publishes it, and forthwith seeks to ascertain the name of the author; after succeeding, he visits the Whittier homestead and urges the father to look favorably on the suggestion of his son securing a better education. This visit exerts a most pronounced effect upon the youthful poet. It fans to flame his ambition, leading him to make one of those all-compelling resolutions which brook no failure. He succeeds in entering the academy at Haverhill, Mass., and is subsequently launched upon a literary career, editing three different journals during 1828 and 1833.*

For five years after entering public life Whittier practically refrained from casting in his lot with the despised band of Abolitionists, who were then the recipients of all the epithets of abuse which unreasoning prejudice and easy-going conventionalism employ so prodigally when seeking to clothe with ignominy those who insist on arousing the sleeping conscience of society by demanding a higher regard for the demands of justice and morality. The facts involved seem to clearly indicate that it was Garrison's influence which at last turned the scales, leading Whittier after his five years of waiting to boldly embrace the cause of Abolition. Not that his sympathies had at any time been other than with the cause of freedom, but he was a Quaker; he loved peace, and his intuitive mind quickly perceived, what many less far-seeing men failed to appreciate, that the onward movement of the

*The *American Manufacturer*, the Haverhill *Gazette*, and the *New England Review*.

Abolition cause meant riots, mobs, and bloodshed, — perhaps it meant war and the severance of the Union. He hoped to see the cause triumph peaceably, even if so it should be longer in the process of settlement. Then again he had political and literary ambitions which he well knew would be blasted if he espoused the unpopular cause. He shrank from the contempt of his fellowmen, and he dreaded the savage conflict which he felt would follow an aggressive campaign for unconditional abolition. He cherished as long as possible the hope that justice would triumph over greed; but the time came when he could not answer Garrison's arguments to his own satisfaction, for he could not close his eyes to the fact that the trend of politics and the commercial demands and requirements of the time were distinctly opposed to his vision of gradual emancipation. In order to win electoral votes from the South, the two great parties throughout the North were vying with each other in disciplining those members who pleaded for freedom and justice to all men. The cotton gin and the increase of rice culture made the dream of gradual emancipation thoroughly visionary; at least it seemed so to Whittier, who had carefully studied the question with an earnest desire to be convinced that the theory of gradual emancipation was probable, if the facts at all warranted such a conclusion. His hope, however, grew less and less the more he considered the question. Garrison, who through his early friendship with the poet was able to approach nearer to his conscience than any one else, brought all his influence to bear upon the young Quaker to convince him of his duty, and to outweigh Whittier's natural reluctance to engage in aggressive warfare, his supersensitiveness, and his ambition for political honors.

In 1833 Whittier crossed the Rubicon by publishing at his own expense a carefully prepared argument on "Justice and Expediency." This done, he found himself forced into the heart of the band who were struggling for an interpretation of freedom wider than the nation had yet recognized. His poem inscribed to Garrison * reveals his strong attachment to the friend of his youth and his admiration for the moral

*This poem, according to Mr. Packard, was published in the Haverhill *Gazette* in November, 1831; while Mr. William Sloane Kennedy, in his "Life of Whittier," maintains that it was not published until after "Justice and Expediency." If Mr. Packard is correct, it indicates that the strong attachment of the poet for Garrison, and his admiration for the man who was being so generally maligned, led to this outburst of feeling in verse which reflected the sentiments of the youthful editor who was not yet ready to cast in his lines with Garrison.

courage of the foremost apostle of Abolition, as will be seen from these stanzas:

Champion of those who groan beneath
Oppression's iron hand:
In view of penury, hate, and death,
I see thee fearless stand.
Still bearing up thy lofty brow,
In the steadfast strength of truth,
In manhood sealing well the vow
And promise of thy youth.

* * * *

I love thee with a brother's love,
I feel my pulses thrill,
To mark thy spirit soar above
The cloud of human ill.
My heart hath leaped to answer thine,
And echo back thy words,
As leaps the warrior's at the shine
And flash of kindred swords!

* * * *

Have I not known thee well, and read
Thy mighty purpose long?
And watched the trials which have made
Thy human spirit strong?
And shall the slanderer's demon breath
Avail with one like me,
To dim the sunshine of my faith
And earnest trust in thee?

In taking his stand Whittier made one of those sublime sacrifices which evince the essential divinity immanent in man. For even those who do not sympathize with his decision, deeming the action to have been unwise, unless they be blinded by unreasoning prejudice, will appreciate the grandeur of soul which led an ambitious young man with most flattering political and literary prospects before him to turn his back upon honor, success, and the natural inclinations of his nature, and consent to be a social outcast for the cause his conscience approved; for no one was better acquainted with the nature of the sacrifice he was making than the poet. He had carefully surveyed the whole field from the position of one whose opportunities enabled him to comprehend the magnitude of the sacrifice. On this point Mr. William Sloane Kennedy observes:

"When Whittier espoused the cause of the slave he had counted the cost, and knew that he was burying all hope of political preferment and literary gains. Those who gave themselves to the work knew not but that it might be for a lifetime. To be shunned and spat upon by society, mobbed in public, and injured in one's business, — this was what it meant to become an Abolitionist. When Miss Martineau avowed her sympathy

with them, society shut its doors in her face. When Longfellow put forth his little pamphlet of poems on slavery, weak and harmless as they were, the editor of *Graham's Magazine* wrote him to offer excuses for the brevity of a guarded notice of the poems, saying that the word 'slavery' was never allowed to appear in a Philadelphia periodical, and that the publisher of the magazine had objected to have even the name of the book appear in his pages. Allusion only can be made to a few of the innumerable persecutions endured by the friends of the black race. How Lydia Maria Child was deprived of the use of the Athenæum Library in Boston, because the first use she had made of it was to prepare her 'Appeal;' how Dr. Follen was deprived of his professorship in Harvard College for his brave espousal of Abolitionism; how Prudence Crandall's schoolhouse was defiled with filth and its windows broken; how Arthur Tappan's house was sacked and his life threatened; how Dr. Reuben Crandall (teacher of botany in Washington, D. C., and brother of Prudence Crandall), for having, at his own request, lent to a white citizen a copy of Whittier's 'Justice and Expediency,' was kept in a damp city prison for eight months, until the seeds of consumption were sown and his life made a sacrifice; how Amos Dresser was flogged in the public square of Nashville, and his fellow student of Lane Seminary, the eloquent Marius R. Robinson, was dragged from his bed at night and tarred and feathered by ruffians, — all these things are matters of history."

This noble sacrifice of the lower to the higher afforded the poet the keenest pleasure throughout life, as such soul-victories always afford high-minded, sincere natures; and he attributed his later success largely to this momentous decision. Toward the close of his life he said as much to a youth of fifteen years who sought his counsel, adding, "Join thyself to some unpopular but noble cause if thou wouldst succeed." The poet had in mind, without doubt, the only success which is worthy of the name, — success from which flow the triumph of right and the enlargement of human happiness.

The meetings of the Abolitionists were frequently broken up by turbulent bands, even when no violence was shown, and many are the ludicrous incidents which occurred at these gatherings. On one occasion a lady who was accustomed to give the friends of freedom no end of trouble by her continual interruptions, and who, being possessed of some wit, usually created great amusement among the unsympathetic onlookers who frequented all these assemblies, became so troublesome that in order to continue the meeting it was necessary to remove the loquacious lady in question. Finally Wendell Phillips and two other gentlemen gently raised her chair and proceeded to carry her from the hall. She was by no means disconcerted, but in fact seemed to enjoy the situation. The trio had not proceeded far, however, when she broke the silence by exclaiming, "I am better off than my Master was, for he had but one ass to ride on, while I

have three to carry me." Whittier used to relate another amusing incident which occurred about this time. One of the public meetings became very stormy, more on account of the opposing views entertained by the friends of freedom than from the disorderly class who usually gave trouble. Now there were seated on the platform William Lloyd Garrison, whose head was very bald, William A. Burleigh, whose hair fell in a great mane on his shoulders, and a negro. Suddenly, during a momentary lull, some one in the rear of the hall shouted, "Mr. Speaker, Mr. Speaker, I have only a word to say. If that negro will shave Burleigh, and make a wig for Garrison, all difference will be settled." The house instantly broke forth in roars of laughter which lasted for some time and seemed to put every one in a good humor, as from that moment the meeting passed off smoothly; a rare good humor seeming to have taken the place of the almost bitter spirit which had prevailed a few moments before.

In 1838 the beautiful new temple of freedom in Philadelphia dedicated as Pennsylvania Hall was burned by a mob. This act of lawlessness created a deep impression on many thoughtful minds throughout the North. In his editorial in the issue of the *Pennsylvania Tribune*, which appeared after the burning, Whittier speaks in these vivid, vital, and prophetic sentences of the outrage and the influence which it would exert upon the friends of freedom:

"Not in vain, we trust, has the persecution fallen upon us. Fresher and purer for the fiery baptism, the cause lives in our hearts. . . . Woe unto us if we falter through the fear of man! . . . Citizens of Pennsylvania! your rights as well as ours have been violated in this dreadful outrage. . . . In the heart of your free city, within view of the Hall of Independence, whose spire and roof reddened in the flame of the sacrifice, the deed has been done, — and the shout which greeted the falling ruin was the shout of Slavery over the grave of Liberty. . . . Are we pointed to the smoking ruins of that beautiful Temple of Freedom, which we fondly hoped would have long echoed the noble and free sentiments of a Franklin, a Rush, a Benezet, a Jay; and as we look sadly on its early downfall, are we bidden to learn hence the fate of our own dwellings if we persevere? Think not the intimidation will drive us from our post. . . . We feel that God has called us to this work, and if it be his purpose that we should finish what we have begun, he can preserve us, though it be as in the lion's den or the sevenfold heated furnace."

Whittier's poems during this period were thrown off at white heat. In later life he thus characterized them:

"Of their defects from an artistic point of view it is not necessary to speak. They were the earnest and often vehement expression of the writer's thought and feeling at critical periods in the great conflict between Freedom and Slavery. They were written with no expectation that

they would survive the occasions which called them forth; they were protests, alarm signals, trumpet calls to action, words wrung from the writer's heart, forged at white heat, and of course lacking the finish and careful word selection which reflection and patient brooding over them might have given."

They were indeed trumpet calls, and did more to awaken the sleeping conscience of the nation than even our historians appreciate. James Russell Lowell was profoundly impressed, and generously expressed his appreciation of Whittier in these striking lines:

"Whittier has always been found faithful to the Muse's holy trust. He has not put his talent out at profitable interest, by catering to the insolent and Pharisaical self-esteem of the times; nor has he hidden it in the damask napkin of historical commonplaces, or a philanthropy too universal to concern itself with particular wrongs, the practical redressing of which is all that renders philanthropy of value. Most poets are content to follow the spirit of their age, as pigeons follow a leaky grain-cart, picking a kernel here and there out of the dry dust of the past. Not so with Whittier. From the heart of the onset upon the serried mercenaries of every tyranny, the chords of his iron-strung lyre clang with a martial and triumphant cheer; and where Freedom's Spartan few maintain their inviolate mountain pass against the assaults of slavery, his voice may be heard, clear and fearless, as if the victory were already won. It is with the highest satisfaction I send you the enclosed poem, every way worthy of our truly New England poet."

And Thomas Wentworth Higginson, in a tribute to Whittier written some years since, thus expresses the wonderful influence exerted by the poet over his youthful imagination:

At dawn of manhood came a voice to me
That said to startled conscience, "Sleep no more."
* * * *
If any good to me or from me came
Through life, and if no influence less divine
Has quite usurped the place of duty's flame;
If aught rose worthy in this heart of mine,
Aught that, viewed backward, wears no shade of shame;
Bless thee, old friend; for that high call was thine.

This brings us to notice some of Whittier's poems relating to the anti-slavery struggle. It cannot be expected that these stanzas will thrill or influence us as they did the northern mind during the exciting days when they were written, any more than the picture of an army rushing to savage death can awaken in a like degree the horror and sense of anguish that the actual battle would inspire. But, on the other hand, we at the present time, and especially those of us who have grown up since the terrible civil strife, can view these creations with eyes less blinded by partiality or prejudice than would have been possible if we had attempted to estimate this phase of Whittier's life at an earlier day. We

who have grown to manhood and womanhood since the close of the Civil War shall be able to appreciate the high motives, the sincerity and superb power of the poet, even though the sympathies of some of us may run counter to his thought. We are furthermore able to accord him a degree of justice which it would not have been reasonable, perhaps, for us to expect those of an older generation to show; for we appreciate the fact that he necessarily viewed the question of slavery from a point of view which prevented his gaining more than a partial grasp of the situation, and which prevented his knowing of the brighter aspects of plantation life, no less than the difficulties and perplexities which the southerners had to grapple with, — about which indeed all the Abolitionists knew little.

Having thus reached a point sufficiently removed from the conflict to enable us to judge justly and impartially view the work of the poet, whether we agree with him or dissent from his view, we pass to the notice of the poems more as the outgushing of a prophetic soul that conscientiously sought to awaken the sleeping conscience of the people on an issue which he felt to be of paramount importance; and in this judicial attitude we shall notice his creations apart from their partisan bearing or even their specific relation to the slavery question, as by maintaining this mental attitude we can more fairly consider Whittier's character as a typical reformer than would be possible if our views were colored by passion or prejudice.

In the following lines the poet-seer strives through an appeal to reason, patriotism, and manhood, and man's innate sense of justice, to avert the gloom and horror of war, on the one hand, or the degradation which he felt the nation must sink into if it elected to perpetrate slavery after the conscience had been called to judgment:

Up then, in Freedom's manly part,
From graybeard eld to fiery youth,
And on the nation's naked heart
Scatter the living coals of truth!
Up, — while ye slumber, deeper yet
The shadow of our shame is growing!
Up, — while ye pause, our sun may set
In blood, around our altars flowing!

Oh! rouse ye, ere the storm comes forth, —
The gathered wrath of God and man, —
Like that which wasted Egypt's earth,
When hail and fire above it ran.

Hear ye no warnings in the air?
Feel ye no earthquake underneath?
Up, — *up!* why will ye slumber where
The sleeper only wakes in death?

Up now for freedom! — not in strife
Like that your sterner fathers saw, —
The awful waste of human life, —
The glory and the guilt of war:
But break the chain, — the yoke remove,
And smite to earth oppression's rod
With those mild arms of truth and love
Made mighty through the living God!

The poem entitled "Massachusetts to Virginia" created a profound impression and was quoted at length throughout the North. The rugged spirit of freedom and the love of justice which characterized the sturdy Saxon people of olden time are very marked in these lines from this notable poem:

We hear thy threats, Virginia! thy stormy words and high
Swell harshly on the southern winds which melt along our sky;
Yet not one brown, hard hand foregoes its honest labor here, —
No hewer of our mountain oaks suspends his axe in fear.

Wild are the waves which lash the reefs along St. George's bank, —
Cold on the shore of Labrador the fog lies white and dank;
Through storm and wave and blinding mist, stout are the hearts which man
The fishing-smacks of Marblehead, the sea-boats of Cape Ann.

The cold north light and wintry sun glare on their icy forms,
Bent grimly o'er their straining lines or wrestling with the storms;
Free as the winds they drive before, rough as the waves they roam,
They laugh to scorn the slaver's threat against their rocky home.

What means the Old Dominion? Hath she forgot the day
When o'er her conquered valleys swept the Briton's steel array?
How, side by side with sons of hers, the Massachusetts men
Encountered Tarleton's charge of fire and stout Cornwallis, then?

Forgets she how the Bay State, in answer to the call
Of her old House of Burgesses, spoke out from Faneuil Hall?
When, echoing back her Henry's cry, came pulsing on each breath
Of Northern winds, the thrilling sounds of "Liberty or Death!"

All that a sister State should do, all that a free State may,
Heart, hand, and purse we proffer, as in our early day;
But that one dark, loathsome burden ye must stagger with alone,
And reap the bitter harvest which ye yourselves have sown!

* * * *

Hold while ye may your struggling slaves, and burden God's free air
With woman's shriek beneath the lash, and manhood's wild despair;
Cling closer to the "cleaving curse" that writes upon your plains
The blasting of Almighty wrath against a land of chains.

We wage no war, — we lift no arm, — we fling no torch within
The fire-damps of the quaking mine beneath your soil of sin;
We leave ye with your bondmen, to wrestle, while ye can,
With the strong upward tendencies and godlike soul of man!

But for us and for our children, the vow which we have given
For freedom and humanity is registered in heaven;
No slave-hunt in our borders, — no pirate on our strand!
No fetters in the Bay State, — no slave upon our land!

The spirit which throbs through the above stanzas is that of justice, of progress and the dawn; and whether we are prepared to see as Whittier saw or not, we must recognize the presence of the soul of right pulsating throughout the burning words.

The following extracts from some stanzas entitled "Texas" are not exactly what one would expect from a Quaker, the spirit being distinctly defiant, yet they must have been electrifying in their effect upon the aroused conscience of men and women who were so far removed from slavery as to feel no personal interest in it, and who had known little save the darker side of the evil.

Up the hillside, down the glen,
Rouse the sleeping citizen;
Summon out the might of men!

Like a lion growling low, —
Like a night-storm rising slow, —
Like the tread of unseen foe, —

It is coming, — it is nigh!
Stand your homes and altars by;
On your own free thresholds die.

Clang the bells in all your spires;
On the gray hills of your sires
Fling to heaven your signal-fires.

From Wachusett, lone and bleak,
Unto Berkshire's tallest peak,
Let the flame-tongued heralds speak.

O, for God and duty stand,
Heart to heart and hand to hand,
Round the old graves of the land.

Whoso shrinks or falters now,
Whoso to the yoke would bow,
Brand the craven on his brow!

Whittier was unable to understand how men could yield to expediency when justice and the right were at stake. To his soul at white heat and strained to its utmost tension, the spectacle of men arguing that this or that though just was not politic and therefore should not be entertained, was so appalling that he scarcely knew how to frame words to utter his horror and indignation. In these lines, published in 1846, entitled "The Pine Tree," we hear a voice issuing

from a soul burdened by shame for the country and weighed with pity and grief:

Lift again the stately emblem on the Bay State's rusted shield,
Give to Northern winds the Pine-Tree on our banner's tattered field.
Sons of men who sat in council with their Bibles round the board,
Answering England's royal missive with a firm "*Thus saith the Lord!*"
Rise again for home and freedom! — set the battle in array! —
What the fathers did of old time we their sons must do to-day.

Tell us not of banks and tariffs, — cease your paltry pedler cries, —
Shall the good State sink her honor that your gambling stock may rise?
Would ye barter man for cotton? — That your gains may sum up higher,
Must we kiss the feet of Moloch, pass our children through the fire?
Is the dollar only real? — God and truth and right a dream?
Weighed against your lying ledgers must our manhood kick the beam?

O my God! — for that free spirit which of old in Boston town
Smote the Province House with terror, struck the crest of Andros down! —
For another strong-voiced Adams in the city streets to cry,
"Up for God and Massachusetts!" — set your feet on Mammon's lie!
Perish banks and perish traffic, — spin your cotton's latest pound, —
But in Heaven's name keep your honor, — keep the heart of the Bay State sound!

In the following strong stanzas we again hear the prophet speaking. He has ascended the mountain far above the dull, plodding, self-absorbed millions. He has communed with the Divine, and the possibilities for progress, happiness, and advancement which lie along the path of any people who are ever loyal to the demands of justice and humanity to all are no less vividly impressed on his mind than the awful night which confronts those who refuse to leave the mess of pottage found in self-gratification, and who yield allegiance to short-sighted selfism to the injury of others. There is something very fine and inspiring in these lines, and, what is still more important, they are as appropriate to-day as they were when the words flew from the brain of the poet as sparks from the white-hot iron under the hammer of the smith.

Forever ours! for good or ill, on us the burden lies;
God's balance, watched by angels, is hung across the skies.
Shall Justice, Truth, and Freedom turn the poised and trembling scale?
Or shall the Evil triumph, and robber Wrong prevail?
Shall the broad land o'er which our flag in starry splendor waves
Forego through us its freedom, and bear the tread of slaves?

The day is breaking in the East of which the prophets told,
And brightens up the sky of time the Christian Age of Gold;
Old Might to Right is yielding, battle blade to clerkly pen,
Earth's monarchs are her peoples, and her serfs stand up as men;
The isles rejoice together, in a day are nations born,
And the slave walks free in Tunis, and by Stamboul's Golden Horn!

The Crisis presses on us; face to face with us it stands,
With solemn lips of question, like the Sphinx in Egypt's sands!

This day we fashion Destiny, our web of Fate we spin;
This day for all hereafter choose we holiness or sin;
Even now from starry Gerizim, or Ebal's cloudy crown,
We call the dews of blessing or the bolts of cursing down.

By all for which the martyrs bore their agony and shame;
By all the warning words of truth with which the prophets came;
By the Future which awaits us; by all the hopes which cast
Their faint and trembling beams across the blackness of the Past;
And by the blessed thought of Him who for Earth's freedom died,
O my people! O my brothers! let us choose the righteous side.

"Ichabod"* is one of the most withering blasts that ever leaped from the indignant brain of an aroused poet. Its spirit is wholly unlike that which characterizes most of Whittier's verses, but it is a creation of great power, in its way one of the most terrible utterances to be found in our literature. And curiously enough it was aimed against a kinsman of the poet, a New England statesman who had once stood very high in the regard of Mr. Whittier, and for whose intellectual powers he ever entertained the greatest admiration. The circumstances which gave rise to this poem are interesting and may be briefly stated as follows: On the 7th of March, 1850, Daniel Webster delivered a famous speech which struck dismay to the hearts of all friends of Abolition in the North. In it he argued that no further restrictions on the extension of slavery in the territories of New Mexico and California were needed; that colonization of free negroes should be encouraged, *and that the fugitive slave law must be obeyed.* He further averred that the labors of the Abolitionists had served merely to fasten the institution of slavery more firmly than ever on the South. This address, strange as it may appear to persons who do not understand that conservatism is always ready to bulwark an outgrown wrong if it be enthroned in high places, was applauded by leading educators of Harvard and Andover Colleges. Indeed, an address of congratulation was presented to Webster, signed by eight hundred prominent citizens of the old Bay State, including Rufus Choate, William H. Prescott, Jared Sparks, and Prof. C. C. Felton of Harvard College. It was this speech of Webster's falling with crushing force upon the Abolitionists that called forth these terrible lines from Whittier:

So fallen! so lost! the light withdrawn
Which once he wore!
The glory from his gray hairs gone
For evermore!

*The meaning of this term is "Thy glory has departed."

Revile him not, — the Tempter hath
A snare for all;
And pitying tears, not scorn and wrath
Befit his fall!

O, dumb be passion's stormy rage,
When he who might
Have lighted up and led his age,
Falls back in night.

Scorn! would the angels laugh, to mark
A bright soul driven,
Fiend-goaded, down the endless dark,
From hope and heaven!

Let not the land once proud of him
Insult him now,
Nor brand with deeper shame his dim,
Dishonored brow.

But let its humbled sons, instead,
From sea to lake,
A long lament, as for the dead,
In sadness make.

Of all we loved and honored, naught
Save power remains, —
A fallen angel's pride of thought,
Still strong in chains.

All else is gone, from those great eyes
The soul has fled:
When faith is lost, when honor dies,
The man is dead!

Then pay the reverence of old days
To his dead fame;
Walk backward, with averted gaze,
And hide the shame!

In speaking of the origin of this poem Whittier wrote:

"My admiration of the splendid personality and intellectual power of the great Senator was never stronger than when I laid down his speech and, in one of the saddest moments of my life, penned my protest. I saw, as I wrote, with painful clearness, its sure results, — the slave-power arrogant and defiant, strengthened and encouraged to carry out its scheme for the extension of its baleful system, or the dissolution of the Union, the guarantees of personal liberty in the free States broken down, and the whole country made the hunting-ground of slave-catchers. In the horror of such a vision, so soon fearfully fulfilled, if one spoke at all, he could only speak in tones of stern and sorrowful rebuke."

"This poem," observes Mr. Kennedy, "has been compared to Browning's 'Lost Leader:'"

Just for a handful of silver he left us,
Just for a riband to stick in his coat —
* * * *
He alone breaks from the van and the freemen,
He alone sinks to the rear and the slaves.
* * * *
Deeds will be done — while he boasts his quiescence,
Still bidding crouch whom the rest bade aspire;
Blot out his name, then, record one lost soul more.

Of the poems composed in war time none are more stirring than "Ein Feste Burg," which opens with these memorable lines:

We wait beneath the furnace-blast
The pangs of transformation;
Not painlessly doth God recast
And mould anew the nation.
Hot burns the fire
Where wrongs expire;
Nor spares the hand
That from the land
Uproots the ancient evil.

This poem was set to music and sung with tremendous effect during the early days of the Civil War. After the battle of Bull Run, the famous Hutchinson family of singers entered the lines of the Army of the Potomac, hoping to reinvigorate the drooping spirits of the Union soldiers with their patriotic songs. On singing the "Ein Feste Burg," however, General McClellan requested them to leave the lines. The singers appealed to President Lincoln, and this poem was read by Secretary Chase to the President and the Cabinet, after which the President said: "It is just the kind of a song I wish the soldiers to hear." The Cabinet voted unanimously in favor of its being sung in the army, and the singers were readmitted to the national camps.

Just here it is interesting to note the martial spirit which pervades many of Whittier's lines, and his fondness for military imagery. It was Nathaniel Hawthorne who humorously alluded to him as "A fiery Quaker youth to whom the Muse had perversely assigned a battle trumpet." This fondness for the imagery of war perplexed Whittier not a little, and more than once when referring to it he expressed the conviction that there was somewhere in his make-up quite a dash of the blood of "the old sea-kings of the ninth century." Of course anything military was as foreign to the Quaker theory of life and practice as was the shedding of blood abhorrent to Whittier. Nevertheless, during the early days of the war many young Quakers laid aside their drab for the soldier uniform. In northern New Jersey, for example, a Quaker regiment was raised of one thousand members, much to the grief and dismay of many old and staid pillars in the Society of Friends. At one of its quarterly meetings, the martial occupation of these stray sheep brought forth severe criticism from a number of members, whereupon one sym-

pathizer with those who had donned the blue arose and told a little story :

"He said that his grandfather once had dealings with an obstreperous 'man of the world,' who provoked him until his patience was worn out. All at once he threw off his coat and laid it on the ground, saying, 'Lie there, Quaker, till I give this rascal his dues!' and then proceeded to give him a good drubbing."

The poet has given us a graphic pen picture of himself during the anti-slavery conflict in the following lines from "The Tent on the Beach :"

And one there was, a dreamer born,
Who, with a mission to fulfil,
Had left the Muses' haunts to turn
The crank of an opinion-mill.
Making his rustic reed of song
A weapon in the war with wrong,
Yoking his fancy to the breaking-plough
That beam-deep turned the soil for truth to spring and grow.

Too quiet seemed the man to ride
The wingèd Hippogriff Reform;
Was his a voice from side to side
To pierce the tumult of the storm?
A silent, shy, peace-loving man,
He seemed no fiery partisan
To hold his way against the public frown,
The ban of Church and State, the fierce mob's hounding down.

For while he wrought with strenuous will
The work his hands had found to do,
He heard the fitful music still
Of winds that out of dreamland blew.
The din about him could not drown
What the strange voices whispered down;
Along his task-field weird processions swept,
The visionary pomp of stately phantoms stepped.

At length the long agony of suspense drew to a close. The fierce battle waged by the little Spartan band had given place to one of those profound awakenings which suggest the onsweeping of a prairie fire. The arrogance of the government and the courts probably did more than the agitation of the Abolitionists to precipitate the war ; but there can be no doubt but that the shafts of Garrison, the eloquence of Phillips, the clarion voice of brave Parker Pillsbury, the fiction of Mrs. Stowe, the stirring songs of the Hutchinson family, the writings of Horace Greeley, and, last but not least, the poems of Whittier and Lowell, were tremendous educational forces, and the tragic fate of John Brown gave great additional impetus to the cause of abolition.

When Sumter was fired upon, the North was electrified,

and war, grim and terrible, ensued, during which the evil of slavery went down, and with peace came a wider freedom than we had before recognized. Then the heart of our poet swelled with reverent thanksgiving, while it melted with pity for the misery, the heartaches, and the lives lost in the awful strife. One day the news came that the amendment had passed abolishing slavery in the United States, and Whittier, seated in a meeting-house of the Friends at Amesbury, heard the glad clanging of the bells in celebration of the event. The hour was one of the most impressive of his life. He was in the humble sanctuary of his people worshipping God; the merry pealing of the bells brought the message of a triumph of justice such as he had scarcely dared to pray for; and his breast became tremulous with emotion, his brain throbbed with exultant thoughts, a great song of triumph and thanksgiving rose in his soul, a song destined to live so long as our language endures. And that is how the following magnificent poem, known as "Laus Deo!" came to be written.

It is done.
Clang of bell and roar of gun
Send the tidings up and down.
How the belfries rock and reel!
How the great guns, peal on peal,
Fling the joy from town to town!

Ring, O bells!
Every stroke exulting tells
Of the burial hour of crime.
Loud and long, that all may hear,
Ring for every listening ear
Of eternity and time.

Let us kneel.
God's own voice is in that peal,
And this spot is holy ground.
Lord, forgive us! What are we,
That our eyes this glory see,
That our ears have heard the sound!

For the Lord
On the whirlwind is abroad;
In the earthquake he has spoken;
He has smitten with his thunder
The iron walls asunder,
And the gates of brass are broken!

Loud and long
Lift the old exulting song;
Sing with Miriam by the sea,
He has cast the mighty down;
Horse and rider sink and drown;
"He hath triumphed gloriously."

Did we dare
In our agony of prayer
Ask for more than he has done?
When was ever his right hand
Over any time or land
Stretched as now beneath the sun?

How they pale!
Ancient myth and song and tale,
In this wonder of our days,
When the cruel rod of war
Blossoms white with righteous law,
And the wrath of man is praise!

Blotted out!
All within and all about
Shall a fresher life begin;
Freer breathe the universe
As it rolls its heavy curse
On the dead and buried sin!

It is done!
In the circuit of the sun
Shall the sound thereof go forth.
It shall bid the sad rejoice,
It shall give the dumb a voice,
It shall belt with joy the earth!

Ring and swing,
Bells of joy! On morning's wing
Send the song of praise abroad.
With a sound of broken chains
Tell the nations that He reigns
Who alone is Lord and God!

The crude earthly remains of this conscientious prophet of freedom rest in mother earth, but he sleepeth not. God's children do not slumber; and is it unreasonable to believe that his awakened soul is with all those on earth to-day and especially with the oppressed wealth creators of the West and the sunny southland, both white and black, who suffer through unjust social conditions? The exile of Patmos when he beheld the bright vision fell on his knees in the attitude of worship, but the voice of the Spirit announced to him that he was of his fellow-workers the prophets and disciples who had gone before. And to me it seems most reasonable that the spirit of Whittier should be to-day working with those who are bravely making a stand against oppression no less worthy than that made by Washington, Jefferson, and Adams in an earlier day. Believing as I do that those who live up to their highest on earth are permitted to come back to inspire, impress, and encourage those who are true to their sacred trust in the battle for freedom, fundamen-

tal justice, human brotherhood, and enduring progress, I see no reason to doubt but what New England's poet of freedom may be influencing noble men and women with whom he may come in touch throughout the length and breadth of the world to-day, to consecrated lives in the cause of true civilization.

MONOPOLY AND THE MINES OF MINNESOTA.

BY C. J. BUELL.

It was once remarked by J. Adam Bede, at the time when he was United States Marshal for Minnesota, that "when the Creator had finished making the earth, he found he had left a fine assortment of rich iron mines. Not knowing what else to do with them, he dropped them in the woods up north of Duluth; and now the fellows that found them there claim they can't dig that ore with a steam-shovel unless they have a tariff to help them."

Whether or not the owners could dig ore without a tariff, true it is that those same mine owners and a gang of iron land speculators organized a mob and burned in effigy, in the streets of Duluth, the gallant Major Baldwin, Congressman from the Sixth District of Minnesota, because he ignored their threats, refused to do their bidding, and voted to put iron ore on the free list.

Whatever the injustice of the tariff,—and it is great,—however much the tariff on iron and its products has robbed the people for the benefit of a few mine owners and manufacturers,—and that robbery has been gigantic, inexcusable, and iniquitous,—these things are small and puny when compared with the stupendous system of plunder that has been established in northern Minnesota for the benefit of a few monopolists who own the mines and the railways that take the ore to Lake Superior.

It is the purpose of this brief paper to show how the system works, and to suggest a remedy for the evil.

Take your old geography and trace through northeastern Minnesota what is marked on the map as the Height of Land. This "Height of Land" is a low, generally flat watershed which divides the streams that empty into Lake Superior from those which flow northward into the Rainy River and at last reach the ocean through Hudson's Bay.

A continuous succession of swamp and low hills, heavily timbered and thickly dotted with small lakes,—such is this Height of Land in which are found the richest iron mines in the world and by far the easiest to work.

Remove a few feet of loose sand and gravel, in places not more than two or three, but usually from eight or ten to twenty or thirty, and there before you lies a solid bed of iron ore of the greatest richness, perhaps sixty, perhaps several hundred feet thick. One mine has been bored over three hundred and twenty feet and no bottom yet.

I said "a solid bed of iron ore." It is solid only in the sense of being continuous, and all iron from top to bottom; but in most of the mines the ore is far from being *solid* in the usual sense of the word, for it is loose like a bed of sand or gravel and about as easily worked. As soon as the surface dirt has been stripped off, the ore can be very easily loaded into the cars with a steam-shovel.

Some of these mines are still the property of the people of Minnesota, but many of them are in the hands of private owners.

The State charges a royalty of twenty-five cents a ton. This royalty is fixed by law and is the same for all mines, whether easy or hard to work, and for all ore, whether low or high grade.

The private owners, of course, charge all the royalty they can get. Competition among operators has now fixed royalties at about fifty cents a ton, though some are paying as high as sixty-five, in mines that are specially rich or favorably located.

We can now begin to see how the people are plundered and how the monopolists wax fat.

Said the editor of *The Missabe Range* to me, as we were discussing the situation: "The fee-owners and the railways have got the earth, and the rest of us are their slaves." That he told but the truth will be plain when we examine the facts.

THE BIWABIE MINE.

The title to the land on which this mine is located is owned by John M. Williams of Chicago. He bought it some years ago for the pine timber and paid $1.25 per acre. Some one else found the iron; some one else digs it. All Williams does is to graciously permit other people to take ore out of the earth. For this he receives twenty-five cents a ton from the Rockefeller combination. Does Mr. Rockefeller dig ore? Oh, bless you! no. He can make money easier than that. He and his company allow the Biwabie Bessemer Company to dig ore on condition that they pay him fifty cents a ton, and

bind themselves with an ironclad contract to pay this royalty on a definite number of tons per annum, whether they dig any ore at all or not.

The situation at Biwabie is substantially duplicated at Virginia, Mount Iron, and Eveleth.

Two railways furnish outlets for most of the mines on the Missabe Range. The Duluth, Missabe Range and Northern reaches the lake at Duluth. The Duluth and Iron Range road, owned by the Minnesota Iron Company, docks its ore at Two Harbors.

"Of course," I hear you say, "these two roads compete for the business of hauling ore to the lake." *Of course* they do no such thing. It is just as easy to combine as to compete, and far more profitable. The charge on either road is eighty cents per ton from any point on the range.

The Biwabie Bessemer Company have sold ore in Cleveland as low as $2.65 a ton. Where is the "foreign pauper ore" that can equal that price?

But let us see who get the $2.65, and what each does for his share.

John M. Williams of Chicago gets twenty-five cents a ton net. For this he does absolutely nothing, except to perform the exceedingly laborious task of signing a lease to the Rockefeller Company, or rather, to their predecessors. He does not pay one cent of tax for road or school, town or village, State or nation. An interesting law on the statute books of Minnesota exempts all mineral lands from every form of State and local taxation, and the great American nation taxes people on their food, clothing, and other necessaries of life, so that our millionnaires may go free.

John M., as you will notice, is an "enterprising citizen."

The Rockefeller combination gets from the Biwabie Bessemer Company fifty cents a ton, but pays Williams twenty-five, leaving twenty-five cents net. For this the Rockefeller Company does just as much as Williams, and no more.

The same company gets eighty cents a ton for hauling the ore to Duluth, a distance of seventy-five miles, all down grade. Five men in eight hours take one thousand tons of ore to Duluth, unload, and bring the train back. According to the company's own estimate, twenty-five cents a ton covers the entire cost, thus leaving a clear steal of fifty-five cents on every ton taken from the mines to the lake.

Lake freights were about eighty-five cents a ton from

Duluth to Cleveland. As lake transportation is subject to free competition, there is probably no steal or monopoly profit in this item of cost.

Deducting these items from $2.65, the price the ore was sold for in Cleveland, leaves just fifty cents a ton for the Biwabie Bessemer Company. They pay all the cost of stripping the mine ready for work; hire all the labor to dig the ore and put it into the cars; make up the train ready to attach the engine; pay interest on the capital invested in steam-shovels and other necessary machinery; insure against loss on the lake; and pay the one cent a ton State tax.

What a showing! One dollar and sixty cents goes to labor and capital for all the work of placing the ore in Cleveland. One dollar and five cents a ton goes into the pockets of Williams and Rockefeller for permission to use the earth and for stealage on transportation. Do you wonder that starvation wages were paid, and that legitimate capital had little or no return? Do you wonder that Rockefeller and Williams are rich and the miners live in squalid huts?

The editor was right. The fee-holders and the railway companies *do* own the earth, in that region, at least, and the people are their slaves.

Recently the price of ore has risen. Having a contract with the earth owners for some time to come, the Biwabie Bessemer Company have raised wages to $1.50 or more per day, and will, perhaps, make some profit on their business. But wait till their contract with Rockefeller and his contract with Williams expire, and then see the royalty go up, if ore continues to bring a good price. Then Williams will take all the royalty the mine will pay. Rockefeller will have only his transportation steal, and labor and capital will be just where they are now.

I have gone into details as to this one mine, because it illustrates the whole case most perfectly, and shows how completely the fee-owners and railway companies are masters of the situation.

What really makes it far worse is the fact that the Rockefeller combination and the Minnesota Iron Company now own many of the best mines, and also possess the only highways over which ore must be carried to market, and are therefore in a position to freeze out other mine-owners and operating companies.

That they make use of this advantage must be plain to all,

and is fully proved by the fact that the Minnesota Iron Company recently bought the Fayall mine, one of the richest on the range, for the paltry sum of $40,000. And I am informed that the owners of another very rich mine are about to sell to the Rockefeller Company for only $60,000. In a few years, at the present rate, these two companies will own all the available mines, and then a little longer and Rockefeller will control it all.

Is there no remedy for this? Must the richest iron mines in the world fall into the grasp of this conscienceless corruptionist who already possesses the world's oil lands?

That will depend upon the people, — whether or not they study the question intelligently and solve it.

THE REMEDY.

A very simple remedy offers itself, — or rather two remedies, one for each part of the disease.

The *fee-owners and* the *railways each* has a monopoly.

As many people look upon railway monopoly as the greatest and most threatening evil of our times, let us consider that matter first.

Railway monopoly, so far as it relates to this particular case, can be perfectly and forever destroyed by building a double track road from Lake Superior to the mines, paid for by proportionate assessments against the beneficiaries, owned and controlled by the whole people, like any other public highway, over which all carriers may transport ore free of charge or toll, just as the boat-owners on the lakes have a free highway from Duluth to Cleveland. Then any mining company or private miner could take their own ore to the lake if they thought charges were too high. The roadway being free and open to all alike, there would be no more chance for monopoly than there is now on lake or river. Charges to Lake Superior would immediately fall to twenty-five cents or less per ton, and would continue to grow less with every improvement in the carrying trade.

Railway monopoly is due wholly to the fact that we permit one corporation to own the highway, and exclude all competitors from the carrying trade thereon. Make the roadbeds free public highways, and the carrying trade will need no regulation.

But suppose free public highways are provided so that the cost of transporting ore from the mines to the smelting

furnaces is reduced to the lowest price that free competition can offer, who then will get the benefit? No mine can be operated at all without permission from the fee-owner. What effect will cheaper railway charges have upon John M. Williams, who owns the Biwabie mine, or on any other fee-owner, for that matter?

Mr. Williams of Chicago would reason about in this fashion: "It now costs the mining company about fifty-five cents less than formerly to take their ore to market, therefore they can afford to pay me that much more for permission to use the mine. They *must* use the mine or go out of business. I won't be very hard on them. When the present contract expires I will fix the royalty at $1 per ton for a while. Probably I can get more after further improvements in mining are made or greater reductions are possible in freight rates. I will deal directly with the mining company and thus save what Rockefeller now gets."

So Williams takes his dollar or more per ton, and the mining company and their workmen — capital and labor — are just as well off as before, — no better; while Williams, representing landlordism, pockets all the gains.

By all means let us have a free public road into the mines, but don't let us fool ourselves with the notion that from this reform alone labor and industry will reap any lasting benefit.

The only effect would be to simplify the situation. Instead of "the railways *and* the fee-owners," our editor would then declare, "The *fee-owners* possess the earth, and the rest of us are *their* slaves."

What shall be done with the fee-owners?

Briefly this: Tax them out. The millions they absorb in royalties are none of their creation. The present system of absolute exemption of fee-owners from all forms of taxation is a strong inducement to exact the last cent of royalty before permitting the land to be used at all. These royalty values that the fee-owners now absorb are created by the people, not by the fee-owners. The people therefore have a right to them, and should so adjust their system of taxation as to put them into the public treasury where they belong. Fee-owners would then be as anxious to get their mines opened and developed as they are now to exact the utmost royalty or hold idle.

What of the iron lands still owned by the State? The present law, arbitrarily fixing twenty-five cents a ton as

the royalty on all mines, good or bad, should be so changed that at the expiration of present contracts each mine should be leased on its merits to the highest bidder, thus turning into the State treasury the full value of the privilege, be it much or little. The present arbitrary twenty-five-cent royalty results in making to the first lease-holders a free donation of more than half of the people's property in these mines.

The problem is simple and requires only a little common sense in its treatment.

First. Tax out the speculators and mine-grabbers, and restore to the people the heritage that a bountiful nature has put here for them. Whether the fee is still in the State or in a private holder, the full annual value of the privilege belongs to the whole people of Minnesota and must be returned to the State treasury.

Second. Make the necessary highways to the lake, and open them to all carriers without toll or charge.

Monopolized highways and the earth for the grabbers, — this policy has made an earthly hell for the workers, while piling up untold millions for the monopolists.

"Free highways and the land for the people" must be our motto. Then nature's bounties shall be for all, and northern Minnesota shall pour out her wealth and bless all mankind.

THE MENTAL CURE IN ITS RELATION TO MODERN THOUGHT.

BY HORATIO W. DRESSER.

Now that the philosophy and practice of the mental cure have won an assured place among the progressive factors of our time, both as an essential means of alleviating human suffering and as a health-giving system of thought, it may be well briefly to consider the new movement in its larger sense as an outgrowth of the age and in the light of its actual service to the world.

It is to-day almost a truism to affirm that any new doctrine which wins the permanent interest of mankind supplements and modifies, but never wholly displaces, what experience has already proved true. Its advocates may make extravagant claims for it, and it may for a time seem wholly revolutionary or wholly new. But gradually, as it comes in contact with well-established doctrines, it is fitted in with what we already know, and usually it is found to be, at least in germ, as old as human thought.

And so with this new philosophy of daily conduct and healing, with its original theories of disease and its stimulating teaching in regard to the supremacy and power of mind. There are those who deem the new theory all-sufficient and express their willingness to dispense not only with all books but with all doctrines, save this one radical teaching. But the new movement was not thus exclusive and self-sufficient when it began, nor can it hope to interest those who have hitherto been repelled by it, or to join hands with natural science until it assumes a more modest attitude and is relieved through controversy of many of its crudities.

It was the aim of its originator to establish a science of health and happiness which, based on a just psychology and on a rational interpretation of human life, should enable men and women in all the walks of life to lead sounder and better lives. More than half a century ago he began in that quiet way in which all great movements originate to investigate the human mind, the effect upon it of beliefs and sug-

gestions, and more especially all that contributed mentally both to the cause and cure of disease. With rare patience and persistence, working entirely alone and in a new field, he not only made certain important discoveries in regard to our mental nature, but developed the method of cure which enabled him to heal diseases of all kinds and which, adopted by thousands of workers since his time, has brought untold relief to suffering humanity.

At its very outset then, and long before it emerged into the larger world of scientific discussion, the mental cure was a part of a widespread movement which had for its object a better understanding both of the origin and the nature of man. It sought to emancipate man from his bondage to opinion and superstition, and to place all knowledge on a firm scientific basis. Its first maxim was, Prove all things; and if it has departed from its practical ideal and become a dogmatic worship of a few leaders of strong personality, its deviation from the path of science is only for a time. Many of its most earnest workers already take this larger view of it — as a phase of modern thought — and are seeking to join forces with natural science. The time is not far distant when scientific men will deem it fully worth their while to investigate the phenomena of mental cure, and even the church will overcome its antagonistic spirit and find it essential to its continued hold upon people to add this most vital application of all that seems spiritually true. In fact some of our most advanced thinkers have already expressed the belief that "there is a truth there." But they have thus far been deterred from investigation by the unattractive garb in which the new thought has been clothed, unaware that there is a phase of the subject which is infinitely more practical, a line of thought which, making no claims for itself and revolving around no personality, is slowly working its way to the front as an essential factor in the progress of science.

This more practical phase of the mental cure is positive in its teaching rather than negative. It does not deny the existence of matter, of the body, nor of certain conditions which in ill-health seem as real as life itself. It frankly admits all that really exists; but having made this admission, it reserves the right to explain the nature of reality. Its first step is to distinguish between the two natures or selves of man, the one that is truly spiritual and partakes of the great Unchangeable and the one that is composed of chang-

ing opinions and beliefs. The latter self includes the unconscious or sub-conscious mind, and is described as a sensitive impression plate or as a sort of spiritual matter readily moulded by fears, beliefs, and all that constitutes the passing consciousness of man, in which ideas are sown like seed in the ground where they germinate, come forth, and find expression in the body. Any belief or state of feeling which wins the attention or becomes all-absorbing therefore plays its part in health and disease; for "whatever we believe, that we create." The direction of mind is fundamental and carries with it the activities of the whole being. Man is always *devoted* to something, momentarily or permanently, and it is the *idea* which shapes his conduct, even though the thought influence be so subtle that he seems to be leading a merely physical existence. He approaches every experience with some opinion, some feeling of expectancy, and however potent the physical forces wielded by thought, and whatever the result produced upon him, the attitude of mind is at once the guiding principle and the cause of all that he enjoys or suffers. Man's happiness and misery therefore depend primarily upon himself, on the way he takes life, and on the degree of his intelligence.

Disease is not a mere belief, nor is it a purely physical condition any more than the facts of every-day experience. It is very often a state of the entire *individual*, and in order to effect its permanent cure the entire mental attitude must be changed so that every obstacle to nature's restorative power shall be removed. If the person is impetuous, excitable, nervous, opinionated, hard to influence, easily roused, or whatever the disposition may be, this most prominent characteristic is sure to modify both the disease and its cure. Oftentimes this *is* the disease; the disposition is at fault, the person is always creating trouble and is bound to continue in dis-ease until the person undertakes the task of overcoming self with a will. The soul is restricted, undeveloped, or imprisoned in false beliefs about disease and religion. Something must touch the soul, explain the effect upon it of narrowing beliefs and fears, and aid it to come into a freer and healthier atmosphere. This the mental practitioner can do, and oftentimes the treatment consists largely of audible explanations, showing how all these subtle mental influences, inherited beliefs, fears, and temperamental effects have injured the health. Such treatment strikes directly at

the root of the difficulty, and may of course be adapted to the particular case. It has been the means of transforming a vast number of lives, of reaching cases where all other methods have failed, and of performing cures both of chronic and of organic diseases which were almost miraculous. It makes people think and investigate who never thought seriously before. It shows that there is a natural law of cure in every case which one may take advantage of by maintaining a firm, hopeful, happy attitude of mind in the right direction, away from physical sensation, belief in disease as an entity, fears, doubts, and all that tends to keep one in ill-health. It teaches one to open out, to aspire, to turn away from all that is transiently belittling and painful to that higher Self whose abode is eternity, from whence one may draw new life and power.

For, deeper than the mere passing beliefs or states of thought, which bring happiness or misery according to their nature, is the real man or the spiritual senses which, in reality independent of matter and a part of that great Spirit to which all men belong, are capable of overcoming such states of mind with their physical effects as may prove harmful, and of giving wiser direction to the natural activities. It is therefore of the greatest importance that individual man should understand himself, not only in his relations to society and in the light of the subtle mental influences by which every one is surrounded, but in the light of his profoundest relations to the source of all goodness, wisdom, and love.

As thus understood the mental cure in its fullest sense and at its best becomes a life, a religion, an education of the whole individual, and it thus joins hands with all that is most ennobling and progressive in human thought. It strikes deeper into the very heart of things than former theories, and brings to light not only the hidden effects of mind on mind, but unsuspected applications of truths which have long been cherished but never realized in actual life. It is not simply a method of cure alone, nor does it claim, as a method of cure, to reach all cases at once and do away with the really intelligent doctor and the skilful surgeon. But it does claim to modify all cases, even the most severe, and in the hands of practitioners of all schools it is sure to meet a crying need among the sick and suffering.

In a restricted sense it is a natural development, called

out to meet the needs of the many finely organized people of our day with whom material remedies are of no avail. It is one of those wise provisions in the economy of nature which minister to man's needs when a remedy becomes absolutely essential to his preservation. It is a step in advance of the older methods of cure, and is gradually preparing the way for a time when man shall be able to do without medicine and be his own physician. As a product of American thought, and nurtured in the land of liberty and progress, it is playing its part in the emancipation of man and the development of a sound individualism. It teaches man to look within for help and strength, to cultivate self-reliance and poise, instead of hurrying to a doctor or to some friend with the rehearsal of every little ailment as though he were incapable of mastering his own fears, to look to his own nature and his own conduct as the prime cause of all that he suffers, and to overcome all suffering by developing individuality and mental freedom. In a word, it deals with the cause and not the effect, and seeks to remove disease by teaching man how it is made through his own ignorance and misinterpretation of sensation.

As an aid to modern medical science, then, the mental cure may be of inestimable service, and no line of investigation would better repay the progressive doctor to-day than a scientific inquiry into the facts and phenomena of mental healing. The regular physician would not only learn much about the real nature of disease, but would get new light in regard to its cure; for the new movement, proceeding on a different basis and relying on an intuitive rather than a physical diagnosis of disease, has already disproved many of the prevailing theories of disease and shown that there is a power which is capable of assisting nature in a far more direct way than by the use of medicine. It is a suggestive fact also that a large proportion of the cases which come under the care of the mental practitioner are those which have been given up by the best physicians of the regular school. The practice of hypnotism has already demonstrated that the human mind is wonderfully susceptible to suggestion, and if the direction of mind, permanent or transient, is really fundamental, if the effect produced on us by medicine, by any method of cure we may employ, largely depends on the opinion we put into it, then medical science must strike at the root of the matter, it must deal more directly with the

mind instead of giving remedies and performing operations in order to remove physical effects. When doctors shall display genuine understanding of the human mind in its relation to health and disease, instead of giving one opinion one day and another the next, based on a physical diagnosis, then the more intelligent portion of the community will have far more confidence in them than they display to-day.

As an aid to psychology and to psychic science the new movement could also be of great service, for it throws much light on the nature of mind in its relation to the body. Most practitioners of the new method have had a long series of experiences pointing to the belief that man has an identity independent of matter through which he can communicate mentally, perceive objects at a distance, take the feelings and thoughts of others, and give shape to his physical life, — an identity which fits him to continue his existence after death as a living soul.

Educationally, the new thought might be of invaluable service ; and when children are taught this healthier theory of disease there will surely be much less sickness in the world. It is a philosophy of encouragement, and urges the young to develop the best that is in them, and to find repose through wise self-development, since every suppressed ambition, every element of one's nature that is not understood, creates friction and has its ultimate effect on the health, while true education is always health-giving.

Philosophically, the new thought lends its support to an idealistic or spiritual as opposed to a material view of the universe ; it emphasizes the conscious aspect of life as the most real and powerful, and furnishes a strong argument in favor of the intimate and universal presence of an infinite Spirit, to the nearness of which the advocates of this new method attribute the healing power which they know to be something superior to their purely personal selves.

But it is as a life, a practical health-giving mode of conduct which one may carry into every detail of daily experience,— into business, pleasure, society,— that the new doctrine is seen at its best. In this sense it is a preventive rather than a cure of disease. It turns the thought habitually into wiser and happier channels, away from the absurd notion that every one must have certain diseases, and shows one how to become poised, well adjusted to life, and how to take life easier and at its best. It is philosophy and religion made

one with daily life, and as such it is a decided advance over all previous theories which tend to separate theory and practice. It is throughout a positive, hopeful, stimulating doctrine, sympathetic rather than exclusive and critical, never directly opposing the doctrines which it supersedes, yet quietly playing its part in the evolution of the race and preparing the way for the grander and better man of the twentieth century.

THE VALLEY PATH.

A Novel of Tennessee Life.

BY WILL ALLEN DROMGOOLE.

CHAPTER X.

Joe had not stopped in the valley as Mrs. Tucker feared, to waylay Dr. Boring. The physician had judged him more correctly. Joe was not a coward; he would shoot him with half an excuse for doing so; he would go further and create the opportunity; but he would not, except it be upon impulse, shoot from ambush.

Joe rode past the cabin in the valley without turning his head; he was riding the black, spirited colt he had lately purchased, alas! for Alicia when Alicia should be his wife. The fact did not augment his good humor. He rode briskly by, sitting his mount like an Indian, down to Winchester, where he spent the day loafing and nursing his wrath among the usual Saturday visitors to town. Bowen was not a drinker; when he drank it was more as a frolic than a brunt to bad feeling or a taste for alcohol.

He was not in a humor for fun, so he sat by, sullen and unhappy, listening to the gossip, political and social, until the dusky red of twilight sent the gossipers on their homeward way. Still he lingered, loath to return to his desolate hearth, shorn as it was of the bright dreams that had been his fireside friends of late.

It was past nine when he rode down the valley. Far before him he saw the round, red eye which he knew to be the doctor's window, through which the mingled glow of lamp and firelight streamed out upon the night and sent its good, glad glow far down the valley, a guide to the benighted, a promise to the wanderer pushing homeward through the darkness.

Something in its brightness appealed to Joe: there came to him a feeling that the world was not after all so desolately cheerless as he had fancied. He followed the tiny ray without realizing it for a while; thinking, without realizing it also,

how good the warmth must be within that little valley home; how dark outside, and how cold. His horse's hoofs struck the frozen earth with a harshness that seemed to ring and vibrate. The contrast suddenly opened about and faced him, — their two lives, the difference of surroundings, the warmth within where *he* was, the blackness of night which accompanied *him*. Yet he did not care for these things, he was not so small as that. But that this man, with all the favor of fortune, with ease, comfort, everything, — that he should seek to rob him, *had* robbed him of the one single flower that had ever lifted its face to gladden the humble path where fate had set *him* down, — this was the sting, this was the injustice which rankled and burned and turned his natural goodness to hate.

"He ain't fittin' ter live," he muttered between his strong, set teeth. "He ain't fittin' ter be *let* live. If I ware ter aim a bullet square at that red pane o' winder it would find his gray head straight as straight. An' it air no more than he deserves, a bullet ain't. But I ain't that low, I reckin, to shoot a man in the back. Naw, Lord! if I kill a bird I let it git the start. I'll be as gen'rous ter a man as I am ter a pa'tridge, though he ain't as deservin'."

He still carried his gun slung across the saddle bow, and the red pane drew nearer, seemed to grow, to expand, until eighteen small square panes took shape, every pane aglow, and beyond them the doctor's large gray head, resting upon his hand, his elbow upon the table near which he sat reading.

The devil whispered in Joe's ear a dastardly thing, a thing too cowardly mean for the eye of God's good daylight. Only under cover of night could such a deed find birth. But it came so sharp and strong, was so irresistibly fascinating, so fiendishly fraught with the sweetness of revenge complete, that he had no reason left with which to meet the terrible temptation.

Quick as a flash he lifted his rifle to his shoulder and took aim; his keen eye flashed along the muzzle for a single instant; his finger pressed the trigger, which refused to act; an instant yet, and the gray head was lifted; the calmly gentle face turned as if to catch a sound for which the ear had waited, then the figure vanished.

The next moment the door opened, and from it came a stream of crimson light that lay upon the darkness like a path of fire. In the very centre of it stood the doctor, erect and

fearless. What a target he made against the light as he stood with his back to the door and his arms outspread, resting a hand on either casing! Joe uttered an oath, and dropped his rifle with a sudden snap which brought the hammer of the old-fashioned weapon down upon his finger clumsily feeling for the cock. The noise of his horse's hoofs sounded in his ears like drums beating furiously. Suddenly the doctor put his hands to his mouth and hailed:

"Oh, Joe! Bowen!" The only evidence that Joe heard was the sudden silence as the rider brought his horse to a standstill. The physician accepted the silence for attention. "Come by," said he. "Stop: I want to see you."

It was an instance of the incomprehensible power of will, the stronger over the weaker. The very attitude of the man standing there defying danger, the mere tone of voice, all had about it that which compelled obedience.

Joe hesitated an instant only, and wheeled his horse into the footpath leading to the doctor's gate.

The physician stood in the doorway while his visitor twisted his bridle into the iron ring dangling from the hitching-post which few callers ever saw, the limbs of the trees being more familiar to the service. He came up the walk, gun in hand, his long, gaunt shadow growing longer and more gaunt with every step toward the light.

"Come in; walk right in there to the fire; you must be half frozen. Nobody there but Zip; Zip and I are making ourselves comfortable after our own ideas. Do likewise, do likewise. I will join you in just a minute."

Scarcely knowing what he did, and inwardly cursing himself for "a dad blamed fool," Bowen obeyed. The room was tempting; the doctor himself was tempting; even the terrier curled up on the hair sofa looked up with an air which said, "Well now, we are comfortable." There was a homeshipness about it all that invited confidence.

In a moment the doctor returned. The first object to arrest his eye was the old flintlock rifle leaning against the wall; the next moment he saw the hand resting upon Joe's knee, with the blood slowly oozing from a wound in the right forefinger.

"Why, man," said the physician, "you have hurt yourself. Wheel about to the light and let us have a look at it. Sure it isn't another case of hornet sting?"

The guilty crimson swept the boyish face turned for a

moment to the lamplight. He had forgotten all about the wounded hand, so much sharper had been the hurt in the heart.

"I reckin it ain't much," he said with sullen indifference and making an effort to conceal his hand under the palm of the other.

"Oh, come now," said the doctor, "this will not do. Put it out here; that is what I'm here for. You wouldn't cheat an old man out of his trade, would you? Give me your hand, boy."

He had been arranging a few simple implements while he talked — a case of steels, a sheet of plaster, a roll of soft, starchless linen lay on the table.

Joe eyed him sullenly. Suddenly he rose; his tall, straight figure towered above the other like the figure of a young Goliath. His eyes flashed, and from the uplifted wounded finger drops of bright red blood trickled the length of his hand, disappearing under his sleeve.

"Damn you," he hissed. "Say out what you've got to say; I ain't here to fool an' palaver with you-uns. I see you at that thar table when I rid up, an' I ware tempted to put a bullet into you. I had my gun aimed, cocked, when you moved off out of range. An' the damn thing snapped, ketchin' of my finger. That's how come the wound you're beggin' leave ter patch up. An' it ware me killed your horse, the fine colt. I done it to make sure you'd never saddle Lissy Reams on to hit, like you done on t'other one. An' it ware me — oh, damn it all! Git up from thar an' kick me out. Or else come outside an' fight it out like men fight. An' if you whip me you may take the girl an' go to the devil, an' I'll quit the country. But don't, in God A'mighty's name, set thar saaft-sawderin' o' me. I can't take it, an' I won't."

The doctor slowly rose; he was trembling. Afraid? For a moment Joe thought so. Only for a moment, however; until he saw the face of the man. There was no agitation in the calm eyes, although the hand which he rested upon the table to steady himself shook.

"The man who would fight with me," said he, "must content himself with a very one-sided battle. And the coward lying for my life like a thief outside my window, under cover of night and of darkness, will not find lack of opportunity for taking it. The day has never dawned that found me afraid

to die. To the honest man always, death is only a part of God's plan, and let it come when and as it will can neither alter nor affect that plan.

"To me life has never brought an hour that found me unwilling to lay it down; never a gift so fair that I have sighed for its renunciation. Do you suppose that I am afraid of *you?* of *any* man? That I would have moved my head the fraction of an inch in order to dodge your coward-bullet? Do the old, you think, find life so full, its happiness so vast, that they hug it like a miser his gold? Sometimes perhaps, but it is where ties are many and love has outlived years. Not so with me; I am an old man as compared with you: the fifty years that have slipped the measure in my glass were not so many grains of gold to dazzle and amuse, but so much of good life and strength stripped from the old shell called manhood. Sit down there. I want to tell you a story: having told it, you know where your gun is; and the window will not be closed. Sit down, man; don't be a fool, if you can help it."

He forced him to the chair again, and again began to adjust his surgical instruments.

"Give me your hand; now while I patch this hole up all I ask of you is to listen. I have always refused to believe you a coward. It remains to be seen whether or not you are the fool your recent conduct would argue."

Accustomed to the sick, he had long ago learned to exact obedience of his patients. This man was as truly his patient as if he were suffering some acute disease of the body. And as such he treated him. The dark face lost something of its angry defiance, while the restless eyes furtively followed the deft fingers patting a bit of plaster upon the ugly pinch the rifle had made in the long forefinger. There was an illusive sweetness in the voice that pronounced him "a fool," a something that soothed even while it condemned. Before the doctor had proceeded well into his story Joe began to suspect that he was right, that he was "a fool."

"I find," said the doctor, "that in order to get your thoughts at rest I must tell you a little story that concerns chiefly myself. I had hoped that it was buried forever, or until the last resurrection of all pain. I am an old man at fifty, older than you will be at seventy. At twenty I left college, at twenty-two was a practising physician. That I made success of my profession no one ever denied. Life held

fair promises for me. I was not a Christian, as the world accepts the term. I denied many things, doubted more that orthodoxy accepted. Mine is an open nature, and I saw no reason for concealment; so that everybody who knew me knew my creed, if I had one. That I have done some good the poor will bear me witness at the last. If I have harmed any man I do not know it. I made myself a place and practice. At last there came into my life a being who changed its current; awoke the heart within me; played upon its every string; sounded every depth, knew every shallow of my nature. It was at the bedside of her dying father that we first met; we became lovers, plighted our troth, were soon to have been married. She was poor; I had plenty. That she was influenced by my wealth was a thought too insulting to have lodging in the same heart which held her. If I found her lacking in demonstration of affection I attributed it to maiden modesty and was content. She was a Christian, after the favored order. There was in her family a cousin, a reckless young fellow who hung about her a good deal, but of whom I had as little jealousy as I have, or might have, of my terrier asleep there on my couch.

"My wedding day was fixed, was near; but two days gaped between my happiness and me. My best man was an old college chum, whom I had lifted out of debt, saved from disgrace once, and given many a turn along the way. The day before that fixed for my marriage I met him, but when I would have greeted him he turned his face away. Was he angry, drunk? I crossed the street and faced him; he was laughing. He looked so guilty, Joe, so vulgarly guilty, that with my left I grasped my right hand in order not to strike him. It was only for an instant, however; in a twinkling he was himself again. But for the life of me I couldn't rest. I felt that I had done my friend injustice. I sought him out again before the day was done.

"'Jack,' said I, 'go down and get my gloves for me. You've got good taste about such things.'

"'Oh, let the gloves be, Doc,' was his reply; 'there's time enough. I'll see to them, old boy — *in time*.'

"That night I called on Alice. I never saw her half so radiant, so superbly lovely. I was all happiness; one thing only came between my joy and me. She refused my good-night kiss. I left her early; she wanted her beauty sleep, she said. And since it was her last day of girlhood I re-

signed her to herself, knowing it was the last time. When I reached my room I read a chapter from a little velvet Bible, her gift, which to please her I had promised to read daily.

"The following morning I went early to my office; the few acquaintances I met upon the street dodged me, unmistakably dodged me.

"As I was passing the house of a man who had been my father's friend and as stanchly mine, I saw him open the door and come down the walk to the gate. I said good morning from across the street, and would have passed on, but that he called to me.

"'Come in,' said he. 'I want to see you: have been watching at the window for you.'

"I crossed over and went in. I remember that the sun shone, and that there were scarlet gladioli blooming in the window although it was bitter cold.

"He led me in, motioned to a chair, himself took one, and then I saw his face. Something dreadful had happened. I waited for him to go on.

"'Bart,' said he, 'I had rather cut my tongue out than to tell you—'

"'Is something wrong?' said I. 'Tell me; let me help you if I can.'

"He motioned me to silence. 'The trouble,' said he, 'is not mine, but yours.'

"'Mine?'

"'Brace yourself to hear it,' said he. 'It isn't a sweet duty to dash a man's happiness to death, to crush both pride and joy at a blow.'

"He was sparring, as he thought, mercifully. But I cut him off. 'Tell me,' said I, 'I'm not a child, what is it that has happened?'

"It was Alice; she had run away the night before, eloped, and been married to her cousin.

"Bowen, it struck me like an iron hammer. My head dropped on my breast like lead: my heart that had held warm blood turned to ice while I listened to the story of her falseness, my shame and my betrayal by my friend; for Jack was one of the attendants and witnesses; had helped her to elude me; gone with her upon her midnight visit to a little country clergyman who had married the runaways. I heard it all, the shameful, cruel story, and then I roused myself to meet my fate, scarcely harder to encounter than the smiles

or the unspoken sympathy, as it chanced, from those who saw the humor or the pathos of the situation. There was one who saw the tragedy,— my mother, and it killed her.

"I heard the story through and then I lifted my head.

"'It's pretty hard,' I said, 'but I think that I can bear it.'

"He grasped my hand, pressed it and burst into tears.

"I went to my room with head erect; I greeted my friends along the way. They looked at me as if they thought me mad.

"Opening my door, the first thing that met my eye was the little velvet Bible open where I had read the night before. I took it in my hand, glanced down at the open page where she had traced a text — '*And the truth shall make you free*' — and tossed it in the fire. I have never opened one since then, not from that day to this. I got in my buggy, visited my patients all day, at night went home, stealing in softly so that my mother need not be disturbed. But she was waiting, had waited for me all day. She saw my face and read my heart. The smile and the quiet, matter-of-fact manner that had bewildered my friends were not needed here. She put her arms around my neck and fainted. She alone knew how one beloved woman's perfidy had made shipwreck of a strong man's tottering faith. Trouble comes in battalions : I buried her in less than a year. I lived on there, though friends urged me, having my own comfort at heart, to go elsewhere; every feeling in my nature rebelled against cowardly flight. I remained until I proved myself equal to my destiny.

"It is almost thirty years since I passed down the steps of my friend's house that crisp cold morning and went out to face ridicule and the pity that was scarcely less difficult to bear. I remember that the sun shone, and that the scarlet gladioli were frozen still against the window pane. They looked like tiny spots of clotted blood against the frosted glass. I thought of them when I saw your wounded hand to-night."

(*To be continued.*)

BRIDE OF THE AGES.

BY FRANCES M. MILNE.

Yearned the world's heart to her, Bride of the Ages,
Dream of the poets and theme of the sages.
Won by her loveliness, awed by her purity,
Worshipped men proudly in faith and in surety.

Time! dare he touch her with insolent moiling?
Liberty's chosen! not his for despoiling.
Thronged the old heroes to Valhalla's portals
To gaze from afar on the wonder of mortals.

Bright as the sun in his opulent splendor,
Fair as the moon in her radiance tender,
Tyranny trembled before her appearing,
As if an army with banners were nearing.

Roll the swift years past a century's counting;
Still to its zenith her planet is mounting.
Blare of the trumpets and beat of the drums
Herald the car of her triumph that comes.

Is it a juggernaut? Lo, as it rolls,
Hear ye the moaning in torment of souls?
See ye white faces flash out at the wheel?
What shall the day of her judging reveal?

Gaze from Valhalla, O heroes! behold
Liberty's chosen dishonored for gold!
Rich though her robing and splendid her state,
'Tis but the trappings of bondage ye hate.

Spoil of the crafty and tool of the knave,
What from such baseness her glory may save?
Was it for this that your swords were unsheathed?
Was it for this that your statues were wreathed?

O that your spirits might sweep as of old,
Kindling hearts coward and sordid and cold!
Then from the thraldom of sloth and of dread
Manhood should leap to avenge her instead.

Greed that despoiled her, and falsehood that sold,
Power that bound her with pythoness fold,
Hurled to fate's oubliette soundless and black,
Leave of the bale of their presence no track.

Then, O beloved and beautiful land!
Opens the day of her destiny grand.

Bride of the Ages! Again on her brow
Gleams the pure crown of her virginal vow;
And the world's heart, with a mighty rebound,
Throbs to her own in a passion profound.

THE RESIDENCE OF DR. CADMUS—SOLON'S HOME.

BETWEEN TWO WORLDS.

BY MRS. CALVIN KRYDER REIFSNIDER.

[Synopsis of preceding chapters.*]

The first chapter of this story might cause the casual reader to imagine it to be one of those fanciful sketches that imagination creates, but if he continues he finds it to be a story of living power and purpose.

We see within the Temple, the home of the Religionist, evidences of his earnest convictions, and read in the lives of himself and daughter what he meant when he said, "Men may profess what faith they please, but they have no more religion than that which always shows itself in every one of the minutest actions of their lives."

Then we begin to read him anew. His school of oratory is not an occupation for his own benefit only, but to fulfil a life of good uses and to perfect men and women for their calling as ministers, orators, actors, and actresses.

The palms, the statues, the soft-toned musical instruments, the very hangings about the pulpit in their symbolic hues become living things, and each teaches its holy lesson. The mirrors, silent monitors, reflect every look, act, or movement, like a warning of danger or a token of encouragement.

The angel faces that gleam above the chancel remind the child of the Temple of the dreams of attendant angels ever near her in childhood, and here she fancies the dream fulfilled.

The incentives to strive for power, position, fame, removed, we see them walking, working, talking always for the good of others. They have chosen the one thing needful, and all else seems to be added.

SALOME.

We see Ruby, the perfection of beautiful young womanhood, striving

* As this romance will continue through the volume which opens with this issue, and as our subscription list is increasing very rapidly each month, I have thought best to publish a brief synopsis of the preceding chapters for the benefit of our readers. — EDITOR OF ARENA.

to be to her father all that her name implies, and shedding the light of their love upon the path of the poor in the only way in which humanity can be truly lifted up; *i. e.*, awakening within them the spark that will guide them on the way.

In bold but natural contrast Salome steps upon the scene, and in her first meeting with Ruby we see rise up those human passions that strive within and torment struggling humanity; — fear of defeat when she contrasts herself with the strange spiritual beauty of Ruby; jealousy, and at the last the still human passion to learn of her the secret of those powerful charms, for she realizes that the secret would mean success in her chosen vocation.

What natural human questions she puts day after day, probing to find out just where Ruby's weak point may be, and at last, finding none, asks boldly for the secret of her power. The answer, "Live to-day, *in the living, breathing present*," etc., seems to stir up a dark pool in her young heart, and she exclaims:

"You may well say this with your *present*. I try to close my eyes when night comes and forget the day that is done, to let it be a dead thing whose ghost will not, I hope, rise up against me somewhere and tell me that I have murdered it. Ah, Miss Gladstone, you may live to-day, I will live next year, or in five years perhaps. *I am dead to-day*."

But the words of Ruby were not lost; Salome returned to her unhappy home with a new resolution *to begin to live to-day*. It was the first lesson in her *interior education*.

Here we see a new picture, strong, vivid; one that burns itself into the hearts of mother and daughter; one of the inconsistencies of love; one of the curses of the home; a lack of knowledge of the nature and dispositions of those we deal with there; the total absence of spiritual or internal home education. Salome, carrying in her proud heart shame, mortification, memories that haunt her and are ever driving her on with but one thought, one purpose, — money, gold, fame. "Gold to gild the future and make her forget the past."

CHAPTER X.

The air was balmy, and the sun shone brightly. Ruby and her father drove alone, Mr. and Mrs. Goode being engaged with flowers, plants, and vines in the Temple.

The country round about the city of ———— is picturesque and beautiful as Switzerland. Many elegant country seats near, and further beyond the city limits highly cultivated farms and beautiful homes and grounds bespeak the retired gentleman enjoying the fruits of his earlier labors.

This afternoon Mr. Gladstone was attracted by a shaded lane leading to a large grove hedged in by osage orange which grew thick and high and impregnable for quite a distance. Coming to an opening where a lodge was visible, he inquired if the grounds were public or private. The lodge-keeper answered that they were private, but open to strangers or friends who desired to view the park. Ruby expressed a wish to see the grounds, and her father drove in.

Though the city was famous for its beautiful parks, they had seen nothing like this. Every variety of tree, shrub, flower, and plant formed a very Elysium, and winding through it were shell drives, while here and there were lakes, fountains, game, fish. Birds and squirrels were plentiful, and a herd of deer browsed quietly, or sunned themselves upon the velvet lawn.

MR. GLADSTONE.

Scattered here and there were picturesque cottages, which Ruby supposed to be the dwellings of the keepers of the park.

An elderly gentleman sitting under a spreading chestnut tree, bathing his brow in the passing breeze and drinking in the perfume of flowers and the song of birds, looking down the drive was attracted by the approach of a pair of Arabian horses of finest breed that moved as by the effort of one will, with the peculiar gait born of high spirit and pure blood. He delighted in the motion as only true lovers of horses can: but as they drew near the observer lost interest in the animals and sat with eager, excited gaze fixed upon the occupants of the phaeton. "At last," he said, a tremor shaking his excited frame, "at last, at last!"

He rose as if to attract the attention of the gentleman; but what excuse could he make for accosting the stranger. It certainly was allowable, — this opportunity was not to be lost. Yet it was lost, for the horses were swift and their long swinging trot had taken them out of the sound of his voice. He sank down, pale and disappointed, as though a phantom had passed by.

"It is she! I always knew I should find her! Find her but to lose her."

He had some idea of rushing after them and calling out to them to stop, but the impulse vanished quickly.

"It is enough to know that she lives. I should be content only to have found her at last. My heart should find peace in the thought until I know her dwelling place."

He was very much agitated, so much so that he had not observed that he was not alone.

"Why, father, what ails you?" cried a clear, rich voice which Ruby would have recognized at once. "Have you seen a ghost?"

"Well, no. But I have seen what I have long sought and felt sure I should some time find. I have seen Esculapius and his daughter Hygeia. Ah, I have had a vision of two white horses with flowing manes and tails, a phantom phaeton and two diaphanous creatures real in beauty only. Solon, the dream of my life since your boyhood is realized. I have seen a — wife for you. I have sought the world over. I knew she was somewhere, but now I have seen her. I was so agitated that the opportunity passed. I know not who they are, whence they came, nor whither they are gone. Solon, my son, I would give much to know who those people are, that I might seek their acquaintance at once."

RUBY.

The son, a kingly-looking man of twenty-eight or thirty, looked at his father's earnest, troubled face, with deep reverence and respect.

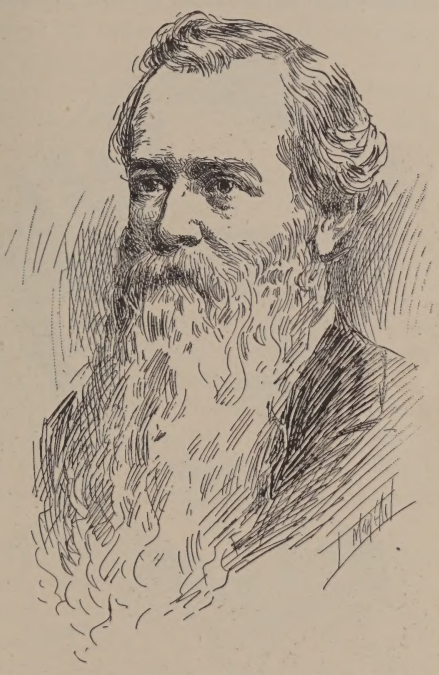
"Father," he said calmly, and yet a strange electric thrill

passed through his frame with some memory which his father's words awakened, "I believe I know the man you have described. He — I did not think of it before — he must be the father of the young lady. Yes, it must be so. I caught a glimpse of her once, like a shooting star. I have sought in vain to see her face again, and yet I doubt not, now that you describe them, that I have been near her very often."

"Who are they?" asked the elder man, looking up with that strangely agitated face.

"He is the master from whom I learn oratory. He lives in the temple with a housekeeper and her husband. Once I saw a vision of loveliness appear at his study door. I thought she was a pupil. Ah, I see now. He is a foreigner; he has only a few business acquaintances here."

"They will not return this way. Come, let us walk through the park to the outer drive, and fortune may favor us again."



DR. CADMUS.

The father rose, and taking his son's arm, they walked directly through the wooded park. Dr. Cadmus for once had no ears for the song of birds, and the fawns that looked shyly into his face expecting a tempting morsel from his hand, or a stroke of loving kindness, saw him pass them by unheeded.

Father and son were rewarded. The tread of swift horses was heard not far distant, and the gentlemen, who paused near the roadside, saw the approach of what both had long sought.

Solon raised his hat to his master, as did the father. Mr. Gladstone stopped in pleased surprise.

"We have had a most delightful drive. Do I address the owner of these magnificent grounds?"

Dr. Cadmus bowed, Solon introduced his father, and then Mr. Gladstone presented his daughter.

"I am very glad indeed," said Dr. Cadmus, "to welcome you, sir. Pray stop with us a while and refresh yourselves. If you love trees, Miss Gladstone, I am sure you love flowers better. Come, do not say no."

SOLON.

They thanked him, and walked in the shadow of the trees to the house.

The home was a dream of Eden materialized. Groves, lakes, fountains, vines, flowers. The dwelling unpretentious save its natural surroundings; a one-story cottage built in a rambling, fantastic sort of style, with rustic walls over which the vines could cling, each room a bower, half room, half garden. Indeed it might have been mistaken for a conservatory but for the cushions, couches, and chairs for rest and repose. The walls were obscured by vines and tiers of flowers; fountains plashing merrily kept time with the music of a soft-toned instrument; the oddly shaped windows were glazed with every hue, the light coming through in luminous colors; while the carpets in the summer rooms were moss and ferns of living emerald. The effect was soothing and restful.

Here it was that Solon laid down his kingly form and gave his mind up to pleasant dreams. He mingled with all

classes of men, not perhaps to the extent of eating and drinking with them, but to study and observe them. He listened to sermons, lectures, debates, attended political assemblies, conventions, and legislative bodies, generally in company with his father. He was getting ready for the great game of life which so few study, and which they play more recklessly than they would a game of cards, chess, or ball, and hence so few play successfully. But Solon had been taught that it was a game of all others most worth winning, and hence he was making great preparations.

Fair forms and fair faces had flitted before him without making any more impression upon heart or brain than the figures in the show windows.

After some minutes the guests were welcomed by a queenly-looking woman some years younger than the doctor. Her face beamed with joy as she greeted Ruby, and very soon they were as much at home together as though they had been one family divided for a time and just reunited. The sphere about them seemed to harmonize and bind them all together, and amid these surroundings Mr. Gladstone read Solon's character just as Solon had read his in the temple.

At first the conversation was general, then Dr. Cadmus and Mr. Gladstone drifted into a different stream of current topics and, as it were, floated on together. Mrs. Cadmus had Ruby equally absorbed, while Solon went out to order ices, tea, and fruit.

Ruby rejoiced in her heart over these new-found friends, for they were not strangers. She saw her father's face wear the beaming expression that congenial companionship always brought to it, and she felt that this friendship would be precious to him. She noted the distinguished manner and bearing of the doctor; his clear and regular features, his alabaster complexion, his slender hands, the almost diaphanous aspect of his entire features, which all marked him as a man advanced in life; but when he spoke and became animated this impression immediately vanished, and one recognized that a powerful spirit dwelt within the frame. His voice retained its ring and his eyes their fire. They were brilliant as two black diamonds, and burned like carbuncles. They gave an extraordinary vivacity to his expression; and as he seemed to bend all his energies to entertain her father, Ruby had opportunity to study him most critically. Here was a man that might be compared to her father, — the very first she had ever met.

Solon finally entered into the conversation, and she frankly admitted that she had sat in the gallery and listened to his voice many times. He did not tell her how he had watched for her, supposing her to be the "one lady pupil." He could not understand now how he could ever have supposed her to be aught else but the daughter of the great Master of Oratory, the distinguished lecturer.

It was growing late in the afternoon when the horses were ordered out, and yet the hours had been only moments flying upon golden wings. They had learned that the cottages were tenanted by Solon's schoolmates from abroad, who, upon visiting America, enjoyed his hospitality and had all the freedom of home life. Some were Englishmen, some Frenchmen, and there were Spaniards, Italians, and Greeks.

"You see we talk in their native tongue and I do not altogether lose practice in the languages," he said to Mr. Gladstone.

"Capital idea," said Mr. Gladstone. "Now, Ruby, for our homeward drive. I hope to have an early opportunity of returning your hospitality, Dr. Cadmus. Madam, the change to our Temple home in the city will make you appreciate your luxurious surroundings all the more."

When they passed out of view Mrs. Cadmus laid her hand upon her husband's arm and said, "Your star has risen at last! What think you of its beauty, my son?" — finishing her sentence with a loving glance at Solon.

"I thank my father and my mother for having taught me to wait for its dawning."

Dr. Cadmus walked the soft carpet of ferns with noiseless tread. His whole bearing betokened the gratification he felt. Now that she was found, a question that had not obtruded itself upon the son somewhat disturbed the father. What if — ah, yes, what if the young lady's affections were otherwise engaged? His son, appearing to read his thoughts, said: "Father, if it is indeed she for whom you have taught me to wait, she is already mine. Do not doubt it, — I cannot. She is indeed my Star of Bethlehem."

The father and mother smiled upon their son and said, "You must be right."

Then Solon withdrew to his own apartment and left them to discuss the final realization of their dreams concerning his future. And now we attempt to describe this young Greek whose life is destined to mark a new era in the history of

mankind — the very greatest gift from God to a nation, which comes but once in a century — a great man.

The beauty of his countenance consisted in perfect symmetry of feature, smoothness of surface, a serene sweetness of expression combined with a majesty born of consciousness of power and entire freedom from fear, physical or moral.

And this philosopher truly believed that the more man can assimilate life to the existence which his highest ideas can conceive of pure soul life beyond the grave, the more he approximates a perfect happiness here, the more readily and gladly he glides into the conditions of true being hereafter. All he could imagine of the life of gods and blessed immortals supposed the absence of self-made cares, contentions, passions of avarice and ambition, jealousy and hate. A life of serene tranquillity with active occupation of the intellectual and spiritual powers, a life gladdened by untrammelled interchange of love in a moral atmosphere in which hate and rivalry could not exist for one moment, made up his ideal Paradise; — not unattainable by mortals here if they were inclined to reach that plane. But few find happiness in things so godlike, because they persistently cling to the world in which they can contend for position, power, and wealth.

Solon was one of the lords of philosophy who possess the natural gifts of the true philosopher, — courage, magnanimity, apprehension, and memory. The incentives which are found in cupidity and ambition being unknown to him, there was nothing left but repose. We might properly call him Harmony of the Inner Man. He had set in order his own inner life and was his own master and at peace with himself. To this high end this man concentrated the energies of his life. His studies were those to impress these qualities on his soul.

Father and son were united in every aim and purpose. They could not expect to find congenial companionship among the ordinary class of men. Like all other men of advanced thought they were pronounced cranks and given a wide berth, but to the few who knew them and were capable of appreciating them they were a benediction.

And now indeed the long wished for had come to pass. Solon's whole being soared up on wings of gratitude to his God, and he sought to formulate his labors into an expression of that love and gratitude. This man, who had the spirit of harmony, could only love the loveliest. A beautiful soul harmonizing with a beautiful form, and the two cast in one

mould, was the fairest of sights to him, who had an eye to contemplate the vision. The fairest and loveliest being he had ever dreamed of was Ruby.

CHAPTER XI.

Dr. Cadmus and his wife lost no time in visiting their newly found acquaintances, and when they entered the Temple their first pleasant impressions were strengthened. Ruby and her father entertained them in Mr. Gladstone's study.

They perceived that happiness was the end at which Ruby and her father aimed as the prevailing condition of their entire existence, and a regard for the happiness of others was evinced by the exquisite amenity of their manners. The utter absence of censure or unkind criticism of any one was a very marked peculiarity of these two. They dwelt in an atmosphere of music and fragrance and melodious sounds, soft murmured as a mother's lullaby, and so tuned as to inspire rather than hinder conversation and reflection. The effect was elevating upon the character and thought. The countenances of father and daughter were as devoid of the lines and shadows which care and sorrow and passion and sin leave upon the faces of men, as were the faces of the sculptured gods and goddesses around them, or as peaceful as were the faces of the dead who might lie enshrined in their memories.

Each day these two souls separated for an hour; believing it indispensable to soul health and mental harmony to take one's self wholly to one's self, or, as it were, to be alone with God. No one can grow through the consciousness of another. He may receive strength, impulse, direction in some degree ; but before these can be assimilated his soul must find itself in repose, must reach its higher consciousness, and this can only be attained by separating himself completely from the exciting or agitating vibrations of other individualities.

Solon seemed to stand apart from men, and yet a great fountain of sympathy flowed from his heart toward all. He was grateful to his father for the precautions he had taken to insure his being unlike other men in hereditary weakness and evil, and to show that gratitude he took up the thread of life to weave a new race of beings. He saw in the fallen and degraded beings around him only the result of ignorance in

begetting, rearing, feeding. Science must bring it all straight in time. Religion was ignorance, science knowledge.

Dr. Cadmus, forced to take a starting point, began to argue the mysteries of creation, and proved it, as he thought, beginning with the fish. Those closer to the land fed on insects or winged creatures; if the latter, they became flying fish. If they wandered far enough on land and the receding waves left them, and they learned to feed on grass, they became transposed into a species of cattle, then through the laws of evolution became domestic animals. Who has not seen the toad dressed in trousers, with necktie and cane, upon our streets, his goggle eyes, great belly, and puny legs telling every scientist of his origin? Man devours flesh food, and as a result clings tenaciously to all the instincts of the carnivora in ferocity. The gentler animals, feeding upon herbs and vegetation, teach him a lesson, late in life sometimes, that the nature of the animal is embodied in the flesh. Swine-eaters partake of the nature of swine, albeit the race that most detests them is oftenest compared to them. Thus microcosmic man displays here the tiger, there the lion, the eagle, or the fox.

CHAPTER XII.

Speaking to Mr. Gladstone, Dr. Cadmus said, "There is no use in advancing a theory in science unless you prove its practicability. There must be some step taken in advance of these religionists, or the human race is lost. We must have another God."

"Cosmopolitan that I am," said Mr. Gladstone, "I cannot but be interested in these great questions of the day as discussed in America. They must interest the thinking men and women all over the nation."

"Yes," said Dr. Cadmus, "three great armies are forming, and the tramp of feet in the busy drill is heard from east, west, north, and south. Politics, religion, medicine. The charlatanism of medicine has given rise to disbelief in all medicinal remedies, and from it have sprung the Christian Scientists. The charlatanism of priest and pastor has given birth to disbelief and infidelity, agnosticism and theosophy. Charlatanism in the political parties has created national dissatisfaction and given birth to anarchism among the lower classes and populism and socialism among the truly benevo-

lent people, the patriots, the thinkers, the doers; and their great minds have sent out waves of opposition to the present system of government that are rising into a tide which, taken at its flood, must sweep away not only the framework but the very foundation of the present condition of things in the American government.

"The first thing that astonishes the foreigner is the plutocracy of this great Republic, the power of gold, the power of money. Wall Street of America is parallel with Lombard Street in London. The nation's bread is a game to be played against the poor; the money of the country a question for the few to decide, a commodity too precious for the common folk to handle, and the plutocrat cries its basis must be *gold*. Gold not for the people, but for the banker, the broker. And what do we witness? The emblem of Lombardy, the sign of three golden balls, on every business street in the cities, and these grow into palaces on the boulevards, banks in the most valuable places, and railroads all over the land.

"The spirit abroad is the spirit of revolution. The whole framework of society is shaken to the foundation by the revolution in thought. It is spiritual in its origin. God speaks to every thinking man and woman in America. His voice must be heard. His priests and prophets are awaiting the voice and ready to answer to his call. His warriors are buckling on their armor. The spirit is abroad, the spirit of the angel messenger that brings good tidings of great joy. A wave of truth against falsity, of right against wrong. The sword is two-edged and is supreme — the sword of everlasting truth. 'The people come!' cries the watcher in the tower. 'The people! Jehovah comes in the name of the people. He speaks with the voice of the people, and the cry is, *Vox populi, vox Dei.*'

"It took nearly a century to show Americans the sin of slavery. Once seen, they struck the shackles from the slave. Show them the wrong of the present system of government, only let them see it, and they will right it. The error was with part of the nation then, the lesser part. Had they seen the evil they would have shared the glory of the liberation of the slaves instead of the shame of defeat. The wrong today is a national wrong, and the people, the whole people, are concerned. Put the question before them, show them the wrong, help them to see the right and they will do it.

"We are approaching a new era and in a new spirit. The very spirit of the age demands a new state of things, and it will be a revolution in church and State. Churchmen can no longer build churches and starve the poor. The State can no longer see honest women deprived of their lifelong labor by barbarous laws giving to the husband's family the earnings of his wife, the partner of his early battle in life and long years of privation. You cannot confront one proposition without confronting the whole. Why? Because eternal justice links the whole together and demands the change. The government must be the guardian of her subjects. She must furnish labor and money to pay for it. Money in this emergency must come as it did in the Civil War — scrip if you please — the people's pledge to pay. Did they not pay willingly to free the slave? Will they not be equally willing to pay to free themselves, their children and their children's children?

"From the old political factions grew the Republican party, — the Black Republican party as it was called, — the Abolitionists; and from out the decaying ruins of these old parties shall grow a new one that shall free the white slaves; a government to teach her people, a great, fostering, loving guardian of the nation; a government that shall no longer license crime (liquor) and hang the criminal; no longer celebrate her Independence Day in vulgar display and waste of millions of dollars in fireworks, but call her children together and show them that the annual expenditure rightly, religiously employed, would endow colleges, build homes, buy farms, and bless them a thousand times in blessing others. Is it seemly that a great nation should do a little thing?

"Every force is a telling power straight from the throne of God. A Moses shall be found. No need to ask God to do the work of feet and hands and voice in this world; man is His vicegerent on the earth. The people of America must have a new government *and must begin by having a new God!*"

Dr. Cadmus's words startled Ruby, who thus far had listened with rapt attention.

"A God of love and mercy, a God for the poor man such as Jesus foretold, a Comforter, the Spirit of Truth; a practical, common-sense religion, preached by a practical, common-sense clergy. Not a theoretical theology preached on Sundays by students who have no practical knowledge of the world or of

men or their daily needs. The clergy have no sympathy with the people. They should understand men. They should learn to do so in their capacity of teachers of the young; they should know more of human needs than others. There is no use in the clergy telling the people their trouble is brought upon them by an avenging God, when they know it is brought upon them by politicians bought by the plutocracy of America. They don't believe in such a God. He is too much like the clergy and the politician of the day who hold up a picture of themselves and call it God; but the people recognize the likeness and will not have it as their God.

"The deeds of bravery and heroism that emblazoned America on the world's rolls of honor in the Civil War shall be repeated in the great conflict that is to come; — a bloodless battle that shall be fought first in the spiritual world and ultimated in the natural world in the song of peace. The everlasting God shall breathe upon the people, and plenty shall bless them all; plenty of money and plenty of bread. There is a work to do; work requiring human eyes and human ears, human feet and human hands, willing to do what the Lord shows them must be done.

"The days of plutocracy are numbered. The hairs of their heads have been counted; for, lo! the people shall move in concert. Bellamy sounded the first trumpet; he felt the pulsation of the advancing thought in the new life. He could not help writing it. The thought waves of millions struck him when he took up his pen and it wrote what the people longed for. Not that they may ever attain to it; but from the golden dream of the writer they may weave a practical form of government that shall answer the prayers of the struggling people and the noble workers in their cause.

"The cry goes up, Every man to his axe. Wherever there is a rotten beam cut it out; wherever a leaking roof knock it off; the foundation is good, the great Republic will stand, but the rotten timbers put in by false religion, avarice, self-interest, prejudice or what not, must come out.

"Are women wronged by laws made by men? Let man right the wrong. Can men be lovers, aye kings, in the eyes of their queens, if these must snatch the sceptre from the hands of men and vote for their own rights? Will not the gallant men of America accord to them most gladly and graciously their rights? Only show them their wrongs.

Why, only to-day in speaking of the question a journalist well up in the problems of the day told me that he understood the main fight for woman suffrage to be on the ground of the old revolutionary question of taxation without representation. That, sir, is only the question in the West. The New England women have a graver wrong as dark as the slavery question was to right. Strange that the men of the East saw the wrong in their far-away southern brothers owning slaves, but see not the wrong in the companion of their life and labors being thrust from the home she has helped to earn; her husband's relations put in her place to reap the harvest she has sown and she driven out to work again. Show this fact to the men of the South, the North, the West, and there will be no need of the fair sex voting for rights. The men will redress her wrongs and thereby accord to her her rights. The whole thing is unnatural and wrong. It is like my wife, my daughter, my sister, asking me to give them power to taunt me with their independence. They must ever feel that I gave it (for if they ever get it, it must come as a gift from the men), and I must ever feel that my injustice goaded them to ask, beg, demand a thing which if I had understood they needed I should have freely bestowed as I would the food and shelter and raiment I had always worked for; for what is man's life work for but for woman, woman to love us, woman to respect us, woman to lead us up and arouse our better selves? It is ignorance; but once enlightened, once the whole question is blazoned upon their nation's flag, the people, the whole people, will be one in politics, religion, freedom."

(To be continued.)

THE GOLDEN AGE.

BY JUNIUS L. HEMPSTEAD.

No sails veered before the wind,
No hunter slew the fleeing hind,
No trees were felled for warlike ships,
No arrows chipped from flinty stone,
No widowed hearts to weep and moan
Nor tell of war with whitened lips.

No conquests, for the shipless sea
From flags and galley-fleets was free,
No tortured serfs, no conquered slaves
To trim the sail or ply the oars,
No armèd legions to invade the shores
Washed only by the waves.

No man at arms with spear and axe,
No toiling lives, no grinding tax,
Ambition knew no crownèd king,
With minions fierce and bold;
No captured lands to seize, to hold,
No monarch's signet ring.

No landed metes and bounds,
No wooded parks, no baying hounds,
No gilded grand armorial halls,
No wassails, knights, or wine,
No warlike shields with glinty shine
Gleamed from baronial walls.

No tempted hearts to worship gold,
No titled honor, to be bought or sold,
No heartless greed for pomp and gain;
But simple lives and gentle loves,
Bleating lambs and cooing doves,
And hearts not racked with pain.

The mad pulse of the world was still,
Only the flow of the peaceful rill,
Only the forests silent and old,
Solemn aisles by man untrod,
Home of earth's primal god,
Who was no slave to gold.

Only the flocks and folds of Pan,
Only the Golden Age of man.
Only the goat-herds' Pandean chime
Played with such skill, 'tis said,
It charmed the browsing herds that fed
On the slopes of the olden time.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

DR. WALLACE'S VOLUME ON MODERN SPIRITUAL PHILOSOPHY.*

Reviewed by B. O. Flower.

It is very suggestive to the student who thinks below the surface to note the surprising activity evinced in the world of thought by master minds regarding problems relating to psychical research. We are approaching the meridian of a century which corresponds in many ways to the first century of modern times (1450–1550), and the intellectual, moral, and spiritual activity of the present time, though necessarily far different from that which emphasized the Renaissance, is none the less boldly marked. In the world of social, ethical, religious, and scientific thought we see the interrogation point raised on every hand, while side by side with this searching and challenging spirit we also note a vast amount of constructive work going on. Everywhere the loftiest spirits and the most advanced and profound natures are demanding nobler ideals than those which have prevailed in the past, while the ascendancy of the critical and scientific spirit is also observable in every field of investigation, although it must be confessed that critical scientific thinkers have been slow to engage in careful systematic investigation of psychical phenomena. This has doubtless been due to many causes. The whole field of research until lately was regarded as a dark continent, subtle and elusive in results, while conservative prejudice on the one hand and the fraudulent imposition of alleged psychical phenomena on the other have operated with other causes to prevent many of the most thoughtful and sincere searchers after truth from entering a field of investigation which promises incalculable gain to humanity when the laws which underlie psychical science are clearly demonstrated. Among sincere investigators it is doubtless true that many have permitted their zeal to override their discretion, while on the other hand a number of ultra-conservatives have erred in the opposite direction from the predominance of the materialistic bias and doubtless, in some instances, fearing lest they should bring down upon their heads the anathemas of a slothful conventionalism. But in spite of the injudicious on the one hand and the ultra-conservative on the other, there is a vast body of well-balanced, thoughtful, and competent investigators who are tirelessly pursuing every great problem which promises blessings for civilization and an increase of knowledge for man. Nowhere is that activity more noticeable at the present time than in the field of psychical research. Recently several volumes of great value and worthy of the

*"Miracles and Modern Spiritualism," by Alfred Russel Wallace, D. C. L., LL. D., F. R. S. Revised edition, with chapters on Apparitions and Phantasms George Redway, 9 Hart St., Bloomsbury, London, England. Price 5s. net

serious consideration of all scholarly men and women who dare to think have appeared. The first of these I wish to notice is "Miracles and Modern Spiritualism," by the eminent English scientist, Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace.

This work, which consists of a carefully revised and enlarged edition of Dr. Wallace's former work, to which are added the important papers originally written for the ARENA on "Objective Apparitions and Why They Appear," and an important appendix.

Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace is recognized as the world's greatest living naturalist, and his work as co-discoverer with Darwin of the law of Evolution has long since placed him among the greatest physical scientists of this pre-eminently scientific century. Hence the following extracts from the preface to his work will be of peculiar interest to thinking people, and should receive the special attention of physical scientists with a materialistic bias who have been flippant and superficial in their criticism of this great serene soul who has penetrated beyond the range of their vision:

I am well aware that my scientific friends are somewhat puzzled to account for what they consider to be my delusion, and believe that it has injuriously affected whatever power I may have once possessed of dealing with the philosophy of Natural History. One of them — Mr. Anton Dohrn — has expressed this plainly. I am informed that, in an article entitled "Englische Kritiker und Anti-Kritiker des Darwinismus," published in 1861, he has put forth the opinion that Spiritualism and Natural Selection are incompatible, and that my divergence from the views of Mr. Darwin arises from my belief in Spiritualism. He also supposes that in accepting the spiritual doctrines I have been to some extent influenced by clerical and religious prejudice. As Mr. Dohrn's views may be those of other scientific friends, I may perhaps be excused for entering into some personal details in reply.

From the age of fourteen I lived with an elder brother, of advanced liberal and philosophical opinions, and I soon lost (and have never since regained) all capacity of being affected in my judgments either by clerical influence or religious prejudice. Up to the time when I first became acquainted with the facts of Spiritualism, I was a confirmed philosophical sceptic, rejoicing in the works of Voltaire, Strauss, and Carl Vogt, and an ardent admirer (as I am still) of Herbert Spencer. I was so thorough and confirmed a materialist that I could not at that time find a place in my mind for the conception of spiritual existence, or for any other agencies in the universe than matter and force. Facts, however, are stubborn things. My curiosity was at first excited by some slight but inexplicable phenomena occurring in a friend's family, and my desire for knowledge and love of truth forced me to continue the inquiry. The facts became more and more assured, more and more varied, more and more removed from anything that modern science taught or modern philosophy speculated on. They compelled me to accept them *as facts* long before I could accept the spiritual explanation of them; there was at that time "no place in my fabric of thought into which it could be fitted." By slow degrees a place was made; but it was made, not by any preconceived or theoretical opinions, but by the continuous action of fact after fact, which could not be got rid of in any other way. So much for Mr. Anton Dohrn's theory of the causes which led me to accept Spiritualism. Let us now consider the statement as to its incompatibility with Natural Selection.

Having, as above indicated, been led, by a strict induction from facts,

to a belief: firstly, in the existence of a number of preterhuman intelligences of various grades, and, secondly, that some of these intelligences, although usually invisible and intangible to us, can and do act on matter and do influence our minds, I am surely following a strictly logical and scientific course in seeing how far this doctrine will enable us to account for some of those residual phenomena which Natural Selection alone will not explain. In the tenth chapter of my "Contributions to the Theory of Natural Selection," I have pointed out what I consider to be some of those residual phenomena; and I have suggested that they may be due to the action of some of the various intelligences above referred to. This view was, however, put forward with hesitation, and I myself suggested difficulties in the way of its acceptance; but I maintained, and still maintain, that it is one which is logically tenable, and is in no way inconsistent with a thorough acceptance of the grand doctrine of Evolution through Natural Selection, although implying (as indeed many of the chief supporters of that doctrine admit) that it is not the all-powerful, all-sufficient, and only cause of the development of organic forms.

In the preface to this last edition Dr. Wallace observes:

It was about the year 1843 that I first became interested in psychical phenomena, owing to the violent discussion then going on as to the reality of the painless surgical operations performed on patients in the mesmeric trance by Dr. Elliotson and other English surgeons. The greatest surgical and physiological authorities of the day declared that the patients were either impostors or persons naturally insensible to pain; the operating surgeons were accused of bribing their patients, and Dr. Elliotson was described as "polluting the temple of science." The Medico-Chirurgical Society opposed the reading of a paper describing an amputation during the magnetic trance, while Dr. Elliotson himself was ejected from his professorship in the University of London. It was at this time generally believed that all the now well-known phenomena of hypnotism were the result of imposture.

It so happened that in the year 1844 I heard an able lecture on mesmerism by Mr. Spencer Hall, and the lecturer assured his audience that most healthy persons could mesmerize some of their friends and reproduce many of the phenomena he had shown on the platform. This led me to try for myself, and I soon found that I could mesmerize with varying degrees of success, and before long I succeeded in producing in my own room, either alone with my patient or in the presence of friends, most of the usual phenomena. Partial or incomplete catalepsy, paralysis of the motor nerves in certain directions, or of any special sense, every kind of delusion produced by suggestion, insensibility to pain, and community of sensation with myself when at a considerable distance from the patient, were all demonstrated, in such a number of patients and under such varying conditions as to satisfy me of the genuineness of the phenomena. I thus learnt my first great lesson in the inquiry into these obscure fields of knowledge, never to accept the disbelief of great men, or their accusations of imposture or of imbecility, as of any weight when opposed to the repeated observation of facts by other men admittedly sane and honest. The whole history of science shows us that, whenever the educated and scientific men of any age have denied the facts of other investigators on *a priori* grounds of absurdity or impossibility, the deniers have always been wrong.

A few years later and all the more familiar facts of mesmerism were accepted by medical men, and explained more or less satisfactorily to themselves, as not being essentially different from known diseases of the nervous system, and of late years the more remarkable phenomena, including clairvoyance both as to facts known and those unknown to the mesmerizer, have been established as absolute realities.

Next we come to the researches of Baron von Reichenbach on the action of magnets and crystals upon sensitives. I well remember how these were scouted by the late Dr. W. B. Carpenter and Prof. Tyndall, and how I was pitied for my credulity in accepting them. But many of his results have now been tested by French and English observers and have been found to be correct. Then we all remember how the phenomena of the stigmata, which have occurred at many epochs in the Catholic Church, were always looked upon by sceptics as gross imposture, and the believers in its reality as too far gone in credulity to be seriously reasoned with. Yet when the case of Louise Lateau was thoroughly investigated by sceptical physicians, and could be no longer doubted, the facts were admitted; and when, later on, somewhat similar appearances were produced in hypnotic patients by suggestion the whole matter was held to be explained.

Second sight, crystal-seeing, automatic writing, and allied phenomena have been usually treated either as self-delusion or as imposture, but now that they have been carefully studied by Mr. Myers, Mr. Stead, and other inquirers, they have been found to be genuine facts; and it has been further proved that they often give information not known to any one present at the time, and even sometimes predict future events with accuracy.

Lastly, we come to consider the claim of the intelligences who are connected with most of these varied phenomena to be the spirits of deceased men and women; such claim being supported by tests of various kinds, especially by giving accurate information regarding themselves as to facts totally unknown to the medium or to any person present. Records of such tests are numerous in spiritual literature as well as in the publications of the Society for Psychical Research, but at present they are regarded as inconclusive, and various theories of a double or multiple personality, of a sub-conscious or second self, or of a lower stratum of consciousness, are called in to explain them or to attempt to explain them. The stupendous difficulty that, if these phenomena and these tests are to be all attributed to the "second self" of living persons, then that second self is almost always a deceiving and a lying self, however moral and truthful the visible and tangible first self may be, has, so far as I know, never been rationally explained; yet this cumbrous and unintelligible hypothesis finds great favor with those who have always been accustomed to regard the belief in a spirit world, and more particularly a belief that the spirits of our dead friends can and do sometimes communicate with us, as unscientific, unphilosophical, and superstitious. Why it should be unscientific, more than any other hypothesis which alone serves to explain intelligibly a great body of facts, has never been explained. The antagonism which it excites seems to be mainly due to the fact that it is, and has long been in some form or other, the belief of the religious world and of the ignorant and superstitious of all ages, while a total disbelief in spiritual existence has been the distinctive badge of modern scientific scepticism. The belief of the uneducated and unscientific multitude, however, rested on the broad basis of alleged facts which the scientific world scouted and scoffed at as impossible. But they are now discovering, as this brief sketch has shown, that the alleged facts, one after another, prove to be real facts, and strange to say, with little or no exaggeration, since almost every one of them, though implying abnormal powers in human being or the agency of a spirit-world around us, has been strictly paralleled in the present day, and has been subjected to the close scrutiny of the scientific and sceptical with little or no modification of their essential nature. Since, then, the scientific world has been proved to have been totally wrong in its denial of the facts, as being contrary to laws of nature and therefore incredible, it seems highly probable, *a priori*, it may have been equally wrong as to the spirit hypothesis, the dislike of

which mainly led to their disbelief in the facts. For myself, I have never been able to see why any one hypothesis should be less scientific than another, except so far as one explains the whole of the facts and the other explains only a part of them. It was this alone that rendered the theory of gravitation more scientific than that of cycles and epicycles, the undulatory theory of light more scientific than the emission theory, and the theory of Darwin more scientific than that of Lamarck. It is often said that we must exhaust known causes before we call in unknown causes to explain phenomena. This may be admitted, but I cannot see how it applies to the present question. The "second" or "sub-conscious self," with its wide stores of knowledge, how gained no one knows, its distinct character, its low morality, its constant lies, is as purely a theoretical cause as is the spirit of a deceased person or any other spirit. It can in no sense be termed "a known cause." To call this hypothesis "scientific" and that of spirit agency "unscientific," is to beg the question at issue. That theory is most scientific which best explains the whole series of phenomena; and I therefore claim that the spirit hypothesis is the most scientific, since even those who oppose it most strenuously often admit that it does explain all the facts, which cannot be said of any other hypothesis.

I have quoted at length from Dr. Wallace's exceedingly thoughtful preface, feeling that such observations from such a source will be of special interest to students of psychical science, and also to show how firmly this truly grand old man, this savant among savants, adheres to the spiritual philosophy.

In the body of the volume the author discusses among other subjects "Modern Miracles Viewed as Natural Phenomena," "The Evidence of the Reality of Apparitions," "Modern Spiritualism: Evidence of Men of Science," "Evidence of Literary and Professional Men to the Facts of Modern Spiritualism," "The Moral Teachings of Spiritualism," "A Defence of Modern Spiritualism," "Are There Objective Apparitions?" "What Are Phantasms, and Why Do They Appear?"

This work is justly entitled to a wide circulation; it is strong, dignified, critical, yet sympathetic; in a word, the truly scientific spirit pervades it.

THE DRAMA OF THE REVOLUTION.*

Reviewed by B. O. Flower.

In Ethan Allen's "Drama of the Revolution" we have a work as unique as it is thrilling and instructive, the merit of which lies in its close adherence to history and its vivid portrayal of the great scenes of the Revolution in such a manner as to bring the reader into intimate relation to the very atmosphere of the great epoch described that he seems to be one of the onlookers. Dramatic power is accompanied by the verity of history in a manner seldom, if ever, equalled. From the opening scene to the close of the drama the reader is enthralled by the fascinating influence of the pen which possesses the power to make men live before the reader's eyes and great scenes appear as they occurred. In this work it matters

* "The Drama of the Revolution," by Ethan Allen. Two volumes, illustrated. Price, cloth, $1.50 per volume; paper, fifty cents per volume. Published by F. Tennyson Neeley, New York and Chicago.

not whether the scene be laid in Boston, New York, Saratoga, at the English Council Chamber or the Court of France, whether the patriot army is enduring the terrible privation which only souls of purest mould will voluntarily endure or whether Cornwallis's army is stacking its arms at Yorktown, the reader's interest is sustained and he feels that instead of the details too often given in so tedious a manner in the endeavor to resemble the real thrilling facts portrayed much as a manikin resembles a man, he is actually witnessing in his mind's eye one of the grandest epochs in history. This work is of exceptional value for the young, as it will stimulate in them a noble patriotism precisely the reverse of the pseudo patriotism which has been nourished by the laudatory Napoleonic literature and which fans the war spirit but drives into the background the great principles of human rights, justice, freedom, and regard for the sanctity of life. Ethan Allen has written a noble work, one calculated to inspire lofty ideals while being as instructive as a carefully written history and as fascinating as a powerfully written work of fiction.

TWENTY-FIVE LETTERS ON ENGLISH AUTHORS.*

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.

The author of the work deserves the gratitude of all lovers of good English literature for a work of exceptional value to the student of English literature. In twenty-five letters about notable English authors from the days of Chaucer to Tennyson and Ruskin, she has given a vivid, entertaining, panoramic view of the master minds in English literature, with graphic glimpses of the ages in which the immortal trains passed, receiving from the ages and giving to the other ages the legacy of their thought.

There is a sturdiness of spirit and a wholesomeness of atmosphere and emphasis laid upon adherence to principle which is exceedingly refreshing at the present time when scholastic hair-splitting so frequently obscures the grand fundamentals which make up nobility of character. This is strongly illustrated in the following preface to the author's Letters on John Milton:

I have always felt that year a lost one in which I made no new friend. And this year I am the richer for your friendship. Is it not so? You are not merely a voice coming to me from a distance. I know you, I have tested your character in a good many ways, and I have not found you wanting yet. You have never yet said to me, "Don't give me so much to do. I can't find time to read all that. Is it necessary to do this? I don't see the good of it."

You haven't given up, even through the headaches and bad colds, and the lost days in a sick-bed. Your determination to learn, to grow, has not weakened. You haven't made physical weakness a pretext for mental inertness. I like that, and I like it the more emphatically because I so constantly meet with exactly the contrary spirit, with machine girls, who need winding as regularly as clocks do. They absolutely can't go of themselves. They must be wheedled and coaxed, and patted on the

*"Twenty-five Letters on English Authors," by Mary Fisher. Cloth, $1.50; 406 pages. S. C. Griggs & Co., Chicago, Ill.

head, or reprimanded and spurred to their tasks, and sometimes the wheels clog up or break, and then all the winding in the world can't make them go. They just stand still forever. They're alive, because they can wear fine clothes, and eat and giggle and chatter gibberish like magpies, but that's all. They never do anything unless it be to make life a burden to all who know them.

It is a pitiful comment on human weakness that every gang of workmen needs its overseer or "boss" to watch and see that each one is diligent. It is a pitiful comment on human short-sightedness that we cannot understand that all the heroic qualities, strength, courage, persistence, grow out of difficulties met and vanquished, out of pleasures denied and duties performed in the face of disinclination. There is an unhappy theory in practice at present, that everything should be made pleasant for young people, that their tasks should be turned into play, and that the seriousness of life must be studiously concealed from them. It is my opinion that when a child learns to walk by being carried about in its mother's arms, or a youth learns to swim by riding in a merry-go-round, he may also learn to be a thoughtful, energetic man, from being a thoughtless, idle, pleasure-seeking youth.

Ruskin has a good word to say on thoughtlessness in youth which I can't forbear quoting: "In general, I have no patience with people who talk about the thoughtlessness of youth indulgently. I had infinitely rather hear of thoughtless old age and the indulgence due to that. When a man has done his work, and nothing can any way be materially altered in his fate, let him forget his toil and jest with his fate if he will; but what excuse can you find for wilfulness of thought at the very time when every crisis of future fortune hangs on your decisions? A youth thoughtless! when the career of all his days depends on the opportunity of a moment. A youth thoughtless! when his every act is a foundation stone of future conduct, and every imagination a fountain of life or death. Be thoughtless in any after years, rather than now, though, indeed, there is only one place where a man may be nobly thoughtless, — his death-bed. No thinking should ever be left to be done there."

We need more of this seriousness and thoughtfulness among our youth, more of the spirit that faces an obstacle with no intention of yielding to it, but meets it as a river does a mountain. The river can't go over the mountain. Very well, then, it can go round it. At any rate, it will not run back to its source. Any way to get onward, onward, but never once backward. That is the heroic spirit. That is the spirit of John Milton.

I am glad we have that hero for our subject to-day. He fits exactly into the spirit of what I have been saying. You cannot find in all history so perfect an example of a man who lived so wholly above the vulgarities and annoyances of life, and yet at the same time shirked no duty, however distasteful, that came to him, never once turned aside from his lofty ideas, never once yielded to discouragement, but turned his very trials, his obstacles, his sorrows, into stepping-stones of glory.

It is not necessary that one should always agree with the author's estimate, and there are some points which will not, I think, stand the test of critical investigation, as when she cites the great-grandson's life of Sir Thomas More, instead of Sir Thomas's son-in-law, William Roper's life as the most authentic. Still, in spite of what appear to me to be occasional defects, the volume as a whole is exceedingly valuable, being characterized by vigor, clearness, and a directness of style very pleasing. It will interest all young people who love the literature of the mother country. It is at once rich in suggestion, entertaining, and instructive.

NOTES BY THE EDITOR.

I.

The Message of our Quaker Poet to Men and Women of the Present Day.

The life of Whittier, no less than his inspiring lines, bears a message of deep import to present-day civilization. In the feverish intoxication of modern existence, so rife with artificiality and duplicity he maintained a lofty serenity of soul and in his simplicity, naturalness, and candor proved the falsity of the teachings of certain modern sophists, who claim that the Christ-life cannot be lived in the environment of modern times. He, more than any of his illustrious contemporary singers, preserved from youth to silver age the soul of a child. Many men who in their higher and truer moments have given the world noble and elevating thoughts, have themselves signally failed to live up to their fine teachings and, in unguarded moments and hours of temptation, have so fallen that the recollection of their shortcomings rests like a sable cloud over their noble utterances. Not so with Whittier; his life was exceptionally pure, and while I imagine no man ever reaches at all times his ideals, our Quaker poet, in a greater degree than most of us, maintained that serenity of soul, that purity of thought and kindliness of nature, which reflect the divine side of man. That he sometimes fell short of his high ideals, is shown in many of his own lines, notably in the following from "My Triumph:"

Let the thick curtain fall;
I better know than all
How little I have gained,
How vast the unattained.

* * * *

Sweeter than any sung
My songs that found no tongue;
Nobler than any fact
My wish which failed of act.

And this consciousness of a failure to live up to his highest level in thought and aspiration is further illustrated in the following touching story told by Mrs. Mary B. Claflin, in her "Personal Recollections of Whittier:"

"The morning mail," observes this lady, "usually brought him a great number of letters (often as many as fifty); and one morning as he was looking over the pile before him, he lingered a long time over one, and looked troubled, as though it contained some sad news. At length handing it to me, he said: 'I wish thee would read that letter;' and then, with his head downcast, and his deep, melancholy eyes looking, as it

seemed, into the very depths of human mysteries, he sat still till I had finished it.

"It was written by one whose life had been spent on a remote farm among the hills of New Hampshire, away fron every privilege her nature craved — a most pathetic letter written, it seemed, out of the deepest human longing for sympathy, for companionship and uplifting. The lonely woman wrote, she said, to tell Mr. Whittier what his poems had been to her during all the years of her desolate heart-yearning for education, for enlightenment, and for touch with the great outside world. She added: 'In my darkest moments I have found light and comfort in your poems, which I always keep by my side; and as I never expect to have the privilege of looking into your face, I feel that I must tell you, before I leave this world, what you have been through your writings to one and, I have no doubt, to many a longing heart and homesick soul. I have never been in a place so dark and hopeless that I could not find light and comfort and hope in your poems; and when I go into my small room and close my door upon the worries and perplexing cares that constantly beset me, and sit down by my window that looks out over the hills, which have been my only companions, I never fail to find in the volume, which is always by my side, some word of peace and comfort to my longing heart.'

"The letter was such as would bring tears from any sympathetic heart, and I remarked, returning it to him, 'I would rather have the testimony you are constantly receiving from forlorn and hungry souls — the assurance that you are helping God's neglected children — than the crown of any queen on earth.'

"With tearful eyes and choking voice, he replied: 'Such letters greatly humiliate me. I can sometimes write from a high plane, but thee knows I cannot live up to it all the time. I wish I could think I deserved all the kind things said of me.'"

This touching incident is thoroughly characteristic of the life of him in whom we find humility, sincerity, simplicity, and sympathy, only equalled by a passionate devotion to freedom, justice, and truth — a man who was at once a poet of nature, an apostle of liberty, and a prophet of progress. He interpreted in a manner thoroughly intelligible to the most unschooled mind the profoundest truths of life, which pertain to the spirit, and which come only to the mystic, who in the hushed chambers of his soul hears speak the still, small voice of the Infinite. Finally, and crowning all, his life, of which I have spoken, was such as to give special emphasis to his inspired lines, and giving to them a peculiar value for aspiring youth.

II.

President St. John's Proposed Platform for the American Independents of 1896.

In the strong, patriotic, statesmanlike, and truly American platform proposed by Mr. William P. St. John, president of the Mercantile Na-

tional Bank of New York, and contributed to this issue of the ARENA, will be found much food for reflection.

As it would be impossible to find a candidate who would impress all sincere patriots as an ideal selection, in the nature of the case it will be so with any platform proposed for the unification of those intelligent friends of the business interests and the wealth creators of our nation in the present battle against the mechanism of the British financial policy. And yet all thinking persons who are also true patriots must recognize the fact that at the present time we have a clear-cut battle for supremacy between the forces of an *anarchical plutocracy* and those representing *social order and true democracy*. This is a supreme fact we must keep in mind, for it is the very point which the gold power and the combinations which systematically seek to debauch legislation, corrupt government, and evade justice most desire to conceal from the voter. And it is a notable fact that to this end patriotic statesmen and broad-minded and authoritative economists are being traduced almost as viciously as were Samuel Adams and John Hancock in the early days of our struggle against British oppression and for the establishing of an American Republic. In the present battle, moreover, old partisan prejudice is being appealed to, and all manner of absurd talk is put forth by conspirators against the Republic and their hired tools, which reminds one of the voice of the metropolitan press when Abraham Lincoln was nominated to the Presidency. Hence it is of paramount importance that we divest our minds of all prejudice and refuse to be longer deceived by the sham battle which has so long been carried on between the leaders of plutocracy's forces with the deliberate intent to mislead the voter.

I now wish to notice Mr. St. John's proposed platform from my personal point of view. As before observed, no platform or candidate will suit all sincere patriots. But in the battle now being waged between plutocracy and English domination on the one hand and democracy and Americanism on the other, patriots must be prepared to make concessions for the salvation of the Republic against corrupt boss rule and the subtle mechanism of the gold power in this land and the influence of the Bank of England's policy, which has so markedly prostrated our industries and in so large a way brought about stagnation throughout the length and breadth of the Republic.

In his first demand (*a*) Mr. St. John calls for the reopening of the mints for the free coinage of silver and gold at the ratio of 16 to 1. (*b*) Against the cry of the paid attorneys of the gold power that we would find silver cumbersome, he makes ample provisions in his proposition for coin-certificates, though as a matter of fact silver coined in smaller denominations than the dollar would not only be acceptable to America's millions, but would be very difficult, if not impossible, to corner by the gamblers of Wall Street. And this is one of the reasons why the usurer class are the sworn enemies of the white metal. The bugaboo of the bulk of silver dollars is merely a phantom of the gold power. Hence the issuance of silver in smaller denominations than the dollar, coupled with the proposed coin-certificate redeemable in coin

on demand, effectually does away with the bogy of the special pleaders of the Bank of England's financial policy. (c) There seems to have been a concerted effort on the part of the American Tories to alarm the business interests in the face of the tremendous discontent of the industrial millions which they find themselves unable to cope with, by the threat of a panic, if any change is brought about which will produce prosperity, happiness, and the independence of America's millions of wealth creators, from the business men and manufacturers to the artisans and farmers; this threat of a panic is threadbare, and had we a free press in the money centres of this country there would be no danger of it influencing any thoughtful business men. But Mr. St. John is a far-seeing financier as well as a patriot of rare judgment, and in his platform he has provided against the possibility of such a panic by the proposed issuance of coin-certificates against deposits of interest-bearing bonds, "which would provide for a temporary increase of $300,000,000 of paper money against the silver on hand in the Treasury April 1." The operation of this demand would make impossible any panic such as has been brought upon the country by the gold power more than once in the past three decades through contraction in currency; whereas, on the other hand, should the gold power win, a panic of unprecedented extent would be inevitable.

This is a distinctly American plank and would bring about a prosperity unknown to the present generation, because it would start into operation all the stagnant business enterprises which have been growing more and more paralyzed since the demonetization of silver and our bowing our necks to British rule. But being strictly American, as American as the spirit of Washington and Jefferson and Lincoln could desire, and looking toward the interest of the wealth creators of the Republic, whether they be manufacturers, merchants, artisans, or farmers, it is a demand that will naturally be bitterly opposed by the Anglo-maniacs and the tools of the gamblers of Wall Street and the gold ring generally.

In the second demand Mr. St. John advocates a tariff which would protect our newly established Southern cotton mills from the threatened competition of China and Japan, and "the increasing importation of long-stapled Egyptian in competition with our Sea Island cotton, and the ill effects of the abrogation of the tariff on wool along with the reduction in the tariff on woollen manufactures." Although it is unquestionably true that comparatively few thoughtful Americans, even among the manufacturers themselves, would favor the restoration of the tariff of the McKinley Bill which played so large a part in bringing disaster to the Republican party, it is doubtless true that a large majority of the American people — manufacturers, farmers, and artisans — are opposed to English free trade, though perhaps less strongly opposed to that than they are to the disastrous British gold monometallism, which is making our nation (so immensely rich in natural resources) year by year a greater and greater debtor nation, when it should be, year by year, becoming more and more a creditor nation.

Mr. St. John further provides against the oppression of the artisans

and the farmers by demanding not only that labor in the mills, factories, and the like receive liberal, continuous, and certain share of protection, but also that "the tariff devised shall afford also a protection to the farmer and the planter, and provide sufficient revenues for the necessary expenditures of government."

In reference to a reasonably protective tariff, which, as has just been pointed out, Mr. St. John explicitly demands should be so framed as to extend in its beneficial results to the farmer and the artisan, no less than to the manufacturer, it is well to bear in mind this fact: Mexico, probably the most prosperous nation of our time, has steadily stood by free and unlimited coinage of silver against the combined influence of European civilization and our own Republic. But she has carefully coupled this unlimited coinage of silver with protection, thus preventing her realm from being made the dumping-ground for the outputs of gold lands where money had been artifically appreciated for the few at the great expense of the many, and where in many instances starvation wages are the order of the day. Another fact to be borne in mind is the significant keynote sounded by Lord Salisbury a few years ago, indicating the policy which England undoubtedly intends to follow, provided they can succeed in the complete subjugation of the great Republic by the Bank of England ruinous financial policy, aided by the gold ring of America. In his famous declaration Lord Salisbury said that it was fair trade and not free trade that was wanted. This declaration, though premature, clearly indicated the policy which English statesmen have in mind, and which they intend to pursue if they can succeed in compassing *the complete dependency of the great Republic*. Her statesmen well know that if they can possibly succeed in overthrowing the American patriots who stand for a sound *American* financial policy and the permanent establishment of the gold ring of Lombard and Wall Streets in the once glorious and independent Republic, our splendid prestige as a leader among the great nations of the world will be lost, and what British bullets failed to accomplish during the Revolutionary War will be accomplished by British gold, the Tory class, and an overawed press, which feared the *phantom and the threats of those who are aliens in every impulse and instinct to sturdy republicanism or true democracy*. In this connection I am reminded of a recent utterance of the veteran banker and one of the world's greatest financial authorities, Jay Cook, in which he stated that "our national management for years has been like a people ashamed of what comes out of our soil and of the example of our fathers. We have discountenanced one half the monetary importance of silver, and to that extent have weakened our business activities." *

*Mr. Cook, in the interview to which I refer, also made the following significant reply to a question put by George Alfred Townsend:

"What is that volcano you were talking about, Mr. Cook?"

"I refer to the rapid manufacturing activity of Japan and China in duplicating cotton, metal, and about everything we manufacture in this country. Those people are contented, never forget anything when they have once learned it, and they still hold to silver coin, which costs but one half the same valuation now in gold. Don't you see that this difference of fifty per cent neutralizes the entire advantage of all our tariff legislation, if we should restore it? You buy $100 worth of watches in Japan for silver worth $50. You sell them in San Francisco for gold. Consequently, one

Being essentially conservative, in the highest and truest sense of this much abused term, Mr. St. John in the third place demands "the application of the principle defined as the Initiative and Referendum to all national legislation which involves any radical change in public policy;" pointing out that "the test may commend a broadening of the restriction, if found practicable. '*Should the great trunk lines of railway become a possession of the Government?*' would seem to be such a radical change in public policy as might wisely be referred to the people." Personally, I should suggest that the principles of the Initiative and Referendum be applied not only to national legislation, but to State and municipal. But it will be observed that this is covered by the preamble of the platform.

Finally, after very properly condemning the debauching of legislation by patronage to achieve legislation opposed to the will of the people as a vicious prostitution of executive influence, Mr. St. John continues:

"If all who have become distrustful of old parties and tired of boss rule will unite in these demands and nominate, on this platform, some man of such achievements as commend him to the conservative element of the country, and who is not a seeker after the preferment, he can be elected in the approaching campaign to the Presidency of the United States."

There is one point here which I think calls for serious thought, and that is Mr. St. John's reference to the nomination of a man whose achievements are such as to "commend him to the conservative elements of the country." In my judgment, the main demand by the Republic to-day must be for a man from the people; a man of undoubted honesty and integrity; a man essentially of the Abraham Lincoln type — and those who are acquainted with history will remember how fiercely that great apostle of freedom was condemned, prior to his nomination, by the conservative elements of the country, and how ridicule, abuse, and slander were heaped upon him; how continuously the element popularly termed conservative sought to frighten the people by all kinds of declarations in regard to Mr. Lincoln. But the people had become thoroughly aroused, almost as thoroughly as they are to-day; they had lost confidence in the men whom the pseudo conservatives desired, — for as a matter of fact the great rank and file of the wealth creators and not those who exploit their wealth are the real conservatives of the nation as they are its real strength. They called loudly for a man of the people — honest, tried, and true; a man who would uphold the law; a plain man, as democratic as Jefferson, as republican in instincts as Washington; not a man who distrusted them as did Alexander Hamilton or the present pseudo democratic administration, but a man on whom they could rely. And in my judgment the nomination of such a man, especially if he be selected from the South or the West, will insure the victory of the people in

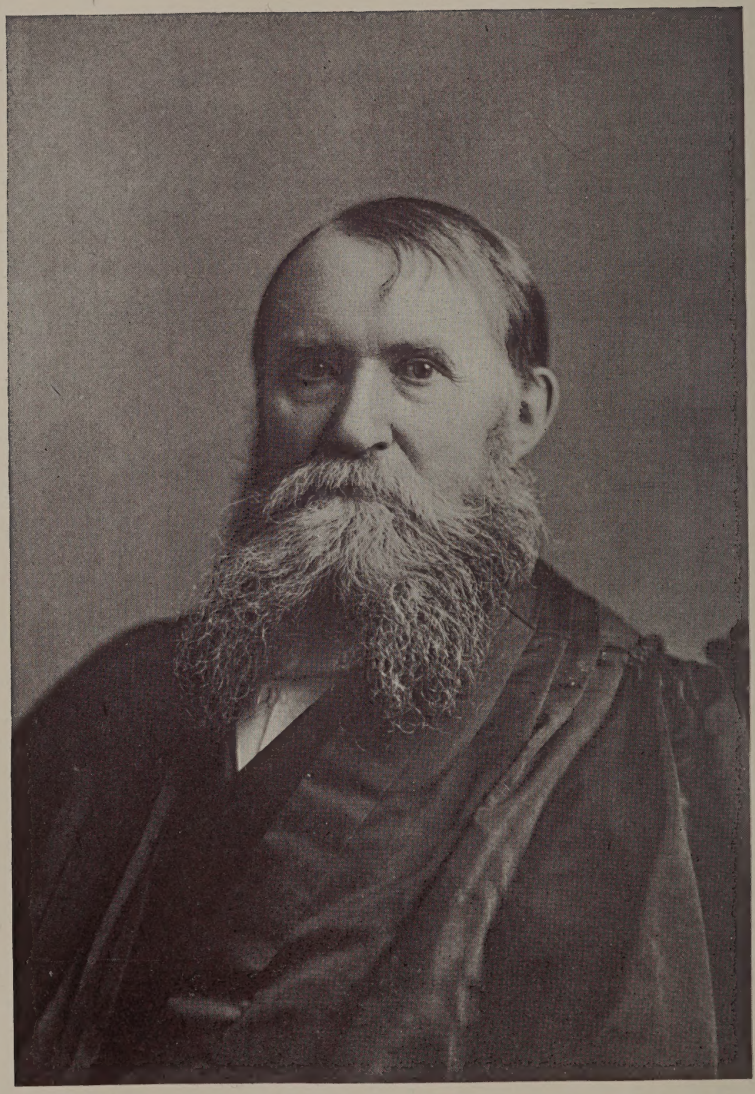
---

hundred per cent of our tariff protective is wiped out right away. Can you call men statesmen who do a thing like that?"

Later in the same interview the veteran practical economist and banker observed: "I believe that if we had an honest Supreme Court it would declare that closing the mints to silver coinage was unconstitutional. There were thirteen States, or provinces, or nations, which handed over to the general government the right to coin money, and every one of them meant silver to be the material for coinage. The general government accepted the constitutional power, and monopoly, in the course of time, closes its mint to the producers of silver."

spite of the debauching influence of the gold power, the party machines, and the political bosses. In the present battle no straddle will win; the dishonest straddles, platitudes, and planks which have deluded the voters for the past quarter of a century will delude them no longer. An attempt to straddle will not only brand the parties which make it and their nominees as cowards, but it will also be regarded as evidence of dishonest deals on the part of the candidates in question. The hour for evasions is past; the battle to be fought this year is to be fought between England and America, between prosperity and disaster, which, like creeping paralysis, has been coming upon the nation ever since the triumph of Britain's gold policy.

BROOKLINE PUBLIC LIBRARY



Yours truly
Henry C. Caldwell

BROOKLINE PUBLIC LIBRARY

THE ARENA.

No. LXXX.

JULY, 1896.

A JUST JUDGE.

BEING A BRIEF SKETCH OF HENRY CLAY CALDWELL OF THE UNITED STATES CIRCUIT COURT.

BY J. B. FOLLETT.

There is probably no position in the United States to which a man may be called that will so thoroughly test his metal as that of United States circuit judge, before whom the railway litigation of the country is brought. The fact that the railways bring to their service the best legal talent money will secure, backed as they are by all the influence and power of wealth, makes it marvellous that a single judge, from the sheer love of justice, could bring about such reforms in railway jurisprudence as have been wrought by the subject of this sketch within the past twenty years. When it is remembered that the abuses and iniquities of the old practice were bulwarked by an endless variety of forms of procedure and precedent, the task seems herculean.

So profoundly impressed has the country become by the wholesome reforms here inwrought, that a general desire to know more of the *just judge* who wrought them is everywhere manifest.

Henry Clay Caldwell is a native of Marshall County, Virginia, now West Virginia. He was born on the fourth day of September, 1832. His parents, Van and Susan Caldwell, were from Scotch-Irish ancestry, and imparted to their son a robust nature.

In 1836 the family moved from Virginia to that part of Wisconsin Territory which afterward became the State of Iowa. Van Caldwell secured a tract of land on the Des Moines River, about seventy miles above Keokuk, where the

son was reared amidst the toils, trials, and hardships of frontier life. The home of our subject was in close proximity to the Sac and Fox tribes of Indians, with whose customs, manners, and language he became familiar.

Having a keen intellect and a broad comprehension he became proficient in what was to be learned from the books and schools of the neighborhood, and at the age of seventeen he entered the law office of Wright & Knapp of Keosauqua, Iowa, as a student at law. So rapid was his progress that in his twentieth year he was admitted to the bar, and very soon thereafter was taken in as junior member of the firm, and at a single bound he took rank as one of the ablest young lawyers of the State.

At the breaking out of the Rebellion he promptly enlisted and became major of the Third Iowa Cavalry, and afterward its colonel. For untiring zeal and splendid martial bearing at the capture of Little Rock, Ark., he was recommended by his superior officer, Gen. Davison, for promotion to a larger command.

At this juncture, June, 1864, Abraham Lincoln saw the importance of the pacification and restoration of civil government in Arkansas, and as a means to this end he appointed Col. Henry Clay Caldwell to be judge of the United States Court for the District of Arkansas. This was another remarkable instance of Mr. Lincoln's ability to choose the right man for the accomplishment of desired results. It is said by another that "he resolutely kept his court out of political entanglement and displayed upon the bench a high degree of tact and penetrating common sense. He held the scales of justice so evenly that he soon acquired the confidence of the bar and the public."

Having occupied the position of district judge in Arkansas from 1864 to 1890, he was chosen to the higher and broader field of circuit judge for the Eighth Circuit of the United States Court of Appeals. This circuit comprises the States of Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, Arkansas, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wyoming, covering nearly one fourth of the entire area of the country.

The limits of this notice will not permit any specific mention of the many remarkable reforms brought about by his rulings both as district and circuit judge.

Notwithstanding the arduous labor incident to his position on the bench, he found time to respond to the call of his

countrymen at different times upon the living issue of the day. The Monticello Fair Association of Arkansas invited him to address them upon the subject of "Interest," which he did Oct. 14, 1886. The following extracts from that address will indicate its character, to wit:

The capital of this country in money, and lands as well, is rapidly centring in the hands of a few persons and corporations in the towns and cities. . . .

At the threshold of the discussion it may be well to inquire what money is, who created it, and what functions it was created to perform.

Money as a measure of value and a legal tender in the payment of debts is a creation of the law. It may be of gold, silver, copper, paper, or any other substance; but of whatever substance made, its value as a circulating medium and a legal tender in payment of debts is derived from the laws of men and not from the laws of nature.

The Constitution of the United States declares that "the Congress shall have power . . . to coin money" and "regulate the value thereof."

The Supreme Court of the United States has decided that Congress has power to make money out of paper, and make that paper a legal tender in payment of debts.

Observe, the grant of power to Congress not only includes the power to "coin money," but also "to regulate the value thereof."

The present standard silver dollar is a legal tender in payment of debts for one hundred cents on the dollar, and yet until the recent rise in silver bullion it contained less than ninety cents' worth of silver. The material of which a one thousand dollar legal tender note is composed is not as valuable as an ounce of cotton or an ear of corn. It derives its value from the law, which makes it a legal tender in payment of debts for the amount expressed on its face.

Gold and silver in bullion, or in spoons, plates, or ornaments, is not money. In all these shapes gold and silver are mere commodities to be bought and sold in the market like cotton or any other commodity. It must be coined by the government, and its value fixed and stamped upon it by law, before it becomes money.

Money was created to be a circulating medium — a measure of value and a legal tender in payment of debts; and it only performs its true function when actively employed in settling balances, facilitating exchanges and in industrial pursuits. It is a barren thing, it gives birth to nothing. Horses and cattle multiply and increase the wealth of the country, farms and factories yield their productions, but money is as incapable of producing anything as a yard-stick or a half-bushel.

It may be endowed BY LAW with the power to accumulate — that is, to draw interest. But this power is a GIFT OF THE LAW, and may be withheld altogether or granted to the extent only that it is found to be beneficial to the people.

To what extent money should be endowed with the power to draw interest depends, in a great measure, upon the average profits realized on capital invested in agricultural and industrial pursuits. . . .

To one who stops to think upon the subject the FEARFUL OMNIPOTENCE OF MONEY AT INTEREST is startling. . . .

The constitution of this State (Arkansas) of 1868 abrogated the usury law, and declared any rate of interest lawful. The rate of interest increased as long as that constitution was in force, until in 1872 it was proved on a trial in the United States District Court at Little Rock that the usual rate of interest in that city for loaned money was five per cent per month. . . . Labor is not the only thing that "strikes." Capital strikes, and its strikes are much more successful and crushing than those

of labor. Nothing combines so readily and effectively to advance its interests as money; and when the law leaves the regulation of the rate of interest to the necessities of the borrower and the avarice of the lender, a successful strike for a high rate of interest is the uniform result. . . .

One does not have to be gifted with the spirit of prophecy to foretell the deplorable consequences of a continued accumulation and concentration of capital, derived from the high rates of interest, in the hands of a few persons and corporations in the cities. The sober intelligence, courage, virtue, and patriotism that abide in the homes of the independent and prosperous farmers, are what every nation must rely upon for its support in peace and defence in war. Neither liberty nor prosperity nor virtue will long survive in a State where the husbandman is oppressed and impoverished. History teaches an important lesson on this subject.

Of money-lending corporations he said:

The stockholders of a corporation may die, but the corporation still lives; "men may come and men may go," but the corporation goes on forever; its stock changes hands, but the capital of the corporation is the property of the corporation, which no stockholder can touch; the perpetual accumulation and concentration of capital is in this way made secure against death itself. The money and lands it once acquires, it may hold forever. Corporations have already acquired in this State large tracts of land for speculation, and have also engaged in planting. Consider for one moment some of the characteristics of your neighbor, when it is a planting corporation. It has no soul, and therefore has no use for a minister of the gospel or a church; it has no children, and therefore has no use for a Sunday school, school teacher, or schoolhouse; it has no tangible body, and therefore pays no poll tax and does no road work; it never dies, and therefore has no use for a graveyard. A sense of moral accountability is essential to the best type of honesty and for fair dealing; but your corporation neighbor, having no soul and no conscience, has no moral sense. By the law of its life it is forbidden to recognize any but purely legal obligations. The sole object of its creation is to make money, and a generous or benevolent act would be what the lawyers call *ultra vires*—that is, something outside of the objects for which it was created, and therefore illegal. You thus see that every essential quality of good citizenship is wanting in your planting corporation neighbor. Its gains and profits are withdrawn from the State into the cities where its stockholders dwell. . . .

Whatever difference of opinion there may be as to the policy of allowing the unlimited ownership of lands by individuals, I assert, upon authority, that no Christian can dispute that God created this earth for his children, and not for the godless and soulless artificial creations of man.

From an address delivered by Judge Caldwell before the Arkansas Bar Association Jan. 7, 1886, I take the following extracts:

The coercive power of the law for the collection of debts is not the basis of credit. The foundation of credit by which the commerce of the world is carried on is confidence in the honesty, business capacity, and probable ability of the debtor to meet his engagements. The richest man in Arkansas could not buy, on credit, a bill of goods in St. Louis or New York, if it was known that he would not pay except at the end of an execution. . . .

The strongest law of man's nature is the primal law of self-preservation. Hunger is craving, imperious, and irresistible, and must be satisfied

or end in a tragedy. Nothing renders a man so desperate as real hunger; and nothing renders him so dangerous to social orders as the knowledge that his hunger is the result of unjust or oppressive laws.

To justify the preference shown by the law for the creditor over the debtor, it is assumed that all credit is given on the petition of the debtor, for his sole accommodation and benefit. Money-lenders who advertise for borrowers, and loan them money at usurious rates, and tradesmen who insist on selling their wares on credit at prices that yield them from twenty-five to three hundred per cent profit, masquerade before the public as natural born eleemosynary corporations engaged in dispensing bounties with liberal hand to poor debtors. They speak of their transactions with their debtors as being, on their part, unselfish and disinterested acts of benevolence.

The pretence is glaringly false. The money-lender is the one who prefers to cast on others the hazards incident to the investment of capital in industrial, productive, and commercial pursuits. He therefore anxiously seeks to loan his money at a high rate of interest, and thus absorbs the profits, and not unfrequently the capital, of the industrial or commercial pursuit in which it is invested by the borrower, without himself incurring any of the risks which are inseparable from such pursuits. . . .

The foundation on which the respect for contracts rests is the conviction that they have been fairly entered into and that they are advantageous to both parties. . . .

The homestead is not exempted to the debtor for any merit of his own. It is given to the FAMILY for its protection, and for the protection of the State and society. Every home, however humble, safely secured to the family, is a block of granite added to the foundation of the Republic.

The patriotism, courage, and virtue to preserve the Republic must come from the homes of the tranquil masses. The accidental head of the family should not, therefore, be allowed to mortgage the family homestead, any more than he should be allowed to mortgage the liberty or virtue of his wife and children. . . .

A corporation created for the sole purpose of lending money is nothing but a concentrated and intensified usurer and miser. The man who lends his money and deals honestly with his customers, and resorts to no fraudulent or sham devices to evade the usury law, is a respectable and useful citizen; the miser even has a soul, shrivelled and diminutive though it be, which may sometimes be filled with generous emotions; but this artificial and magnified money-lender has no soul, no religion, and no God but mammon. By the law of its creation it is legally incapable of doing anything but lend money for profit; every other function is denied it by law; the song of joy and the cry of distress are alike unheeded by it; it neither loves, hates, nor pities; its chief virtue is the absence of all emotion which imparts uniformity and regularity to its business methods; it is argus-eyed and acute of hearing, or blind and deaf, accordingly as the one or the other of these conditions will best subserve its interests. Though a legal unit, it is infected with all the mean and plausible vices of those who act only in bodies, where the fear of punishment and sense of shame are diminished by partition; it never toils, but its money works for it by that invisible, sleepless, consuming, and relentless thing called interest. It never dies; and, unlike the man who lends money, has no heirs to scatter its gains; and in the eager and remorseless pursuit of the object of its creation, it turns mothers and children out of their homes with the same cold, calm satisfaction that it received payment of a loan in "gold coin of the present standard of weight and fineness."

These corporations have agents in the State, whose offices are embellished with a flaring placard reading, "Money to Loan." Over the door

of every such office ought to be inscribed in characters so large that none could fail to read, the startling inscription that Dante saw over the gates of hell:

"All hope abandoned, ye who enter here."

The latest expressions we have from Judge Caldwell upon questions of general public interest may be found in his "Remarks" before the Greenleaf Law Club, St. Louis, Feb. 20, 1896.

The subject under consideration was "Railroad Receiverships."

In this discussion the great reforms he has brought about in railroad jurisprudence were shown. He said:

At an early day in the history of railroad receiverships the prevailing idea was that the principal object of such receiverships was to relieve the railroad company from its debts and liabilities incurred in the operation of the road, and to have it operated by a court, for whose torts and negligence the trust fund would not be liable. Under the early practice a railroad receivership was a very desirable thing for the railroad company and its bondholders.

The benefit inuring to the railroad company and its mortgage bondholders from a railroad receivership was the opportunity it afforded to escape the payment of all obligations of the company for labor, supplies, and materials furnished and used in the construction, repair, and operation of the road. Whenever a railroad company became so largely indebted for labor, material, and supplies and other liabilities incurred in the operation of its road that it could profitably pay the expense incident to a receivership and foreclosure, for the sake of getting rid of its floating debt it sought the aid of a friendly mortgage bondholder, through whose agency it was quickly in the hands of a receiver, and immediately a court of equity was asked and expected to do the mean things which the company itself was unable or ashamed to do. The president of the company was commonly appointed receiver, and the work of repudiating its debts was swiftly and effectually accomplished through the aid of a court of equity. The floating debt incurred in improving and operating the road for the benefit of the company and its security holders was repudiated, and the road formally sold under a decree of foreclosure to a new company in name, organized by the owners of the stock and bonds of the old company. By this process a railroad company was enabled to escape the payment of its debts by what was little more than a mere change of its name, and often the only change made in that was from Railroad Company to Railway Company.

At the time Judge Caldwell was placed upon the bench of the Circuit Court the foregoing practice had been of long standing, and of course sustained by numerous precedents. In the minds of the Eastern bondholders it was his duty to follow the line that had been so well established. It was deemed audacious by the grave and learned lawyers from Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, for a Western judge who had but recently assumed the robes in the Circuit Court of Appeals to presume to make a ruling in conflict with their "established precedents."

It would have been an easy matter for Judge Caldwell, if he had been differently constituted, to float with the current and receive the applause of the rich and mighty.

But he had the courage of a Jackson and the heart of a Lincoln, and he said this iniquity must cease. He accordingly formulated his rules to govern the appointment of receiverships. Heretofore no one along the line of a railroad had been permitted to bring suit against a receiver. This rule was rescinded, and a new one adopted for reasons given by him as follows:

The general license to sue the receiver is given because it is desirable that the right of the citizen to sue in the local State courts on the line of the road should be interfered with as little as possible. It is doubtless convenient, and a saving and protection to the railroad company and its mortgage bondholders, to have the litigation growing out of the operation of a long line of railroad concentrated in a single court, and on the equity side of that court, where justice is administered without the intervention of a jury. But, in proportion as the railroad and its bondholders profit by such an arrangement, the citizen dealing with the receiver is subject to inconvenience and expense, and he is deprived of the forum and the right of trial by jury, to which in every other case of legal cognizance he has the right to appeal for redress. It is not necessary, for the accomplishment of the purposes for which receivers of railroads are appointed, to impose such burdens and deprivations upon citizens dealing with the receiver. And neither the railroad company nor its bondholders have any equity to ask it. Where property is in the hands of a receiver simply as a custodian, or for sale or distribution, it is proper that all persons having claims against it or upon the fund arising from its sale should be required to assert them in the court appointing the receiver. But a very different question is presented where the court assumes the operation of a railroad hundreds of miles in length and advertises itself to the world as a common carrier. This brings it into constant and extensive business relations with the public. Out of the thousands of contracts it enters into daily as a common carrier, some are broken, and property is damaged and destroyed and passengers injured and killed by the negligence and tortious acts of its receiver and his agents. In a word, all the liabilities incident to the operation of a railroad are incurred by a court where it engages in that business; and, when they are incurred, why should the citizen be denied the right to establish the justice and amount of his demand by the verdict of a jury in a court of the country where the cause of action arose and the witnesses reside? If the road were operated by its owners or its creditors, the citizen would have this right; and when it is operated for their benefit by a receiver, why should the right be denied?

It is said that if suits are allowed to be brought in the courts of common law the plaintiffs would probably receive more by the verdict of a jury than would be awarded to them by the master or chancellor, and that to compel the receiver to answer to suits along the entire line of the road subjects him to inconvenience and entails additional expense on the estate. This is probably true. But why should a court of equity deprive the citizen of his constitutional right of trial by jury, and subject him to inconvenience and loss, to make money for a railroad corporation and its bondholders? If the denial of the right to sue can be rested on the ground that it saves money for the corporation and its creditors, why not carry the doctrine one degree further, and declare the receiver shall

not be liable to the citizen at all for breaches of contract or any act of malfeasance or misfeasance in his office as receiver? This would be a great saving to the estate. The difference is one of degree and not of principle. When a court through its receiver becomes a common carrier, and enters the list to compete with other common carriers for the carrying trade of the country, it ought not to claim or exercise any special privileges denied to its competitors and oppressive on the citizens. The court appointing a receiver of a railroad, and those interested in the property, should be content with the same measure of justice that is meted out to all persons and corporations conducting the like business. The court appointing a receiver cannot, of course, permit any other jurisdiction to interfere with its possession of the property, or control its administration of the fund; but, in the case of long lines of railroad, the question of the legal liability of its receiver to the demands of the citizens, growing out of the operation of the road, should be remitted to the tribunals that would have jurisdiction if the controversy had arisen between the citizen and the railroad company; giving to the citizen the option of seeking his redress in such tribunals, or by intervention in the court appointing the receiver.

To still further protect the creditors along the line of the railroad, the following is given as a copy of an order he recently issued for the appointment of a receiver:

And it appearing to the court that the defendant company owes debts and has incurred liabilities to the residents and citizens of this district which the holders thereof could, without any interference with the legal or equitable rights of the complainant under the mortgage set out in the complaint, collect by proceedings at law from said defendant by seizing its rents, income, and earnings, and in other lawful modes, if not restrained from so doing by this court, and that it would be inequitable and unjust for the court to deny to said creditors and claimants their legal right to collect their several debts and demands by appointing a receiver to take and receive the earnings of said road during the pendency of this suit, as prayed for in the complainant's bill, without providing for the payment of such debts and liabilities:

It is therefore declared that this order appointing the receiver herein is made upon this express condition, namely: that all debts, demands, and liabilities due or owing by the defendant company which were contracted, accrued, or were accrued in this district, or are due or owing to any residents of this district, for ticket and freight balances, or for work, labor, materials, machinery, fixtures, and supplies of every kind and character done, performed, or furnished in the repair, equipment, operation, or extension of said road and its branches in this district, and all liabilities incurred by the said defendant company in the transportation of freights and passengers, including damages for injuries to employees or other persons and to property, which have accrued or upon which suit has been brought or was pending or judgment rendered in this State, within twelve months last past, and all liabilities of said company or persons or corporations who may have become sureties for said company on stay or supersedeas bonds or cost bonds, or bonds in garnishment or other like proceedings, without regard to the date of said bonds, or whether such bonds were furnished in actions or proceedings pending in this district or elsewhere, together with all debts and liabilities which the said receiver may incur in operating said road, including claims for injuries to persons and property as aforesaid, are hereby declared to be preferential debts, and shall be paid by the receiver as the same shall accrue, out of the earnings of the road if practicable, or out of any funds in his hands applicable to that purpose, and if not sooner dis-

charged, then the same shall be paid out of the proceeds of the sale of the said road, which shall not be discharged from the custody of this court until said debts and demands are paid.

The following extract from one of Judge Caldwell's decisions will show his attitude as between the corporations and the workingmen: *

The court is asked to apply to the employees in its service the principles of the early statutes, which, by the imposition of heavy pains and penalties, forced laborers to work at fixed wages, and made it an offence to seek to increase them or to quit the service of their employer. The period of compulsory personal servitude, save as a punishment for crime, has passed in this country. In this country it is not unlawful for employees to associate, consult, and confer together with a view to maintain or increase their wages, by lawful and peaceful means, any more than it was unlawful for the receivers to counsel and confer together for the purpose of reducing their wages. A corporation is organized capital; it is capital consisting of money and property. Organized labor is organized capital; it is capital consisting of brains and muscle. What it is lawful for one to do it is lawful for the other to do. If it is lawful for the stockholders and officers of a corporation to associate and confer together for the purpose of reducing the wages of its employees, or of devising some other means of making their investment profitable, it is equally lawful for organized labor to associate, consult, and confer with a view to maintain or increase wages. Both act from the prompting of enlightened selfishness, and the action of both is lawful when no illegal or criminal means are used or threatened.

It is due to the receivers and managers of this property to say that they have not questioned the right of the labor organization to appear and be heard in court in this matter, and that what they have said about these organizations has been in commendation of them and not in disparagement.

Men in all stations and pursuits of life have an undoubted right to join together for resisting oppression, or for mutual assistance, improvement, instruction, and pecuniary aid in time of sickness and distress. Such association commonly takes place between those pursuing the same occupation and possessing the same interests. This is particularly true of men engaged in the mechanical arts and in all labor pursuits where skill and experience are required. The legality and utility of these organizations can no longer be questioned.

Thus has this judge, with a nerve of the right temper and a heart in the right place, "established justice" in the federal courts of the Eighth Circuit.

---

*Extract from Judge Caldwell's opinion in case of Ames *vs.* Union Pac. Rv. Co., 62 Fed. Rep., page 14.

THE TELEGRAPH MONOPOLY.

BY PROF. FRANK PARSONS.

VII.

EVILS OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM (*continued*).

Misgovernment and political corruption are evils to which the private telegraph contributes. Long ago the president of the Western Union said:

> The franks issued to Government officials constitute nearly a third of the total complimentary business. The wires of the Western Union Company extend into 37 States and nine territories within the limits of the United States, and into four of the British Provinces. In all of them our property is more or less subject to the action of the national, State, and municipal authorities, and the judicious use of complimentary franks among them has been the means of saving to the company many times the money value of the free service performed.[1]

This is a clear confession of deliberate and systematic and successful effort to influence legislation and administration through personal favors granted to legislators and public officers — in other words, a plain confession of habitual bribery, stated not in penitence, but in pride and boastfulness. One who has studied Western Union history is not surprised that it should resort to bribery to accomplish its purposes; but that it should deem a public statement of its crimes consistent with its safety is suggestive of startling inferences concerning

[1] Report of 1873. See also Wan. Arg. p. 164; Creswell's Rep. 1873, p. 49; *Voice*, May 30, 1895, p. 1, etc. The passage is constantly cited by writers and speakers dealing with the telegraph, because of its astounding nature and implications. I have it on the authority of one of the most distinguished members of the United States Senate that "books of telegraph franks are tendered to every Senator and member of Congress, and most of them accept the favor." At the very least the situation suggests, as Judge Clark says, "that members of Congress and Senators having *free* telegraphing themselves are not as likely to be impressed with the iniquity of high rates as we who have to pay them, and that the monopoly is alive to the fact that the continuance of their monopoly depends more upon the good will of Congress than upon any argument they can make or any reasons they can give." The telegraph franks are worth hundreds, yes, in some instances thousands of dollars a year to the favored law-maker. The stoppage of this deadhead bribery would remove one of the great obstacles in the path of telegraph reform. A Congress that enjoys the privilege of free telegraphy will not be likely to vote down the system that gives them so valuable a privilege, in order to exchange it for a system under which they would have to pay for all telegrams outside of the Government's business. But pass a law declaring the acceptance of telegraph blanks a misdemeanor, and our Senators and Congressmen will be able to see the evils of the private telegraph. It would be perfectly right to make the acceptance of franks a cause of dismissal from the House or Senate and

the company's opinion of the people and their governments and its power over them. The telegraph franks are a very successful imitation of the political tactics of the railways with their free passes and rebates. But the railways have sense and conscience enough left to be ashamed of corruption, and seek to hide it, instead of openly exulting in it.

The Western Union does not confine its political efforts to the "judicious" issuing of franks. Congressman Charles A. Sumner of California when a candidate for re-election to Congress was defeated by Western Union influence because he had earnestly worked for a postal telegraph.[2] Victor Rosewater says that Jay Gould spent $250,000 to defeat Wanamaker's postal telegraph.[3] He says further:

> The power which the lobby holds over Congress in such matters is proverbial. I saw clearly the hand of the Western Union when I appeared before the Congressional Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads March 18, 1890. There was but one member of that committee who was not already opposed to the postal telegraph, that being Mr. Blount of Georgia. The chairman was very plainly working in the interests of the Western Union.[4]

Mr. Gompers, speaking in 1894 of House Report 2,004, Bingham committee, 47–2, said:

> This report of the House Committee, to which I have referred, reads really more like an indictment of an organized band or guild of robbers in the old feudal days rather than a reference to an organization for the purpose of transmitting hurriedly the necessary business of the country. Let me quote six lines of the committee's report. "Objection has always been made by the Western Union Telegraph Company to the establishment of a postal telegraph system controlled by the United States Gov-

---

forfeiture of office. If I employ an agent C to attend to my business with W, S, Z, etc., and C accepts a gift from W which tends to make him swerve from my interests and conduct my business with W with an eye to W's interests, instead of being wholly loyal to me, such acceptance is a breach of trust and good cause for revocation of the agency and dismissal of C, — that is law and common sense. If some strong Congressman will propose such a bill as we have mentioned respecting the receipt of telegraph franks, and show the matter up in its true light as a perennial mortgage of Congress to the Western Union, the bill will become a law, for very few of our representatives will be bold enough to put themselves on record as openly favoring such shameless wrong and manifest departure from their duty to the public.

In 1884 Vice-President John Van Horne of the Western Union testified before the Hill committee that the business franks issued in a year would amount to $1,000,000, so that the franks issued to Government officials would amount to $300,000 at least, if they bear the same ratio to the total frankage as in 1873. Recent presidents have not seen fit to bulletin their corruption funds. The amount of franking in any year is a matter of small importance compared to the momentous fact that the Western Union systematically and successfully relies on this insidious sort of bribery to influence legislation and administration in its own interests.

[2] Henderson Com., 1894. I. T. U. Hearings, p. 56.

[3] The *Voice*, Aug. 29, 1895, p. 1.

[4] Ibid. p. 8.

ernment in connection with the post office service of the country, and sundry attempts at the establishment of such a postal system have been defeated by the interposition of agencies and influences unknown by your committee." The inference is appalling.[5]

Prof. Richard T. Ely, discussing the postal telegraph in THE ARENA for December, 1895, page 52, declares that "it would remove a great source of political corruption; a source so powerful that it has been claimed that it recently defeated the election of a presidential candidate."

Mr. Sumner of California, in his speech of Feb. 28, 1885 (page 15), on the floor of the House, charged the Western Union with complicity in two efforts to steal the presidency (1876 and 1884), and said that "Mr. Hueston, the honest man connected with the telegraph and news monopoly in New York City," would confirm his statements if called to Washington to testify.[6]

The private telegraph has used its political power not merely to control legislation, defeat distasteful candidates, and secure the election of its allies, but is said even to have gone so far as to order a confiscation of the property of the United States to its own use. Such at least is Victor Rosewater's interpretation of the military order of Feb. 27, 1866, by which 14,211 miles of land line and 178 miles of submarine cable established in the South by the Government during the war, and worth between 2 and 3 millions, were turned over to the telegraph companies. The order was issued by Gen. Eckert, then acting Secretary of War and general manager of the Western Union. These lines were ostensibly given to the companies in compensation for lines seized by the Federal authorities, but Rosewater says that these latter lines had been used against the Government with as much effect as batteries of artillery and were contraband of war, not subject to compensation any more than horses, wagons, guns, and ammunition in use by the enemy and seized by our armies. I do not know the inner facts of the transaction well enough to judge of its motive.[7]

---

5 I. T. U. Hearings, p. 10.

6 Mr. Sumner said that "Mr. Hueston would testify to the shameless efforts of Jay Gould and others to misrepresent and misreport and otherwise give aid and comfort to a diabolical scheme for changing the true count of the ballots in the Empire State," which was the key of the whole election.

7 On general principles an effort to indemnify individuals against overwhelming losses thrown on them by war is commendable. The burdens of war should be distributed and should not fall with crushing weight on any individual or group. Whether Gen. Eckert really acted on this principle, honestly and consistently ap-

It is not surprising to find that the telegraph giant has fastened his grip on the throat of honest government. The telegraph is managed by the same class of men, and to a large extent the same individuals, who manage the railroads and colossal trusts. They are in the habit of buying legislatures and congresses in the interests of railways, sugar, oil, whiskey, etc., and it is perfectly natural that they should adopt the same policy in respect to the telegraph. The leaders and rulers among them are Wall Street gamblers and manipulators, and fraud is as natural to such men as water to a duck, stealth to a tiger, or an ambush to Indians on the war-path. P intrusts his affairs to C; W pats C on the back, treats him with great consideration, does him many favors, and finally suggests that C shall deed the rights and properties of P to W in consideration of past obligations and of W's promise to share with C the proceeds of the transfer. C yields to the tempting prospect and to the pressure arising from the fact that little by little he has already been led to act in such a way that W could ruin him by exposure,—the deed is made, W and C grow rich and P grows poor. P stands for the people, C for Congress or Legislature, and W for Wall Street, Western Union, wealth on the war-path. Money, lands, bonds, and franchises belonging to the people are transferred by their agents without consideration so far as the people are concerned, and the agents and transferees grow rich while the people grow poor. The people cannot have their rights because they do not elect enough men who had rather act honestly and justly than to share directly or indirectly in the proceeds of a steal. Seventy millions of people cannot have a postal telegraph to render them cheap and efficient service, because it would interfere with the profits of 3,500 stockholders whose agents are cunning enough to take the agents of the people into partnership—if the agents of the people were to vote a postal telegraph they would vote to destroy profits in which they themselves participate.

The twelfth evil that characterizes our present telegraphic system is *the dangerous concentration of power and wealth in*

plied so far as he could to all persons who had met with crushing losses, or merely used the plea of compensation in this instance as a cloak for an order securing special benefits for the telegraph interests with which he was connected, I am unable to determine from the testimony before me. (Bingham Com., Rosew. 2-3.)

the hands of a few irresponsible persons. Speaking of the fact that the Western Union in its compact with the newspapers had reserved to itself the exclusive right of furnishing commercial and financial news to individuals and associations, the Hill committee said:

> For the purpose of giving fabulous fortunes to its inside managers and their friends, the Western Union need not send untrue market quotations. It has only to give the true quotations a single hour, or less than that, in advance to those whom it means to favor, and the work is effectually accomplished. No such power should be allowed to exist in this country; the temptation to abuse it is enormous, and will, sooner or later, prove to be irresistible.[8]

The committee continues:

> The Western Union collects the market news every morning in London and Paris, and sends it to New York, whence it is distributed to every mart and hamlet throughout the length and breadth of this land. A fraction of a penny on a pound of cotton is a fortune to any man. They admit no partnership in this part of their business. They tolerate no rival, no control in the supply of market reports to every part of this country. It is a power too important, too vast, to be intrusted to any corporation, to any set of men.
>
> The telegraph company can raise or reduce the rates. Its control over the press is therefore absolute. It has the power of life and death, for the telegraphic news is the vital breath of the daily newspaper. Such a power cannot exist without its exerting a pernicious influence upon public affairs, and every observant public man has long perceived the demoralizing influence of this powerful but subtle agency.

Some years ago the following despatch was received on 'Change in Chicago, purporting to come from San Francisco:

> North winds for past three days damaged wheat greatly. Prospects indicate about one third crop of this State. Market strong.

This despatch put up the price of wheat nearly three cents in the face of lower markets in Liverpool and New York. It is scarcely worth while to inquire what *grounds* there were for the sending of such a despatch. All seemed to disbelieve it, thinking the north wind no worse than the east or any other wind; but the market went up notwithstanding, and

---

[8] Sen. Rep. 577, p. 18. In reply to a question whether inaccurate reports might not be sent over Government wires, Gardiner G. Hubbard said, "Yes, but there would not be this ability of persons owning the lines to confine information to A and B for 2 or 3 hours. Give me the advantage of a couple of hours over other people, and I can make a fortune every hour in the day." (I. T. U. Hearings, 1894, p. 27.) It is true that inaccurate reports might be sent over Government wires, but the temptation would be small, because their accuracy could be so easily and rapidly tested, and the author of a false report would lose future credit with small chance of present gain. It is the ability to discriminate — to send a false report and delay or color the messages sent to test it and the replies to them — to keep a true report from the public a little while after the masters receive it — it is this power of discrimination that gives the owners of a private telegraph their tremendous advantage in the market.

thousands of dollars were gained or lost through this telegram. The *reasons* for sending it were extensively canvassed on 'Change, and the cry which has been so often raised in the past was repeated, "*that the ostensible manager of the telegraphic system through which this despatch came is a speculator in grain and uses the wires to sway the market up or down, as best suits his own ends.*" [9]

John Wanamaker says:

The Western Union is controlled by an executive committee of 3 or 4 men sitting in their offices in New York. Its wires run all over the country, extending by their connections into every part of the globe. This company controls the market price of each article that is dealt in in every mart in this country. It controls to a greater or less extent all the news, social, political, and general, that is sent over its wires, and every important personal telegraphic communication. This corporation is uncontrolled by any law save the interests of its directors.[10]

The concentration of power does not always stop with a group of three or four of the heaviest stockholders or leading officers, — the absolute control of the entire Western Union system has been and may easily be again centred in a single will.

In 1884 Chairman Hill of the Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads said:

It is a well-known fact that one man of those 2,900 stockholders owns more than half the stock of the Western Union.[11]

The National Board of Trade said in 1882:

This great system of the Western Union, as well as the ocean cables connecting us with the rest of the world, are now virtually controlled by one man, and this individual whose name has become a synonym for unscrupulousness and rapacity in common with a few others of similar character, now aims at and has largely succeeded in controlling the channels of intelligence, of thought, and of commerce in a nation of 50 millions of people.[12]

The report quotes United States Senator Windom as saying:

The channels of thought and of commerce thus owned and controlled by one man or by a few men, what is to restrain corporate power or fix a limit to its exactions upon the people? What is there to hinder these men from depressing or inflating the value of all kinds of property to suit their caprice or avarice, and thereby gathering into their own coffers the wealth of the nation? [13]

---

[9] House Rep. 114, p. 11.

[10] Wanamaker's Arg. p. 4.

[11] Sen. Rep. 577, Part II. p. 63.

[12] Report of Nov. 15, 1882, p. 11.

[13] Ibid. Windom's words are also quoted in I. T. U. Hearings, p. 58, by Hon. John Davis.

The *Manufacturer* in its issue of April 1, 1890, remarked that:

> The strongest argument for the transfer of this business to the post office is that it is now wholly within the control of one man. This individual possesses the power to inform himself of the nature of any intelligence transmitted over the wires, whether it refers to business, to family matters, or to politics. He also has the press of the country at his mercy. No daily newspaper could conduct its business if it should be denied press rates for its despatches while its rivals were accorded that favor.
>
> Such a magnate holds the good name of every candidate and public man in the hollow of his hand. "The reputation of the ablest and purest public man may be fatally tainted in every town and village on the continent by a midnight despatch." [14]

The Ramsey committee says:

> The power of inspecting the correspondence of the nation, of affecting the markets of the country, of influencing public opinion and action in any important crisis, is possessed by those who control the telegraph.[15]

I have seen a presidential convention so completely demoralized by a telegram that the man who had the despatch dethroned the chairman and temporarily captured the convention.

On page 5 the report last cited quotes the New York *Tribune* as saying that the man who controls the telegraph (as Jay Gould did and as another equally dangerous man may come to do at any time) is "enabled to speculate on the prices of our leading staples in every market of the world. It will make him master of the press, for the press depends upon the telegraph, and enable him, if unscrupulous, to give to the news of the day such a color as he chooses, and thus fatally to pollute the very fountain of public opinion." [16]

Jay Gould is reported to have said that he had rather be president of the Western Union than President of the United States, and no wonder — the bond-issue-gold-reserve trick had not been discovered in his day and the chief executive's powers, except in time of war, and his chances at any time of fleecing the people to line his own pocket were insignificant compared to those enjoyed by the Czar of the Telegraph.

---

[14] Sen. Rep. 577, Part II. p 65.

[15] Sen. Rep. 242, 42-3, p. 4.

[16] During the Wanamaker investigation of the Postal Telegraph, the misleading testimony of Dr. Norvin Green, president of the Western Union, was telegraphed with all its errors and sophistries free of telegraph toll to all the newspapers of the New York Associated Press, and it was quite generally published in full. The facts and arguments adduced in *favor* of a postal telegraph had to *pay* for transmission and did not get anything like so full a publication. (Wanamaker's Arg. p. 140.)

Even in respect to filling offices the power of the Wall Street king is very great. Richard J. Hinton, a noted journalist, testifying before the Blair committee, said, "I think Jay Gould has more power to elect members of Congress than the President and the whole of his cabinet." [17]

The American people would be indignant if any one should charge them with favoring royalty, creating and sustaining dukes, marquises, lords, and earls, or meekly submitting to titled aristocrats of any grade. There would be a revolution if Congress should confer the title of lord, or duke, or earl, on Vanderbilt, Gould, Rockefeller, Morgan, Sage, etc. Lord Gould, Lord Rockefeller, Duke Morgan, and the rest would soon find the country too warm for their habitation. Yet the essence of royalty and aristocracy is not in the title but in the overgrown power which one man possesses over his fellows. The board of directors of the Western Union is as truly a body of aristocrats as the lords and dukes of England. A Congress that grants railroad, telegraph, and banking privileges to private individuals, establishes a far more powerful and therefore more dangerous aristocracy than any that could possibly be created by the mere bestowal of titles of nobility.

At the very start far-sighted statesmen clearly saw the danger of leaving the telegraph to private control. Postmaster-General Cave Johnson said in 1845–6: "In the hands of individuals or associations the telegraph may become the most potent instrument the world ever knew to effect sudden and large speculations — to rob the many of their just advantages, and concentrate them upon the few. If permitted by the Government to be thus held, the public can have no security that it will not be wielded for their injury rather than their benefit. . . . Its value in all commercial transactions to individuals having the control of it cannot be estimated." It is not an accident that the board of directors of the Western Union is a board of millionnaires and polymillionnaires — the bees know where to look for honey.

Postmaster-General Creswell speaks of the "abuse of the wires for personal ends by business men controlling them, and the vast and irresponsible influence of telegraphic managers over the press of the country."

Postmaster-General Howe, after speaking of the wastes and extortions incident to a private telegraph, continues:

---

17 Blair Com. Vol. II. p. 409.

But a stronger reason still why the Government should control the telegraph is found in the fact that it is as potent for evil as for good. Like Government itself it is too terrible to be wielded by other than representatives of the whole people. In the great commercial centres, public stocks, corporate and mining stocks, bonds, and the staple products of agriculture are bought and sold daily to the amount of thousands of millions. In all these markets one great telegraph company wags its tongue incessantly. For all these commodities it is the arbiter of prices. Prices go up and down according to its inculcations. Whoever controls its utterances may at pleasure buoy a market in which he wishes to sell, or break one in which he wishes to buy. That is an agency much too dreadful to intrust to private hands. I am far from asserting that a use so malign has ever been made of this agency. I speak of its capabilities, not of its history. Knowing that it can be so abused, it seems to be the dictate of prudence not to wait till it is so abused. It is manifest that even when the Government controls the telegraph a falsehood which may sink a stock or float it may still be sent over the wires. But truth will have equal freedom on the lines. In Government hands the telegraph will maintain an exact neutrality between the two fierce parties which, day by day and year by year, contend for supremacy in the markets. In private hands it may become the mere creature, as malignant as mighty, of that party which its owner from time to time chooses to join. If he choose, he may give free course to falsehood, and if he choose, he may imprison the truth. Who else can trade in a market dominated by such a power?

Congressman Gibson says:

The dangers and possibilities of evil resulting from private ownership of all the telegraph lines in the United States are appalling when considered in connection with times of financial, social, or political peril. No private corporation should have the power to pollute, pervert, or destroy the streams of information on which our people must depend and our Government act. The postal telegraph is necessary to the national welfare. A country that allows private ownership of all its telegraph lines is criminally indifferent to the machinations of fraud, the devices of selfishness, and the possibilities of prejudice, and wilfully tempts fate to strike in the crisis of danger.[18]

Henry Clay made the danger of private ownership an emphatic part of his splendid plea for a National Telegraph in 1844. He said:

It is quite manifest that the telegraph is destined to exert great influence on the business affairs of society. In the hands of private individuals they will be able to monopolize intelligence and to perform the greatest operations in commerce and other departments of business. I think such an engine *should be exclusively under the control of the Government.*[19]

Such is a part of the overwhelming testimony to the fact that our private telegraph is a gross disturber of the fair distribution of wealth and power. It is one of the big clubs that our modern bandits use to compel the people to give up their money. The great robbers of to-day are not satisfied with the capture of one or two travellers now and then on

[18] Letter in the *Voice*, June 13, 1895.

[19] Quoted by Postmaster-General Wanamaker, 1892, Rep. p. 27.

the lonely highway, — our broadcloth bandits must capture the nation *en masse*, — they want the world and they know how to get it. They have taken the law-makers into partnership and had their methods legalized, and called them "right" so long that they have actually persuaded themselves that they are not robbers at all, but "enterprising citizens," and so they are able without a pang to use the railroads, telegraphs, banks, and trusts to fleece ten millions or a hundred millions of people at once, just as their ignorant, uncivilized, unevolved predecessors used a club or a gun to fleece two or three unfortunates. And the farmers and working people generally will have to keep on handing over their surplus wealth to the cunning schemers, until they (the workers) get sense enough to elect men who know what justice is and can remember the cardinal principles of virtue long enough after election to declare robbery to be robbery whether it be perpetrated with a six-shooter in a dark alley, or with a telegraph, a railroad, a bank, a bond scheme, or a trust in Wall Street, — and to take the telegraph and the rest of their weapons away from the broadcloth bandits and imprison them in just legislation at honest and useful labor, — the fortress of fraud could be carried if we could even elect men who would do no more than give us the Initiative and Referendum, — we can do the rest for ourselves if once we can get the right to vote on the law directly whenever our "representatives" do not represent us.

(*To be continued.*)

SHALL WE HAVE A NATIONAL SANITARIUM FOR CONSUMPTIVES?

BY WILLIAM THORNTON PARKER, M. D., MUNICH.

"COME in consumption's ghastly form" are the words our children are taught to recite at school before they are able to understand the real meaning of the scourge which carries off to an untimely grave so many of the brightest and best of New England's youth. It requires only a glance at the Registration Report of Massachusetts for the year 1891 to convince us of the terrible mortality from consumption in the old Bay State.

The number of deaths registered in 1890 from this, the most prominent cause of death in the list of diseases, was 5,791, of which number 2,717 were males and 3,074 females. The actual number of deaths from this cause was 210 greater than that of 1889, 63 more than that of 1888, and 80 less than that of 1887. The ratio of deaths to the total mortality was 13.30, which was less than that of 1889, and was also the least of any year yet recorded.

We see by these statistical reports that this scourge of consumption is worthy of our most serious attention. The enthusiasm which welcomed the promises held out by the treatment inaugurated by Koch indicated very clearly how widespread is the suffering caused by consumption. There is hardly a home where we cannot find the traces of its cruel influence; some relative or friend has succumbed, or is an invalid, on account of it. If consumptives are proverbially hopeful, the relatives and friends are also eager to provide every means possible to mitigate the action of the disease. Every climate is investigated, every possible health resort visited, and thousands of dollars wasted on patent medicines promising relief. Consumption is, generally speaking, a preventable disease, and is, without doubt, to be attributed, in most cases, to the neglect of the laws of hygiene. Its origin is to be sought for in weakened constitutions; in homes where sanitary conditions are more or less wanting; in habits which prevent the necessary amount of exercise required for the proper expansion of the chest. It is found

ROYAL NATIONAL CONSUMPTIVES' HOSPITAL, ISLE OF WIGHT, ENGLAND.

in homes containing air more or less vitiated, instead of the pure air abounding with the ingredients necessary for health and life. It depends largely upon improper food and clothing, and is frequent in unhealthy homes deprived of needed sunlight, and poisoned with damp and musty atmosphere unfit for people to breathe. It is found in those whose habits are sedentary, and in those exposed to raw and chilly winds whose circulation is not strong enough to react. Sanitary science has diminished very largely, within the past twenty-five years the mortality from what used to be the terrible scourge of consumption; but the science of climatology is needed quite as much in effecting a lasting cure. The climate cure is the only rational hope the consumptive has to-day. The wisdom of our best medical advisers, the most perfectly built and equipped sanitariums in regions where consumption is always present, can never equal the advantages to be derived from a residence in a climate suitable for the treatment of consumption. If the science of climatology had been recognized earlier in the history of medicine as one of the most important studies, it would have kept pace with other departments of medicine, where most thorough and careful attention and investigation have been rewarded with brilliant and oftentimes wonderful success. Therapeutics, surgery, ophthalmology, gynecology, and many other departments are considered of practical importance; but the study of climate is too often thought to be only interesting for fashionable invalids, or as a "*dernier résort*" for patients who are hopelessly diseased. Physicians sent away their patients suffering from diseases of the lungs on long journeys, and invariably to places where personal knowledge could have had little to do with the selection. Even at the present time these invalids are sent to Florida, to the shores of the Mediterranean, to Italy, to the Alps, to Southern California, and to many other places where a permanent cure is well-nigh impossible, and, worse than this, where despair and death are the only rewards for the difficulties and the expense of the fruitless undertaking. With all the light which patient research has yielded, medical men still persist in recommending these places of which they have so often absolutely no personal information. These unfortunate patients, in the eager longing for health, leave home and friends and comfortable care, only to attain bitter disap-

pointment. With many of these invalids it is a desperate move — perhaps a last chance. If the climate does not prove beneficial, then they must die there, for they cannot return home. Perchance all the means available for travel have been expended in reaching the health resort. There is no money left for the return trip; and oftentimes the physical resources have been exhausted, as well as the money, by the long journey. The physical forces of the patient have been sustained by the *hope* for a cure. What a responsibility the physician has assumed who has sent his patient away from home without the due consideration and personal investigation so requisite when giving an opinion as a climatologist! It is not reasonable for physicians to recommend localities they have not visited and carefully investigated. If the profession of medicine is threatened with serious and lasting injury from the great number of specialists who now appear even in our smaller towns, it is equally true that the specialist devoting his time to the science of climatology has a right to exist, and will prove a valuable member of the body medical. At present we expect our specialists in diseases of the air passages to be expert in climatology. Success in this study must depend largely upon the attention to what may seem minor and unimportant details. In sending a patient to any given place, we must know beforehand what he will find, when he arrives, to insure his comfort and protection. It does not suffice to send a patient to a health resort. The careful medical adviser follows him every mile of his journey, and sees to it that he is provided with comfortable quarters, sunny and dry; that he has suitable clothing; that he can obtain wholesome food, and that systematic bodily and mental exercise can be enjoyed. Hygiene and climatology are therefore inseparably united for the best interests of our patients. We can hope for little if one or the other is absent in the effort made to effect a cure. With all the advice we can offer, many of our patients cannot or will not attend to our directions, and guard against the dangers we are so willing to warn them against. It depends very much upon a man's bringing up as to his chances for getting well. There can be no longer any doubt that the only rational cure for consumption is the climate cure. We hear of the home treatment of consumption, of sanitariums near our Eastern cities, of rooms provided with an artificial tem-

perature supposed to be healing, of cabinets containing specially prepared vapors, of cylinders containing more or less of oxygen for inhalation, of sub-cutaneous injections like that of Koch's, of positive cures in the shape of remedies in smaller or larger bottles; but the result with all of them is the same — failure to cure the disease. There may be some transitory benefit from some of these treatments, but the best of them are only palliative. We have no right to make our patient or his friend believe that he is deriving special benefit from such treatment as a means of ultimate cure. Neither is it possible for chemical science to manufacture an atmosphere in any sense the equal of that found in our Western Health Section; and even if it were, contact with it could be but temporary, for, after leaving the rooms containing it, the invalid must return through the damp and chilly streets to the conditions previously existing in the home. It may be considered very unwise to remove an invalid from home at all, and especially so when there is no reason to doubt that consumption has already fully developed itself. It may seem not only cruel to the patient, but unfair to tax the anxieties and resources of friends in making the change. The cost is undoubtedly heavy, but the prize is often life. To stay at home in the East and have the frequent call of the doctor is a poor makeshift for rational treatment. What does such a course amount to? At most, to encourage, to hold out false hopes, possibly to benefit, or to make dying easier, but not to cure. If it be banishment to live in New Mexico or Colorado, certainly that is better than death at home in the Eastern or Middle States. A useful occupation and the pursuit of out-of-door pleasure, either for man or woman, is better than the imprisoned life in an Eastern home, useless to all, and oftentimes a care and expense to those who love us best. The Western Health Section is large enough to hold all the consumptives the East contains, and to cure hundreds who are to-day treading the downward path of despair.

We can readily see from the foregoing how many difficulties beset us in our efforts for the welfare, comfort, and cure of our consumptive patients. If we send them to foreign lands, we break up their association with home, subject them to a long and wearisome journey, expose them to the annoyances which invalids seldom fail to encounter among

strangers, and finally land them among inhospitable foreigners, who care for little else than what it is possible to obtain from their purses. The hoped-for improvement does not result; indeed, the patient may get worse. Any one who has witnessed the sufferings in foreign lands of American families which death has invaded, will hesitate a long time before exposing any one to the risk of such hardship. The English people have long ago found this out. Dr. Arthur Hill Hassall, the founder of the Royal National Hospital for consumption in England, recognized this truth in his efforts to mitigate the sufferings of this unfortunate class of patients. Consumption is the most prevalent and fatal of the maladies to which Englishmen are exposed. According to the returns of the register-general's office for the year 1887, forty-four thousand nine hundred and thirty-five deaths occurred in England and Wales from phthisis. Notwithstanding that consumption is the most frequent and fatal of diseases, even in England, less has been done to provide for the necessities, and to alleviate the sufferings of those laboring under it than from any other disease. "Owing to their protracted nature, and the consequent expense entailed, cases of consumption are, to a large extent, excluded from the general hospitals."

The climate of England, very much like that of our New England States in this respect, is favorable for the development of diseases of the chest; but there is one section known as the Under-cliff Region of the Isle of Wight, which is peculiarly suited for the successful treatment of consumption. It is not, however, equal to our Western Health Section for affording a positive cure. The Under-cliff Region of the Isle of Wight is unique. It rises above the ocean, its bright southern exposure bathed continually in the warm sunlight, and the atmosphere is filled with the health-giving properties of the sea. Rising behind it for a thousand feet are the massive "downs," which protect it perfectly from the bitter north winds. Here in this favored region, where out-of-door life can be constantly enjoyed, where the scenery is of surpassing loveliness, and where all the luxuries and pleasures of life can be obtained, Dr. Hassall founded the noble institution which has since its foundation been "the means, by God's blessing, not only of affording relief and comfort to, but also of saving, the lives of many of the deserving poor.

The hospital is erected upon the separate principle; that is to say, each patient is supplied with a separate bedroom. Thus the patients are distributed through a series of ten blocks of houses, situated in a locality well sheltered from unfavorable winds, the houses being designed in harmony with the surrounding scenery, constructed upon sound sanitary principles, and surrounded by gardens. In these houses the patients enjoy the advantages of large sitting and separate sleeping rooms, of a lovely landscape and sea view, of plenty of light and sea air, of effective ventilation and good drainage, and, as far as possible, of a regulated temperature. They morever experience all the comforts and conveniences of home in place of being congregated in wards in one large building, and subject, in consequence, to many depressing and injurious influences. The results achieved have been most satisfactory.

"The hospital, as at present open, comprises twenty houses in ten blocks, with accommodation for one hundred and thirty-two men and women patients, and there is a chapel in the centre, the whole being connected by a spacious subway.

"Nearly nine thousand in-patients have already received the benefits of the institution (besides those who have been treated as out-patients), many of whom have been enabled to resume their occupations after leaving the institution.

"Sixteen of the houses have been erected by private friends, and they form so many separate and complete hospitals. Each house bears a distinct name, usually that of the donor or some relative whose name is associated therewith 'in memoriam.'" — *Report of the Royal National Hospital for Consumptives, Ventnor, Isle of Wight, 1889.*

With consumption so prevalent in the United States, is there nothing our government can do to mitigate the terrors of this disease? Is there any reason why we should not have a national sanitarium for consumptives? There are certainly *many* reasons why we should have such a humane institution, and it is the purpose of this paper to call attention to some of them at least! In the first place consumption is sufficiently prevalent and so disastrously fatal that it would seem to be a question of *national* importance. Indeed, it is one worthy of the consideration of our government, and one which has already been brought forward — first in the House of Representatives by General Cogswell of Massachu-

setts, in February 1891, and later by Senator Gallinger of New Hampshire, March 22, 1892.

The first bill read as follows: —

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress Assembled:

SECTION 1. That the establishment of a national sanitarium for the treatment of consumption be and hereby is authorized.

SECT. 2. That the president of the United States be and hereby is authorized to appoint a committee of three or more physicians to visit New Mexico and Colorado, to select a suitable site for a sanitarium for the treatment of consumption.

SECT. 3. That the travelling expenses and transportation, together with a reasonable "*per diem*" payment for services of committee, be provided by the government.

SECT. 4. That the committee so appointed present, within six months after their appointment, to the president of the United States a report concerning the best location for such a sanitarium.

SECT. 5. That the secretary of war be and hereby is authorized to furnish said committee a list of abandoned military stations in New Mexico and Colorado, and that one of these stations may be selected by the committee for the location of the national sanitarium.

SECT. 6. That the sum of fifty thousand dollars be and hereby is appropriated for the repair and maintenance of such a military station, to be used as a national sanitarium.

SECT. 7. That this act take effect immediately after its passage.

In preparing this bill for presentation, the writer had little or no experience in such matters; he only knew that a national sanitarium for consumptives was and is urgently needed, and that more than one of the abandoned military posts would be admirably suited for the purpose. These posts or "forts" consist of several separate buildings of different sizes, the larger having served as barracks for the soldiers, the smaller for officers and their families. These are usually grouped around or about a large square reserved as a parade ground. They have generally been well built, and have cost the government large sums of money. Their separate and convenient arrangements make them especially suitable for the purposes of a sanitarium on the cottage plan. Thirty or forty thousand dollars would provide for the maintenance of about two hundred patients and pay the salaries of the attendants for one year. This amount of time would be sufficient to demonstrate the value of the experiment. Where the need for such an institution is so urgent and where the posts are abandoned and falling into decay from disuse, it seems greatly to be regretted that the government cannot

make them serve the purpose of a national charity. Large two or three story buildings are not so desirable as the scattered quarters already referred to. The military buildings would be convenient and much more healthy, and could be economically brought into practical use.

The following is the text of the joint resolution: —

JOINT RESOLUTION

Providing for the appointment of a commission to select a site for the establishment of a national sanitarium for the treatment of pulmonary diseases.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the president of the United States shall appoint a commission consisting of three persons, two of whom shall be physicians, whose duty it shall be to select a site, and make report thereon to the president, for the establishment of a national sanitarium for the treatment of pulmonary diseases, said location to be in some one of the territories of the United States, and upon such of the public lands as may be unoccupied.

SECT. 2. That the commission so appointed shall, within six months after their appointment, report to the president of the United States where, in their best judgment, is the proper place to establish said sanitarium, together with the boundaries of the land whereon to establish the same, and also rules and regulations suited for the government of the same.

SECT. 3. That upon the receipt of such report the president shall by proclamation withdraw the lands described in said report from sale, and from pre-emption, homestead, or other entry or sale, and shall reserve the same for the purposes of said sanitarium.

SECT. 4. That the surveyors-general of the several territories shall, under the direction of the secretary of the interior, make such surveys and render such assistance to said commission as the said commission may desire.

SECT. 5. That the travelling expenses, fares, and other expenses incident to the selecting and reporting upon such site shall be paid out of the Treasury of the United States, upon vouchers properly certified, and the said commissioners shall each be paid ten dollars per day for each and every day they shall be actually employed on such duty.

SECT. 6. That fifteen thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the payment of said commission, their expenses, fares, clerk hire, and all other matters connected with or growing out of the selecting and reporting said site.

The bill introduced by General Cogswell provides for the occupancy of one of the abandoned military posts — of which Forts Lyon, Colorado, Union and Selden, New Mexico, are

the most suitable. The twenty thousand dollars asked for to pay the expenses of a travelling commission would very nearly maintain Fort Union as a sanitarium for a year; and as the buildings of the post so recently abandoned would require only moderate outlay for repair, and could be at once brought into use, it would seem that *that* locality would be the most desirable.

It will be seen from the foregoing that the necessity for a national sanitarium has been recognized, and powerful agencies have been set in motion to bring about the desired action. Another reason why we should have such an institution is because we have, in what is known as our Western Health Section, a climate wonderfully suitable for the cure of consumption. It is doubtful if anywhere else a more perfectly aseptic atmosphere exists than in this health section which is contained in New Mexico, Southeastern Colorado, Western Kansas, and that portion of Texas known as the Panhandle. It is simply wonderful in its curative action on weak or diseased lungs. I have witnessed this repeatedly, and there are very many people leading useful, active lives in this section to-day who had been given up as incurable in the Eastern, Middle, or Western, or Southern States years and years ago. The writer visited these general health resorts as early as 1867 — riding on horseback from Fort Riley, Kan., to Fort Cummings, N. M., very near the boundary of Old Mexico. Since then on several occasions he has visited the territories already referred to, and has frequently verified the facts concerning the wonderful climate which can be enjoyed there. At the present time accommodations are expensive and oftentimes very indifferent. There are a few well-managed hotels which deserve to be ranked as "first-class," but generally speaking, it is difficult to find suitable accommodations for the average traveller in good health; and to provide for the delicate invalid is not only very expensive, but at any cost almost impossible. There are many people in moderate circumstances who would be thankful to go to New Mexico or Colorado, and whose friends would provide the necessary transportation, if they could only secure good and wholesome shelter after arriving at their destination. There are others equally deserving and equally anxious to get well who would go if they had sufficient means to subsist upon after their arrival. In the latter

cases it would be very difficult even to obtain the necessary travelling expenses. These are additional reasons why we need a sanitarium in New Mexico. If Congress will provide for a national sanitarium, we can accomplish untold good for thousands of poor American invalids. Is it not a wonder that we have no national sanitarium for consumptives? We should have had such an institution inaugurated years ago; in fact, as soon as it would have been safe to inhabit the land. If, then, we secure the right to create a national sanitarium, where shall we locate it? In making a selection of a locality, we must bear in mind the following requirements: It must be near some great artery of communication with *home;* that is, generally speaking, with our important centre — in other words, it must be near a railroad, if not actually upon one. It must be near a town or village, affording opportunities to obtain necessary supplies of all kinds. It must contain or be accessible to agreeable society; and last, but not least, it must be able to provide suitable employment of mind and body for all its occupants. Purity, dryness of air and soil, moderate elevation, temperateness, sunshine — all these may obtain, and yet our patients mope and die in despair from homesickness merely because the mind and body are not occupied with wholesome normal *work*. Idleness kills more people every year than many so-called dangerous diseases, and yet its name never appears in the nomenclature of disease as a possible cause of death! We may calculate our returns, and decide wisely as to climate; but if the patient's bodily comfort cannot be assured and mental rest secured when he reaches his destination, our wise counsels will have been in vain, and idleness will have been the enemy to defeat all our best-laid plans for our patient's betterment. Occupation is, then, one of the remedies which must be provided at our national sanitarium, and this is the very thing needed to aid in making such an institution in part, at least, self-supporting. A wise administration will provide, in part payment for board, useful and regular daily employment for the men and for the women — the women about the houses or in the open sewing-room; the men about the grounds, gardens, stables, carpenter shops, etc. A busy hygeia could be created, peopled by patients on the road to happy recovery, who perhaps very recently had well-nigh abandoned the last hope for cure. What a noble char-

ity a few thousands could inaugurate! How many cheerless homes could be made happy if but the word could be spoken to open the gates of one of our frontier forts, and let these poor people inhabit houses which must soon fall to pieces from neglect, and which a very little money would easily fashion into homes where hope and life would dwell in grateful remembrance of a parental government with some concern for the lives and happiness of the poor! We see these costly lunatic asylums and prisons in our Eastern States and on government reservations, we see millions spent on war materials; and yet so far nothing has been done to mitigate the sorrows and sufferings which every home in the land has more or less dreadful knowledge of. The time has come for us to ask boldly, and with hope of favorable answer, for a *national sanitarium for consumptives.* Let every merciful man and woman urge upon their senator or representative prompt and generous approval of this humane measure for the mitigation of such widespread sorrow and suffering. How generously we are wont to provide for a few sufferers anywhere! but if we could collect all the consumptives in one place, how quickly we should stir about to extend our mercy to them! Scattered over this great land of ours from ocean to ocean, in every city, town, and hamlet, they extend their entreaty for help. They know not what to ask; but we should know enough, when a simple and reasonable request is made in their behalf, to instantly do what we can to aid in such a worthy cause. Let us contradict the heartless statement of the professor who, upon being asked what can be done for consumptive patients, replied, "There are but two remedies for such unfortunates — opium and lies." Consumption is, however, curable, and a national sanitarium for consumptives is needed. With the opportunity at present afforded for making use of one of our abandoned military posts situated in an ideal climate for cure, it would seem as if it were the duty of the government to make the experiment.

THE TREE OF EQUITY.

BY BOLTON HALL.

In the Garden of the King's palace stood a beautiful Tree; a fountain nourished it with the water of Love, and underneath the Children did their wholesome work and played.

Some of the King's Servants said: "This tree is good for shade; but in the world we have seen charitable trees which give food and drink and medicine and raiment as well as shade. Therefore we will plant such trees beside the other."

And these new trees grew up and shut off the winds of heaven from the Tree of Equity so that it grew twisted and waxed weak. Moreover, the water of the fountain was drawn off. Therefore the leaves of the Tree of Equity withered away.

When its shade was lost the fierce heat of Competition beat down and sucked up the springs of Love, so that the sap dried out even from the earthly trees, and those who sought shelter from the heat were mocked by withered boughs.

SOME OUTSPOKEN CHAMPIONS OF FREE COINAGE OF SILVER AMONG CONSERVATIVE AUTHORITIES OF THE EAST.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

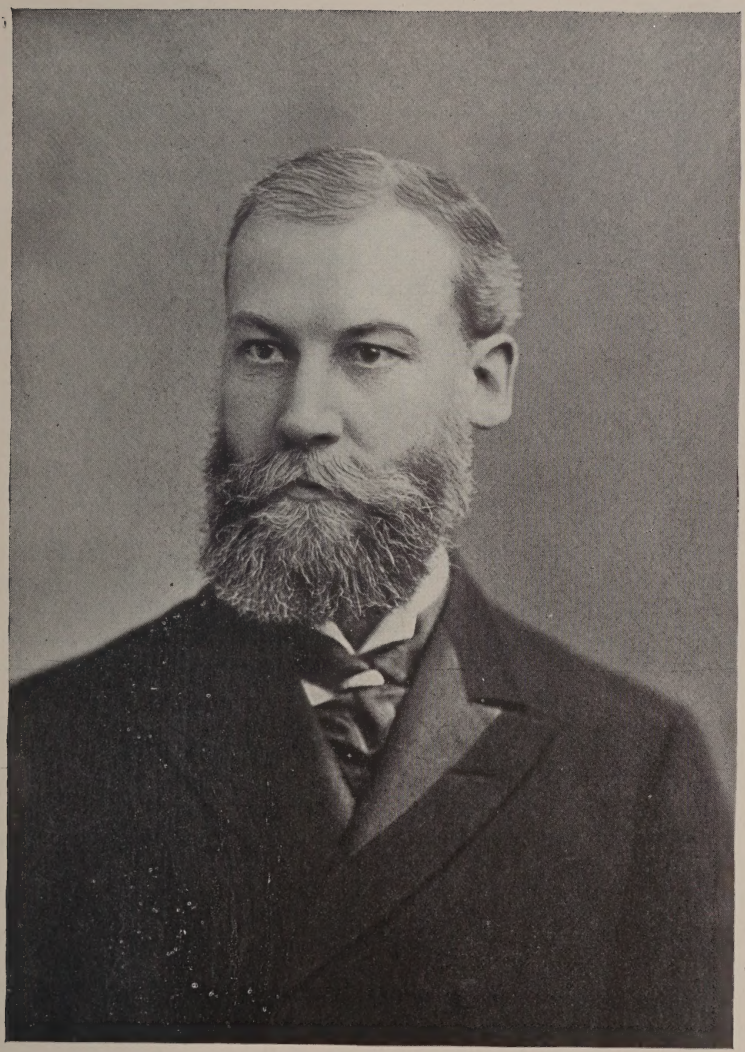
Nothing is more common than the employment by the special pleaders of the gold ring of abusive epithets, the charge of ignorance, or the imputation of selfish motives levelled against those who seek to restore the prosperity and happiness of our own nation through overthrowing the ruinous policy of the Bank of England and the American Tories. Hence I have deemed it wise to call attention to a few outspoken advocates of free coinage of silver among the most scholarly conservatives (using this much-abused term in its true sense) and authoritative thinkers of the East, who, if they could be seduced by the gold ring, would be exalted to the topmost rung as authorities by the gold press.

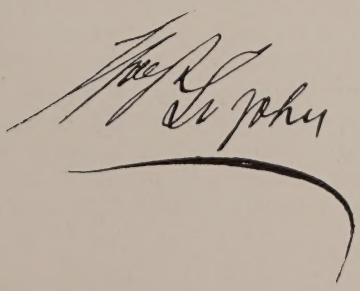
It is my purpose to confine myself in this paper to prominent thinkers among the most conservative authorities, such as bankers, financiers, and jurists, and also to notice only persons who have been life-long members of the Republican or Democratic parties, as I wish to show how absurd, *even from an ultra conservative point of view*, is the clamor of the special pleaders for the gold ring, that authorities in finance and careful jurists discredit the popular demand for the immediate opening of our mints for free coinage of silver at 16 to 1.

One of the ablest authorities on finance in America to-day is

MR. WILLIAM POPE ST. JOHN, M. A.,

president of the Mercantile National Bank of New York City and author of the proposed platform for American Independents published in our June issue. This prominent metropolitan banker was born in Mobile, Ala., Feb. 19, 1849, being the son of Newton St. John of the firm of St. John, Powers & Co., bankers, and for twenty-five years agents in the South for Baring Bros. & Co. of London. Mr. St. John's ancestors were intimately connected with the foundation and





political life of our government. His mother, Maria Pope, was a daughter of Alexander Pope and Dorothy Bibb of Georgia, the latter being a sister of William Bibb, the Territorial Governor and first State Governor of Alabama. The father of Alexander Pope, Mr. St. John's great-grandfather, was Charles Pope of Delaware, lieutenant-colonel of the Revolutionary regiment known as "The Blue Hen's Chickens," which constituted the first independent command of Lafayette. Mr. St. John's paternal ancestry also includes Revolutionary patriots, his paternal great-grandfather having been one of the twenty-five founders of the town of Ridgefield, Conn. Mr. St. John is thus eligible to membership in the New England Society and the Southern Society, and on his father's side is eligible to the State societies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York, and on his mother's side of Delaware, Georgia, and Alabama. He is therefore intensely American.

Mr. St. John's school days beginning in Mobile, continued in Germany and England and ended in Massachusetts. After terminating his education he entered the employ successively of several distinctly different kinds of business with houses standing first in their line. His last engagement prior to entering banking was in employment with the largest sugar refinery firm of our country, where he had full charge of the sales during four years. Some idea of the magnitude of its business can be gained from the fact that the sales for a single year aggregated $5,000,000. In January, 1881, he was tendered the cashiership of the Mercantile National Bank of New York City, and two years later, on the death of the president of that institution, he was promoted to the first position in that bank, which office he has filled ever since. Under the presidency of Mr. St. John, during thirteen years, the Mercantile National Bank has trebled the volume of its deposits, and besides paying regular semi-annual dividends, has accumulated $1,000,000 of surplus earnings.

Mr. St. John is also a director or trustee in other banks and institutions of New York, and has been a frequent contributor to financial literature. Williams College has conferred upon him the honorary degree of M. A.

In 1884 Mr. St. John was elected a member of the finance committee of the New York Chamber of Commerce, a position to which he was annually re-elected for a total period of eight

years. Upon his first election the chairman urged upon him, as the junior member, the obligation to devote research to the silver question. He began that research as a pronounced gold-standard man, and with all the prejudice against silver money which still prevails in that Chamber of Commerce. At a convention of bankers in 1883 he had asserted of the Bland Act, which provided a limited coinage for silver, that it was "dishonest in inception and vicious in its tendencies." The first six years of his research were devoted to a painstaking endeavor to substantiate with the facts of history his preconceived false notions, which he shared with his fellow members of the Chamber. After six years' research he began to differ from the conclusions of the finance committee, setting forth his views in a minority report. After nine years of research Mr. St. John advocated boldly the restoration of silver and its unlimited coinage in the United States. Thus in spite of his prejudices, his pride of opinion, and the restraints of his surroundings, Mr. St. John has become an outspoken advocate of equally unrestricted coinage for gold and silver into unlimited legal-tender money. *He asserts as his confident belief that there can be no return to a fairly permanent prosperity, either for the banks or for anybody else, without the restoration of silver, because we need a growing volume of money along with the growing volume of everything else. Prosperity must begin at its fountain head in order to be continuous, namely with our producers, primarily with the tillers of the soil.*

Among the great financiers of the New World perhaps no name stands so high as that of

JAY COOKE,

and his recent outspoken declaration, not only in favor of free and unlimited coinage of silver by our government, but his insistence that the only way to bring back the prosperity lost by the Republic through the "crime of 1873" is to *right the wrong as speedily as possible*, has set thousands of merchants, manufacturers, and other business men of the East to seriously examining this great problem in finance, who have hitherto been content to accept the various changes rung in by the gold ring and its special pleaders.

The views of Jay Cooke are specially valuable as coming from the fountain head of that source from whence nothing is expected to flow but special pleadings for the Bank of England's financial policy. Moreover, few men in the United States are more closely wedded to the Republican party than

is Mr. Cooke, owing probably to his intimate relationship to that party during its heroic days and long ere the glory of the principles for which it stood were exchanged for the wealth of the gold ring and the rule of bosses.

Mr. Cooke was born in Sandusky, Ohio, on the 10th of August, 1821. He is a descendant of Francis Cooke, one of the Pilgrims who reached this country in 1620, and who built the third house erected at Plymouth, Mass. The father of this great financier was a lawyer. He began practising his profession in Sandusky when it was a small village, and later he was elected to Congress by the Whigs of his district. Jay Cooke received an excellent education, and in 1836 went to Philadelphia to take a position with William G. Moorehead, who was interested in canal and railroad enterprises. A few months later, however, he accepted a position with E. W. Clark & Co. of Philadelphia, then the largest private banking firm in the Republic. One biographer observes that his "rare talent, excellent business ability, and good judgment were shown very early in life and he was thoroughly trustworthy." This was so markedly true that at the age of twenty-one he became a partner in the above-named firm and its active business manager, a position which he held for many years. In 1861 he started in banking business in a more independent way, under the firm name of Jay Cooke & Co. "At the commencement of the Civil War he obtained without compensation a large list of subscriptions to United States loans." He was the man of all men who stepped to the front in the floating of our bonds, being the sole financial agent for the government in placing the original 5-20 loan of $513,000,000, the 10-40 loan of $200,000,000, and the 7-30 loan of $830,000,000. He also successfully negotiated other loans for the government during the darkest days of the Rebellion. These accomplishments have been termed "the most remarkable feats of financing known to history." Of Mr. Cooke ex Secretary Hugh McCullough observed that "a large part of Mr. Cooke's valuable services were rendered before I became Secretary of the Treasury, but I know that to him was the government greatly indebted for the success of the loans upon which it had to depend for the means to prosecute the war. I do not think that any responsible banker in the United States would have taken upon himself the responsibility which Mr. Cooke assumed in the negotiation of the first $500,000,000 loan, and I am very sure that by no other

banker could the work have been so successfully accomplished. In this and in the other loans in the disposition of which Mr. Cooke's agency was required, he displayed extraordinary energy, ability, and zeal. To my predecessors, Mr. Chase and Mr. Fessenden, and to myself, his services were invaluable."

The story of Black Friday, in 1873, is too well known to the public to render it necessary to dwell upon it here. Sufficient to say that when the great firm of Jay Cooke & Co. was forced to suspend, the banks all over the country fell like card houses swept by a hurricane blast.*

In a recent interview with Mr. Cooke, the well-known newspaper correspondent, George Alfred Townsend, better known as "Gath," gave, in a concise manner, Mr. Cooke's views of "the crime of 1873" and his present attitude toward silver. From his letter which resulted from this interview I quote the following as being specially interesting in this connection:

PHILADELPHIA, March 27, 1896. — This is how it happened: Having known Jay Cooke, the seller of the government loans during the war, since he began that work in 1861, and having in recent correspondence discovered that he was not on the side of other bankers as to discountenancing silver, I went to his office by appointment and spent from 10 o'clock in the morning until 2 in the afternoon, obtaining his argument, together with interesting reminiscences of his great banking career.

Jay Cooke is seventy-five years old. He has the beautiful eyes of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, from whom he is descended, and which are repeated in the pictures of Priscilla Alden. Mr. Cooke has red cheeks, is to this day an active fisherman, and his hair and beard are all white.

"I have tried," said he, "not to figure as a disputant on this question. Letters come to me from all over the country since you printed the fact that I was dissonant with the banking world on the silver question, but I am too old to neglect my remaining business to lead any public cause. I don't want to get angry at my time of life, and I am sorely tempted to feel so."

---

*For many of the facts given in the above outline of the career of America's greatest financier, I am indebted to the National Cyclopædia of American Biography, vol. I, pages 253, 254 (published by J. T. White & Co. of New York, 1892), and also to Johnson's Universal Cyclopædia, vol. II, page 499.

"Have you any interest in silver in any way, Mr. Cooke, as a producer or dealer?"

"None.

"Dr. Lindermann, the chief of the mints at Washington, came from this State. About the time of this demonetization he went to London. He was particularly susceptible to the sort of flattery they throw around American officials. He went to many dinners, and was made to feel that he ought to fall in with the English standard. Had the American people, in their political conventions or in congressional debates, come to this question openly, they never would have consented to leave silver out of our coin standard. Lindermann had the revision of the money laws under his control. It was done without anybody's knowledge, and, notwithstanding the demonetization, even after it became known, silver continued to appreciate until the constant war against it by these railroad bankers, by the government, and the excessive energy of the silver-producers started its decline. We have, therefore, cut off an immense source of our wealth, as well as of our currency. *Do you mean to tell me that any nation but this on the globe, possessed of such valuable silver mines, would have disparaged that species of wealth voluntarily? And I tell you, sir, that it is going to make a great issue before the people. You can't keep it down.* Here is a letter from the State treasurer of Missouri, received in this morning's mail, telling me that the people out there are overwhelmingly for silver restoration. I get letters all the time."

"In a word, Mr. Cooke, you would restore silver at the old ratio of 16 to 1?"

"Yes, unless we should wish to oblige France and take her standard of 15½ to 1."

"Do you find silver a drug?"

"Just the contrary. I stayed at Atlantic City a part of the winter, and on leaving there yesterday to have my portrait painted for my family, I wanted to get some silver quarters to give the servants. All they could raise in the house was a dollar in silver in small pieces. Why don't this government use its mints and turn out quarter dollars?"

"Then you hold at least one of the questions sure to appear in the coming campaign is silver?"

"Silver and the tariff. They belong to each other. In both cases we dropped our Americanism and were misled by the parasites of England and her insidious policy, and in

order to maintain the credit of railroads, more or less broken already, we are running into debt, and with all our unfriendliness to silver are getting every day in a worse condition. This country is just ready for business. Look at these splendid facilities, such as these office buildings. Do you suppose that the men who framed this government out there would have tamely acquiesced in the British gold standard of money?" (He pointed to Carpenter's Hall, which I now observed to be right behind me in a courtway.) "There the Continental Congress met in 1774, with Washington one of the delegates.

"Men of that character," said Mr. Cooke, "would rise out of their graves, if they had the power, to reprove the state of things we see at Washington. Instead of putting the people on their feet and giving them money and avocations, they are trying down there to throw us into a war, first with England, next with Spain. I consider President Cleveland's Venezuelan message to have been next to a criminal attempt to disguise to the American people the absolute failure of his assaults upon the tariff and upon our money."

"You think this country with free silver coinage could easily handle all that coin?"

"Of course."

"Have you ever seen gold at a discount, Mr. Cooke?"

"Why, of course I have. Many a dollar have I made by shaving gold and sending it over to New York by special messenger. I have seen the two Drexels—Tony and Frank—bringing on their own shoulders over to our banking house of Clark & Co., bags of gold which we allowed them mercantile paper for."

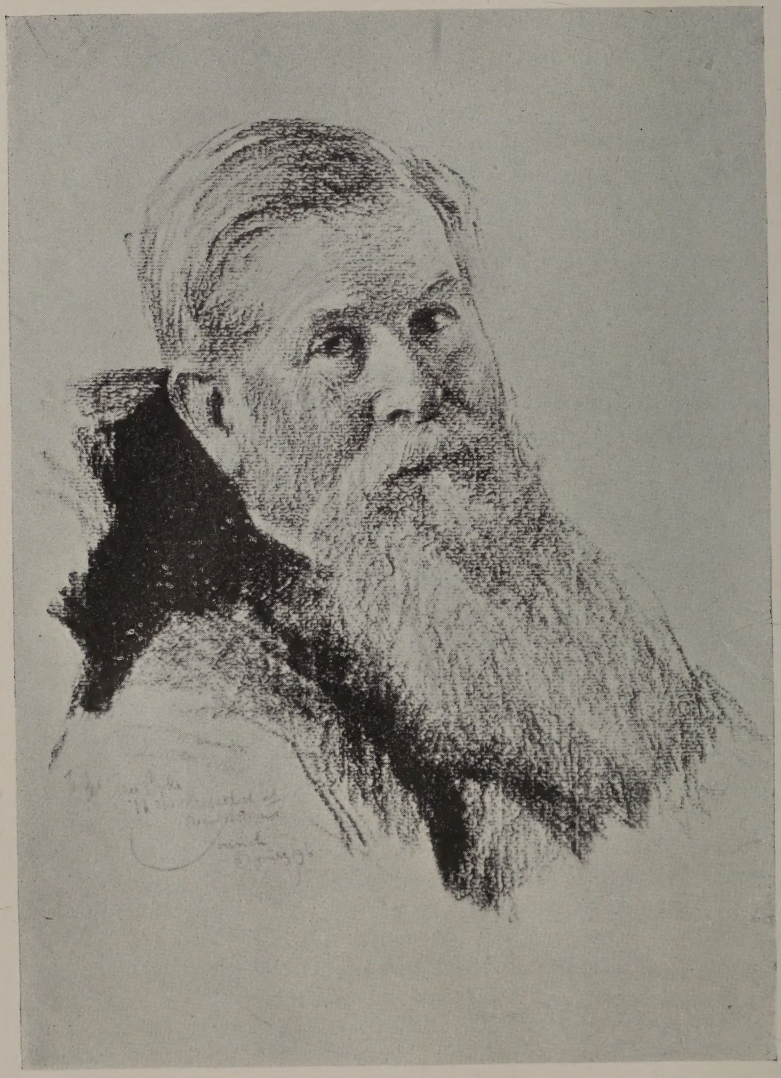
"I suppose you have seen silver also lugged around in bags?"

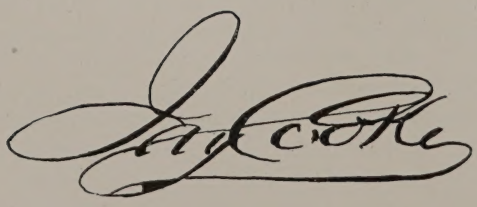
"Why, in the days of Spanish and Mexican quarters, fips, levies, etc.,—for we rarely coined any dimes and half dimes—I have bought kegs of silver to be sent out to China for tea, silk, etc."

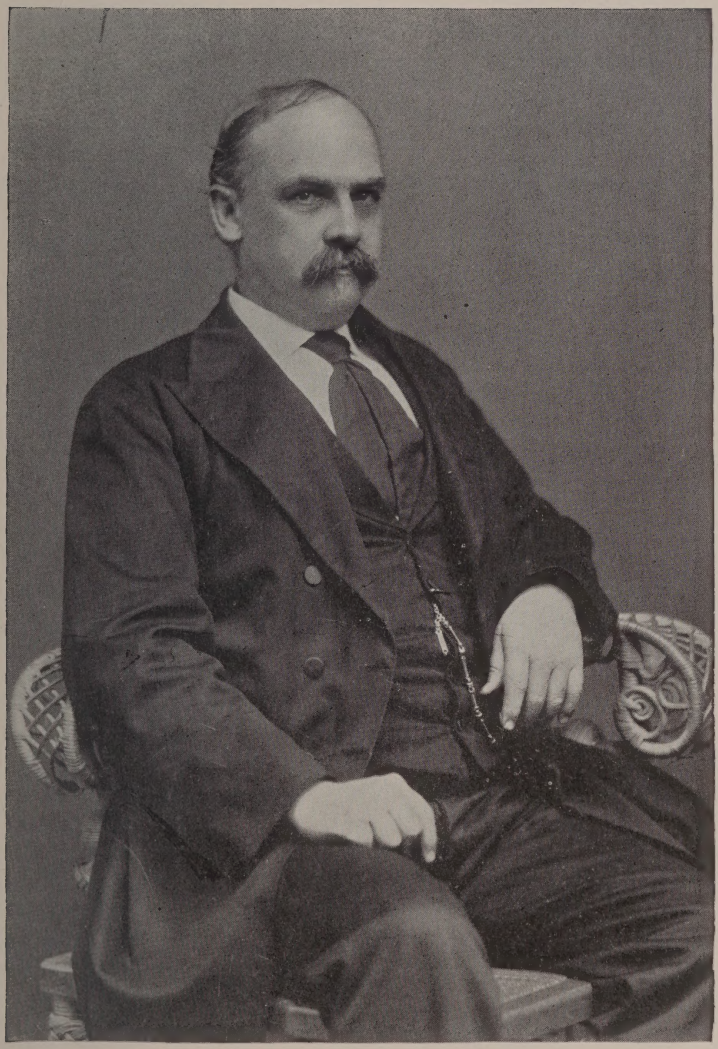
"How do you account for Germany's attitude?"

"Germany has always been a parasite of England. For centuries the Germans were subsidized by the British to fight British wars on the continent."

"They say that wages are going up in Japan, Mr. Cooke, on account of the skilled labor there getting the trades union wink."







Most truly Yours
Walter Clark

"That is not true to any great extent. Wages started up a little in Japan and then they fell back again. These college professors and smart boy experts on the gold press will have to make a great many assertions of the kind to prove their syllogism.

"In the East in the large communities is the place to do missionary work. If I had a newspaper press, as I had in the Civil War, when I advertised the public loans and paid every bill without shaving it, paid the copperhead papers just as well as the union papers, why, I could have done anything in this country on a question like silver; it would have been the very easiest of all questions to convert men upon, through the press."

"I think you dropped the idea just now about the unconstitutionality of demonetizing silver, or rather, of destandardizing it."

"Yes, I believe that if we had an honest Supreme Court it would declare that closing the mints to silver coinage was unconstitutional."

In a letter to the writer of this paper dated May 13, 1896, Mr. Cooke reasserts his attitude in the following unequivocal words:

"*I am not ashamed to appear as a conscientious advocate for the restoration of silver as an equal partner with gold at the old ratio, and I believe that the demonetization in 1873 was a conspiracy and a crime, as J. G. Carlisle said in 1878, from which there could be no recovery except by righting the wrong as speedily as possible.*"

I now wish to notice in a brief way another conservative thinker who dwells on the Atlantic coast, and who is no less outspoken than is Mr. St. John or Mr. Cooke in defence of free silver at a ratio of 16 to 1. From the consideration of one of New York's greatest bankers and America's leading financier, we turn to an eminent jurist,

JUSTICE WALTER CLARK, LL. D.,

of the supreme bench of North Carolina, a man eminent at once as an author of standard legal works, an essayist, and a prominent jurist.

Justice Clark has recently returned from an extensive trip through Mexico, where he made a careful study of the wonderful prosperity of our sister Republic, due so largely to free silver. Justice Clark is a man of too high standing to distort

facts as they exist, while his legal training enables him to carefully sift and weigh facts and conditions as they are. I therefore desire to preface the sketch of this eminent jurist with an extract of his observations relating to the great staple of his section of our country and a generalization referring to other real wealth products.

"I visited the Hercules cotton mill, two miles south of the city. It is a large establishment, with two thousand spindles and eleven hundred looms, and is admirably managed. It has the latest machinery. I inquired the price paid for cotton, and was told sixteen to seventeen cents at the factory. Up in the Mapimi country, in Durango, where it was produced, the price was thirteen and one half to fourteen and one half cents, and later on, at a cotton factory in the suburbs of Oaxaca six hundred miles south of this, the superintendent informed me that they paid eighteen to nineteen cents. In the United States Consular Reports for September last our consul at Matamoras reports cotton selling to the factories at Monterey at sixteen to eighteen cents. On investigation I found all the prices about equalled thirteen cents in New Orleans, the tariff, freight, and charges making it cost sixteen to seventeen cents at Queretaro and eighteen to nineteen cents at Oaxaca, and they pay the local producer the New Orleans price plus these charges. Mexico does not produce enough cotton to clothe all her population. Her manufacturers buy in New Orleans the quantity the country fails to produce. A few years ago, when their dollar and ours were equal, they paid on an average thirteen cents in New Orleans and in the very same money, but owing to the enforced enhancement in the value of our money, by manipulated legislation, this thirteen cents, instead of being equal as it should honestly be to thirteen cents in our money, is only equal to about seven cents in our 'increased value' money. The direct loss to the cotton planter of the South is, therefore, $30 per bale, or $20,000,000 annual loss to the South on this one crop. The same is true of the wheat and corn of the West and all other crops — corn and wheat being $1 to $1.40 per bushel in Mexico in their currency, which has remained in value unchanged by legislation. The assertion about overproduction is a myth, as the countless thousands of half-clothed and half-fed people in the United States know only too well. The trouble is in the legislative increase of the value of the dollar, made in order that those who live by

clipping coupons from Government, State, and other bonds, and on the public taxes, may be twice as rich as formerly without any additional exertion. They are twice as rich with the labor of clipping only the same number of coupons."

Justice Walter Clark was born in Halifax County, North Carolina, the 19th of August, 1846. He graduated at the University of North Carolina in June, 1864, at the head of his class. Between 1866 and 1867 he studied law in New York City and in Columbian College, Washington, D. C., and was admitted to the bar in 1868. In 1871 he travelled in California, writing a series of papers entitled "From Ocean to Ocean," and in 1881 was a delegate to the Methodist Ecumenical Council at London, travelling extensively in Europe after the Conference adjourned.

In 1885 he was appointed a judge of the Superior Court of North Carolina, and nominated and elected by the Democratic party for the same office in 1886, leading the ticket at the polls. He was appointed to the Supreme Court of North Carolina in 1889, and nominated by the Democratic party for the same office (to fill the unexpired term) in 1890, again leading the ticket. In 1894 he was nominated for the full term of the same office (eight years) unanimously by the People's, Democratic, and Republican parties of North Carolina, and elected unanimously by the people, receiving double the number of votes ever given to any other man in his State.

Justice Clark was married in 1874 to the daughter of the Hon. W. A. Graham (formerly Governor, United States Senator, and United States Secretary of the Navy). Since the date of his marriage he has resided in Raleigh.

As an author he occupies a high rank. Among his principal works may be mentioned "Clark's Annotated Code," which has been twice reissued in new editions, "Laws of Business Men," and "Overruled Cases." He has translated from the French Constant's "Private Life of Napoleon," three volumes. He has been a contributor to THE ARENA, *The American Law Review*, *The North American Review*, *The Magazine of American History*, *Harper's Magazine*, and several other leading periodicals. He is now compiling and editing, in addition to his judicial labors, for the State of North Carolina, "The State Records of North Carolina" in eight folio volumes, of which three volumes have been printed, and has in press a "History of North Carolina" to be issued by the University Publishing Company of New

York. He has always advocated the side of the people and the doctrine of "the greatest good to the greatest number." He has contributed articles to THE ARENA in favor of "Postal Telegraph," "Election of United States Senators and Postmasters by the People," "The Abolition of the Presidential Veto," and his articles on Mexico showing the benefits which would accrue from remonetization of silver from the experience of that country as an object lesson were completed in the June number of THE ARENA.

He is a magnificent representative of true Democracy, besides being a ripe scholar and a leading jurist.

These three authoritative thinkers from the most conservative positions and dwelling along what may be called the Atlantic coast district show how absolutely shallow and absurd are the hysterical claims of the special pleaders of the gold ring in America when they, after carefully excluding arguments from the other side, denounce as charlatans all patriotic statesmen and thinkers who insist on an immediate establishment of conditions which are conducive to the prosperity and happiness of America's millions.

THE KEELEY CURE FOR INEBRIETY.

BY WILLIAM G. HASKELL.

In a paper published some time ago in the ARENA by the eminent and scholarly author, Henry Wood, entitled "Does Bi-Chloride of Gold Cure Inebriety?" the assumption was that the gold remedies had nothing to do with the (undisputed) cures, which were brought about by some sort of psychic influence akin to hypnotism.

Two or three months later, in the pages of this magazine, Dr. Leslie E. Keeley, the originator of the treatment of inebriety and other diseases with the double chloride (not bi-chloride) of gold and sodium, presented an exhaustive paper on the scientific principles of his method of treating these diseases, and in the same number the writer of these lines set forth certain facts which had come under his own observation and out of his own experience, giving evidence that many cures of inebriety had been wrought which could be rationally accounted for in no other way than by the therapeutic action of the Keeley remedies.

It is the purpose of the present paper to give some idea of the present status of what Rev. A. B. O'Neill, C. S. C., calls in the *Catholic Review*, "A New Phase of the Drink Problem." I have had exceptional facilities for obtaining reliable information, during the two and a half years since my former "notes" appeared in these pages, and it seems to me that the readers of the ARENA, who of all Americans are interested in the uplift of humanity, when they learn what has been and is being accomplished through this agency for the permanent cure of inebriety and for the permanent reformation of drunkards, will be glad to recognize in it the mightiest factor in the solution of the problem, "What shall we do with the drunkard?" which has ever been brought to notice. Few of these readers, when they know what has been done, will be likely to withhold their favorable consideration on the grounds offered by some of the "temperance reformers," of unwillingness to "endorse a proprietary medicine." Pray why not endorse even a proprietary medicine, if it has proved itself a specific for a disease hitherto unconquerable or at least unconquered by any means known to the medical world? There is a flavor of trades-unionism in this excuse, which hints at its origin.

It is claimed by Dr. Keeley, who has the data at hand to verify his statement, that during the sixteen years since he began the treatment of inebriety as a disease, something like two hundred and fifty thousand cases have been successfully treated by his remedies and his system, of which number only about five per cent have subsequently "lapsed," or in other words have recontracted the disease. He further claims that in no single instance has there been or can there be, when the remedies are administered in accordance with his own instructions, the least physical or mental injury resulting from their use. Both claims have been disputed; but so far as I know or have seen, in no case has the dispute come from the persons most likely to be competent witnesses, viz., the patients or their families. Their testimony is invariably in line with the claims of Dr. Keeley. Even a *pseudo* investigation, like that recently attempted by Rev. Dr. Buckley, of the *Christian Advocate*, who excluded from testimony any person who had been a patient, relying altogether upon the *ex-parte* statements of physicians and clergymen who were upon the subscription list of his paper, disclosed that not less than fifty-one per cent of the acquaintances of these subscribers who had taken the genuine Keeley treatment had been permanently cured. In a very careful and painstaking investigation conducted by myself, where the inquiries were made directly of the patients themselves, I could find but twenty-three "lapses" in four hundred and eighty-eight cases. To be sure, when conducting this investigation, I was the manager of an institute, and my testimony would have been ruled out by Dr. Buckley as presumably biased. I don't know that this necessarily follows. My opportunities were certainly quite as good for learning the facts as were those of the clergymen and physicians whom alone he admitted to the witness stand.

There is, however, testimony which is not open to such suspicion. By special arrangement with the national board of managers of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, the Keeley treatment has been introduced into most of the "branches" of the home, as well as into a number of the state soldiers' homes. The first to make trial of the cure was the Western Branch, at or near Leavenworth, Kan., where the first patients were treated in March, 1892. The experiment has therefore been tried at that branch for more than three years. The institutes at these homes are in medical charge of physicians who, as at all other institutions throughout the country, confine themselves solely to the treatment of the Keeley patients. The "members"

of these homes are for the most part men who are enfeebled by wounds or disease; their average age is not far from sixty; few of them have any of the inducements which younger and stronger men have, of "something to look forward to"; and those who have presented themselves for the Keeley treatment have been intemperate men for from twenty to forty years.

From the official report of Col. Andrew J. Smith, governor of the Western Branch, to Gen. William B. Franklin, president of the national board of Managers, it appears that from the introduction of the treatment at the date above named, to January, 1895 (two and three-quarters years), the number of patients had been 1,227. The ratio of lapses—and there can be no doubt that the governor of the home would know of all these—had been *ten per cent.* Of the whole number treated, 724 had left the home, thus relieving the government of the expense of their support, and gone out into the world, able, now that the accursed and before-time uncontrollable appetite for drink had been removed, to maintain themselves. Of this number, 182 were married men, who had rejoined the families from which habits of inebriety had separated them! The average cost of maintaining a soldier at these homes is about the sum named by Colonel Smith for the Leavenworth Branch, $126.22. There has therefore been saved to the government through the departure of these 724 men, the very large sum of $93,655 *per year!*

In an institution where it is possible to know the exact truth in the case of every man, the governor's official report to a board of which President Cleveland and Secretary of War Lamont are members *ex officio*, which report has therefore the force and weight of a national document, gives the number of "lapses" as only ten per cent! Remembering who and what these men are and have been, Dr. Keeley's claim that the average of lapses throughout the country will not exceed five per cent does not seem preposterous.

That nearly two-thirds of these men have found themselves able to take up the task of self-support (and in nearly two hundred cases the support of family as well) would appear sufficient refutation of the charge sometimes made that the treatment produces physical or mental injury. But we are not without evidence which is direct and positive, and which should remove the last vestige of doubt. Again we turn to the Leavenworth Soldiers' Home. If indications of ill effects were to be found anywhere, it would surely be in the persons of men already more or less invalids.

The surgeon of this institution is in no way charged with the administration of the Keeley treatment, which, as before said, is given by physicians having this as their exclusive work. Maj. D. C. Jones is the surgeon of the Leavenworth Home, and in the following quotation from a letter dated Sept. 4, 1894, it should be remembered that he speaks from his observation and experience of the results of another physician's work; and when he says "we have treated," he means only that these cases have been treated at the home over which he has medical supervision:

> We have during the past year treated five hundred and eighteen men for chronic alcoholism and opium addiction, with less than nine per cent of lapses. Out of this number we have treated one hundred younger men belonging to the U. S. A., with only four lapses. I need not say to you that *this is perhaps the most nearly a specific medicine that we have any knowledge of in the treatment of disease.*
>
> I would further call attention to the fact that *not in a single instance in all the men treated* (since March, 1892), now numbering nearly twelve hundred, *has a man died or his physical condition been injured*, but in many cases of rheumatism, neurasthenia and other nervous affections, great improvement has been noted. The men of our branch have been greatly improved in their moral and physical condition, so much so that it is apparent in every department of the home, and especially is it so in the hospital.

Evidence of such sort, and from such a source, is simply incontestable, and needs no comment.

During the year 1894, Hon. William H. Eustis, then mayor of Minneapolis, who had given much attention to the work of the local Keeley Institute, arranged for the experimental trial of the cure upon a class of men who would perhaps be regarded as the most hopeless cases which could be selected. They were the men committed to the city workhouse for minor offences, chiefly drunkenness. Most of them were old offenders. Nearly all had been previously committed, and one man had been sentenced *twenty-seven times!* No compulsion was used. The men were given the privilege of taking the treatment if they desired to make an attempt toward better things.

As to results, the following are Mr. Eustis' own words. When asked by a reporter of the Lowell, Mass., *Mail*, "Have you any special views as to what should be done with the chronic drunkard?" he replied: "Yes; I think more of an effort should be made to effect his reformation. Do you know that I got money enough from the saloon-keepers themselves to send seventy-five habitual drunkards to the Keeley Institute? Yes, I believe in the Keeley Institutes. Of this number sent by us, fully eighty-five per cent remained permanently cured."

Let none suppose from the foregoing that the great army of 250,000 ex-patients has been recruited chiefly or even largely from the classes here spoken of. They are from every profession and occupation. Seven per cent of them have come from the medical profession; the clergy have furnished no small number; lawyers, journalists, merchants, bankers, engineers, clerks, commercial travellers, farmers, mechanics, and laborers make up the list. Prominence has been given in this paper to the results upon two classes, for these reasons: First, to indicate that the results are nothing short of wonderful where there seemed small promise or hope for permanently successful issues; second, because in these cases it has been possible to keep exact account of the results.

In the face of these undeniable facts, there can be no question that the world has seen nothing in all its efforts at temperance reform which affords so good ground for belief in the possible overthrow of the most gigantic evil of our time. One would suppose that with such a record, there could be found no professed lover of his fellowmen, least of all a professed temperance worker, who would not be glad to be reckoned the firm friend of the Keeley Cure. That it is gradually gaining recognition is undeniably true. That candid investigation of its accomplishments is certain to increase the number of its friends is equally true. But I have found a surprising number of really philanthropic people who know next to nothing about it, as shown by their confounding it with the worthless imitations which have taken advantage of its record of good. I do not know of one of the many temperance organizations which has even taken the trouble to appoint a committee to investigate and report upon it. In my reading of the reports of temperance conventions, I do not remember to have seen any consideration of inebriety as a disease, to say nothing of its possible cure. Comparatively few clergymen seem to have taken the trouble to find out what are the facts regarding it. I have come in contact with hundreds of them, and in the great majority of instances have found them but slightly informed regarding this stupendous work. I have wondered much at this; for while it is to be expected that a degree of conservatism should characterize the occupants of our pulpits, they are as a rule the staunch friends of temperance; and a method of reform which is able to show as its results a quarter of a million former drunkards who have been restored to themselves, to family, to society, to industry, and in thousands of cases to the

church, might with reason be expected to command the serious consideration of the ministers of the gospel.

I have heard but one attempted explanation of the lack of interest in the Keeley Cure on the part of professed temperance workers, viz., that it is a business enterprise. It is that in the same sense that the practice of medicine is a business enterprise; in the same sense that the preaching of the gospel is a business enterprise. The business of the one is the saving of human life, when attacked by disease; of the other, the saving of human souls, if we may believe its advocates. The business of the Keeley Cure is the redemption of drunkards; the restoration to manhood and all that is implied in that word, of men who had long ago been given up by the honest and earnest temperance reformers as hopeless cases; at least, as beyond the reach of any agencies known to or employed by them. Can it be accounted for as a jealousy of methods which succeed where those with which they were familiar have avowedly failed?

And now, lest an ulterior purpose be suspected in the writing of these pages, let me assure the reader that I am not now connected in any way with the Keeley work, and have no interest in it other than that which any man must have, who knows from an experience of three years that it has made good its every claim in his own case, and who desires that the truth shall be more widely known, to the end that the victims of drink and drug, and all interested in their welfare and their possible salvation, may not only take heart of hope, but have assurance that a cure for their disease is at hand and available.

Since the above was written I have seen the report of Surgeon Jones of the Leavenworth Home, to June 30, 1895. The total number of cases treated at that institution since March 29, 1892, has been 1,301. The following figures will be of interest:

Ratio of lapses per 100 for whole number treated from establishment of Institute (March 29, 1892) to June 30, 1895	11.82
Ratio of lapses per 100 for whole number treated from July 1, 1894, to June 30, 1895	5.81
Oldest graduate, Home veteran	80 years
Youngest " " "	46 "
Average age	61 "

TWO GOLDEN VOLUMES — POEMS BY ELIZABETH DOTEN.

BY GILES B. STEBBINS.

When books are brought out by publishers whose main business is to issue such works as favor or represent the views of any class or denomination, their readers are largely those whose affiliations are in the same range with those of the publishers. The literary and unsectarian publisher has a cosmopolitan constituency; the denominational publisher has a constituency mostly inside the borders of his class. In one important respect this is unfortunate. The great world thus misses a knowledge of inspired poetry and noble prose, of large thought and golden truth which transcend all sectarian lines, and would be helpful to all thoughtful persons and to all lovers of genius.

Two fine volumes are before me as I write, the career of which strikingly illustrates this statement. Their circulation has been large, but mainly inside a certain limit, while the outside world knows little of them, yet they well deserve a world-wide reading. "Poems of the Inner Life" and "Poems of Progress," by Elizabeth Doten, were published twenty years ago by Colby & Rich of Boston, a firm issuing works largely on spiritualism and kindred topics. More than twenty thousand copies have been sold, mostly to spiritualists, but the literary and reading world outside knows too little of this gifted woman, or of her poems, which should give her high place among her gifted sisters, who, in this "women's century," have won fame by their poetic genius.

Born in the old Pilgrim town of Plymouth, she is a direct descendant in the seventh generation, from ancestors who came over in the Mayflower—Edward Doten on her father's side, and William Bradford, second governor of Plymouth Colony, on her mother's side. Elizabeth (better known as Lizzie Doten, is daughter of Daniel Doten—a sea captain, a man of uncommon vigor and ability, a great reader, and an independent thinker—and Rebecca his wife, daughter of Nathaniel Bradford, a woman of clear intellect, mild, indus-

trious, domestic, and of strong religious tendencies. The father cheerfully sent two sons to do their duty to their country in the late civil war, both serving as captains. Thus much for heredity, the best of those days, a precious lineage from "the winnowing of the nation," who came from old England. At the age of seventeen Elizabeth enjoyed a year in a private school in Plymouth, her previous studies having been in the public schools. The seventh of nine children, she was of necessity self-supporting, sewing, teaching, and writing for sundry publications.

Early psychical experiences and other influences led to such interest in spiritualism that she was persuaded to go upon the platform as an inspirational speaker, and during some fifteen years she lectured in most of the leading cities and towns of New England and the Middle States. Then, with declining health, she retired to private life, enjoying its quiet, and doubtless, strongly individual as she is, its independence. For the last fifteen years scientific studies, more especially in chemistry, several journeys to California and eslewhere, personal pursuits and duties, and the society of beloved friends have filled the busy days of a useful life.

Whenever we have met I found her simple, sincere, personally attractive, easy in conversation, with clear convictions and spiritual culture when deeper matters were spoken of. An hour with her always gave a lasting sense of some gain in wealth of the inner life. Faithful to the truth as she sees it, no unpopularity, not even the estrangement of friends, swerves her from her chosen path. This steadfast following of the light gives resplendent beauty to her poems, which also show broad charity and a strong desire to uplift the fallen and give sight to the spiritually blind.

Of her psychical experiences, and her early views, and later modifications of them, extracts from prefatory prose articles in the volumes of poems, and from a late letter, will give some idea. She was never a professional medium, yet her lectures and the poems given with them, may be considered as results of a high phase of mediumship, or psychical impressibility and inspiration. Some of the first poems in these books were given on the platform at the close of a lecture, she being sometimes partially unconscious of outward things. They were not written out until after their delivery. Sometimes they came from no known outside personal source, but were inspirations, apparently uttered in an uplifted condition in which the soul was especially open to high truths. Sometimes, as she then believed, they came from Poe, Burns, and others, a belief which, as will

be seen, she has modified, not denying it but holding it "an open question." She did not ask audiences to give subjects for *impromptu* poems—"a custom more honored in the breach than in the observance."

In the prefatory articles she describes her experiences as a child, times of solitude and introversion opening into illuminated hours. Of later trance and poetic experiences we are told:

The avenues of external sense, if not entirely closed, were at least disused, in order that the spiritual perceptions might be quickened to the requisite degree, and also that the world of causes, of which earth and its experiences are but passing effects, might be disclosed to my vision.

In relation to the poems given under direct spirit-influence I would say, that there has been a mistake existing in many minds concerning them. They were not like lightning flashes, coming unheralded, and vanishing without leaving a trace behind. Several days before they were given, I would receive intimations of them. Oftentimes I would awake in the night from a deep slumber, and detached fragments of those poems would be floating through my mind, though in a few moments after they would vanish like a dream. I have sometimes awakened myself by repeating them aloud.

It is often as difficult to decide what is the action of one's own intellect and what is spirit-influence, as it is in our ordinary associations to determine what is original with ourselves and what we have received from circumstances or contact with the mind of others. Yet, nevertheless, there are cases where the distinction is so evident that it is not to be doubted.

In her "Word to the World" she says:

Aside from the external phenomena of modern spiritualism,—which, compared to the great principles underlying them, are but mere froth and foam on the ocean of truth,—I have realized that in the mysterious depths of the inner life, all souls can hold communion with those invisible beings, who are our companions both in time and eternity. My vision has been dim and indistinct, my hearing confused by the jarring discords of earthly existence, and my utterances of a wisdom, higher than my own, impeded by my selfish conceits and vain imaginings. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the solemn convictions of my spiritual surroundings, and the mutual ties of interest still existing between souls, "whether in the body or out of the body," have been indelibly impressed upon me. From such experiences I have learned —in a sense hitherto unknown—that "the kingdom of Heaven is within me."

In a late letter Miss Doten writes me:

Sincerity obliges me to say that, since those poems were published, my impression as to the particular influence under which they were given has been essentially modified. I find that by establishing a sympathetic relation between my own mind and the writings of many *living* authors I can take on a peculiar inspiration and fairly represent their style. This leads me to infer that, in the past, I might not have been as entirely under the direct influence of Burns or Poe as I had supposed. *It is an open question*, and prevents me from reaffirming

my past statements as confidently as I should desire. I am obliged to revise and correct my past opinions and statements, and, learning wisdom from experience, to wait patiently for more light. As intelligent human beings our possibilities are beyond all estimation, and it is neither wise nor well considered to ascribe to spirits the powers which we ourselves possess. The Intelligence of the Universe exists in us, and operates through us. As individual entities, and conservators of that great force, we stand co-related to it and to each other, and it is both a logical and legitimate conclusion that there should be a direct communication along the whole line, to the uttermost parts of the universe. Indeed there can be no question that such a relation and communication already exist. We only lack the ability to perceive and understand it. Science is slowly but surely pointing the way, and a scientific spiritualism will evidently be one of the established facts of the future. I still hold to the underlying facts and principles [of spiritualism] but am obliged to see the whole matter in a different light.

This much is needful to a clear understanding of the poems, as well as for a fair statement of the views of the author, and we are the better prepared to appreciate such quotations as space will allow.

In the poems there is no *dilettanteism*, but an earnestness which pulses through every line of these noble stanzas:

Reformers.

Where have the world's great heroes gone,
  The champions of the Right,
Who, with their armor girded on,
  Have passed beyond our sight?
Are they where palms immortal wave,
  And laurels crown the brow?
Or was the victory thine, O Grave?
  Where are they? Answer thou.

The earth is green with martyrs' graves,
  On hill and plain and shore,
And the great ocean's sounding waves
  Sweep over thousands more.
For us they drained life's bitter cup,
  And dared the battle strife;
Where are they, Death? Oh, render up
  The secret of their life!

* * * * *

Lo! how the viewless air around
  With quickening life is stirred,
And from the silences profound
  Leaps forth the answering word:
"We live—not in some distant sphere,—
  Life's mission to fulfil;
But, joined with faithful spirits here,
  We love and labor still.

"No laurel wreath, no waving palm,
  No royal robes are ours,
But evermore, serene and calm,
  We use life's noblest powers.

Toil on in hope, and bravely bear
The burdens of your lot;
Great, earnest souls your labors share;
They will forsake you not."

Even in the play of fine wit and humor there is a meaning and purpose that makes it all the finer. A wide range of thought, with fit poetic expression, from pathos to triumph, from tender emotion to the uplifting sway of noble inspiration, are rare and remarkable qualties of her verse.

Here is pathos leading to sweetest peace:

Margery Miller.

Old Margery Miller sat alone,
One Christmas eve, by her poor hearthstone,
Where dimly the fading firelight shone.

* * * * *

Full eighty summers had swiftly sped,
Full eighty winters their snows had shed,
With silver-sheen, on her aged head.

One by one had her loved ones died —
One by one had they left her side —
Fading like flowers in their summer pride.
Poor old Margery Miller!
Sitting alone,
Unsought, unknown,
Had God forgotten *she* was His own?

Ay, there she sat, on that Christmas eve,
Seeking some dream of the past to weave,
Patiently striving not to grieve.

Soft on her ear fell the Christmas chimes,
Bringing the thought of the dear old times,
Like birds that sing of far distant climes.

Then swelled the flood of her pent-up grief —
Swayed like a reed in the tempest brief,
Her bowed form shook like an aspen leaf.

"O God!" she cried, "I am lonely here,
Bereft of all that my heart holds dear;
Yet Thou dost never refuse to hear.

"Oh, if the dead were allowed to speak!
Could I only look on their faces meek,
How it would strengthen my heart so weak!"
Poor old Margery Miller!
Sitting alone,
Unsought, unknown,
What was that light which around her shone?

Dim on the hearth burned the embers red,
Yet soft and clear, on her silvered head,
A light like the sunset glow was shed.

Bright blossoms fell on the cottage floor,
"Mother" was whispered, as oft before,
And long-lost faces gleamed forth once more.

She lifted her withered hands on high,
And uttered the eager, earnest cry,
"God of all mercy! now let me die."

* * * * *

Out of the glory that burned like flame,
Calmly a great white angel came —
Softly he whispered her humble name.

"Child of the highest," he gently said,
"Thy toils are ended, thy tears are shed,
And life immortal now crowns thy head."

She faintly murmured, "God's name be blest!"
And folding her hands on her dying breast,
She calmly sank to her dreamless rest.
Poor old Margery Miller!
Her spirit had flown
To the world unknown,
Where true hearts *never* can be alone.

Here is part of an heroic version of an old Norse legend, bracing as the pure air from the northland mountains:

The Rainbow Bridge.

'Twas a faith that was held by the Northmen bold,
In the ages long, long ago,
That the river of death, so dark and cold,
Was spanned by a radiant bow;
A rainbow bridge to the blest abode
Of the strong Gods — free from ill,
Where the beautiful Urda fountain flowed,
Near the ash tree Igdrasill.

They held that when, in life's weary march,
They should come to that river wide,
They would set their feet on the shining arch,
And would pass to the other side.
And they said that the Gods and the Heroes crossed
That bridge from the world of light,
To strengthen the Soul when its hope seemed lost,
In the conflict for the right.

O, beautiful faith of the grand old past!
So simple, yet so sublime,
A light from that rainbow bridge is cast
Far down o'er the tide of time.
We raise our eyes, and we see above,
The souls in their homeward march;
They wave their hands and they smile in love,
From the height of the rainbow arch.

Like the crystal ladder that Jacob saw,
Is that beautiful vision given,
The weary pilgrims of earth to draw
To the life of their native heaven.
For 'tis better that souls should upward tend,
And strive for the victor's crown,
Than to ask the angels their help to lend,
And come to man's weakness down.

The sweet singer of the "banks and braes o' bonnie Doon" seems to speak in these lines, which purport to come from Robert Burns:

Fraternity.

You need not heed the gruesome creed
Which tells you o' God's anger;
On Nature's page frae age to age,
His love is written stranger.

God's providence, in ony sense,
Has never been one-sided,
And for the weal o' chick or chiel,
He amply has provided.

The winter's snaw, the birken shaw,
The gowans brightly springing,
The murky night, the rosy light,
The laverocks gayly singing,
The spring's return, the wimplin' burn,
The cushat fondly mated,
All join to tell how unco well
God lo'es all things created.

Then dinna strive to live and thrive
Sae selfish and unthinkin',
But firmly stand, and lend a hand,
To keep the weak frae sinkin.'
'Tis love can make, for love's sweet sake,
A trusty friend in sorrow,
Wha spends his gear wi'out a fear
O' what may be to-morrow.

The preachers say there's far awa'
A land o' milk and honey,
Where all is free as barley brie,
And wi'out price or money;
But *here* the meat o' love is sweet,
For souls in sinful blindness,
And there's a milk that's guid for ilk —
"The milk o' human kindness."

Lo! Calvin, Knox, and Luther, cry
"I have the Truth"—"and I"—"and I."—
"Puir sinners! if ye gang agley,
The de'il will hae ye,
And then the Lord will stand abeigh,
And will na save ye."

But hoolie hoolie! Na sae fast;
When Gabriél shall blaw his blast,
And Heaven and Earth awa' have passed,
These lang syne saints,
Shall find baith de'il and hell at last,
Mere pious feints.

Tak' tent o' truth, and heed this well:
The man who sins makes his ain hell;
There's na waurse de'il than himsel';
But God is strongest:
And when puir human hearts rebel,
He haulds out longest.

Here is the weird and melodious rhythm of Edgar A. Poe:

Resurrexi.

From the throne of Life Eternal,
From the home of love supernal,
Where the angel feet make music over all the starry floor—
Mortals, I have come to meet you,
Come with words of peace to greet you,
And to tell you of the glory that is mine forevermore.

As one heart yearns for another,
As a child turns to its mother,
From the golden gates of glory turn I to the earth once more,
Where I drained the cup of sadness,
Where my soul was stung to madness,
And life's bitter, burning billows swept my burdened being o'er.

Here the harpies and the ravens, —
Human vampyres, sordid cravens, —
Preyed upon my soul and substance till I writhed in anguish sore;
Life and I then seemed mismated,
For I felt accursed and fated,
Like a restless, wrathful spirit, wandering on the Stygian shore.

Tortured by a nameless yearning,
Like a frost-fire, freezing, burning,
Did the purple, pulsing life-tide through its fevered channels pour,
Till the golden bowl — Life's token —
Into shining shards was broken,
And my chained and chafing spirit leaped from out its prison door.

* * * * *

O, my mortal friends and brothers!
We are each and all another's,
And the soul that gives most freely from its treasure hath the more;
Would you lose your life, you find it,
And in giving love, you bind it
Like an amulet of safety, to your heart forevermore.

No sudden change from sin to grace is taught.

But, by earnest, firm endeavor
I have gained a height sublime

is the lesson given.

Here is a far different strain; its thought and merit unlike those of the preceding poem.

The Spirit of Nature.

"The bond which unites the human to the divine is Love, and Love is the longing of the Soul for Beauty; the inextinguishable desire which like feels for like, which the divinity within us feels for the divinity revealed to us in Beauty. Beauty is Truth." —PLATO.

I have come from the heart of all natural things,
Whose life from the Soul of the Beautiful springs;
You shall hear the sweet waving of corn in my voice,
And the musical whisper of leaves that rejoice,
For my lips have been touched by the spirit of prayer,
Which lingers unseen in the soft summer air;
And the smile of the sunshine that brightens the skies,
Hath left a glad ray of its light in my eyes.

On the sea-beaten shore — 'mid the dwellings of men —
In the field or the forest or wild mountain glen;
Wherever the grass or a daisy could spring,
Or the musical laughter of childhood could ring;
Wherever a swallow could build 'neath the eaves,
Or a squirrel could hide in his covert of leaves,
I have felt the sweet presence, and heard the low call,
Of the Spirit of Nature, which quickens us all.

This uplifting verse opens a poem entitled

Reconciliation.

God of the Granite and the Rose!
Soul of the Sparrow and the Bee!
The mighty tide of Being flows
Through countless channels, Lord, from Thee.
It leaps to life in grass and flowers,
Through every grade of being runs,
Till from Creation's radiant towers
Its glory flames in stars and suns.

Here are words that reach the deeps of the inner life:

By a power to thought unknown,
Love shall ever seek its own.
Sundered not by time or space,
With no distant dwelling-place,
Soul shall answer unto soul,
As the needle to the pole.
Leaving grief's lament unsaid,
"Gone is gone, and dead is dead."

Never, till our hearts are dust,
Till our souls shall cease to trust,
Till our love becomes a lie,
And our aspirations die,
Shall we cease with hope, to gaze
On that veil's mysterious haze,
Or the presence to implore
Of the loved ones gone before.

Where shall we find such ample range of thought and feeling, in such fit and melodious rhythm and language? Emotion, tender or intense, has its melting words or its graphic power of expression. Pleasant memories are revived in measures soft and cheering as the strains of delightful music. Life's tragedies rise up and pass before us like wailing ghosts in mournful, measured procession. Illuminated visions are pictured in stanzas of delicate beauty. Messages from souls dwelling on serene heights come to us like the light of stars in the overarching sky. A divine philosophy permeates and unifies the whole.

All this we find in these excerpts, which give only glimpses of the value of the poems. These books, judged by the merits of their poetic contents, promise rich enjoyment and lasting benefit to a wide circle of readers, in our own country and in other lands, who should surely become familiar with their luminous pages.

THE MILLIONAIRE'S DAUGHTER.

A Prophecy.

BY CECELIA DE VERE.

She came before him in the simple guise
That decks the flowret of the field and wood,
But never fairer to his world-worn eyes
Had seemed the beauty of her maidenhood.
Yet missed he not sheen pearls nor vesture rare,
Till heavy tears with sudden rush came down
As summer cloud-gems start the dreamy air
When darting lightnings pierce the noonday's crown.

Awaked he then to note the boding change,
The utter absence of the girlish pride,
The earnest manner, the emotion strange,
E'en folly's ostentation cast aside.
"Why greet with tears," he said, "and why this dress?
In my long absence Fortune's wheel went round,
And only stopped at mountains of success,—
It was enough, my hopes were more than crowned.

"I may not guess my wealth; 'tis deep and high;
Its girt is in the years I shall not see,
Its gold horizons toward thy sunset lie,
For all my plans, my aims, are but for thee."
"Alas!" she cried, "appalling is success
That takes calamity to any heart,
That from the wheel—the rack-wheel of distress—
Flings dismal ruin as its counterpart.

"You question, whence this knowledge of the moil;
Your daughter's mind should never touch its rim;
You kept her far from grovelling hordes of toil,
Whose hands are smirched, whose savage souls are grim.
Finding by chance a truth-illumined page,
I soon disguised, stood smitten 'mid a throng
Where want and slavery in every stage
Had crushed the weak and galled the brave and strong.

"Yet they portrayed less sharply than I felt:
Their souls had *lamps*, my soul had *sheets* of flame;
I could have there to any beggar knelt,
And asked forgiveness for my sin and shame.
Oh, father! they impeached such men as you
Whose force united might reclaim the world;
On friends I deem most noble, wise, and true
The plundering, murderous brigand's name was hurled.

"And I your idol, selfish, useless, blind,
Whose casket symbolizes woe of heart;
Whose wasteful wealth that keeps one life enshrined
Leaves shrinking pale ones passion's reeking mart;
Leaves famine to the mother and her brood,
And to half-famished manhood bitter thought
Of death's deep bed beneath the icy flood,
Or wild revenge by torch or dagger wrought.

"Through tear-lens of keen sympathy I trace
The matted wrongs that God with pity views;
The wrested heritage, the exiled race,
The reckless havoc speculation strews.
But mortgage rests on each inhuman claim,
No scheming magnates can remove its weight,
And swift foreclosure must result the same
As in the hosts and chariot riders' fate."

She paused, transfigured with o'erwhelming prayer,
That swelled for wretchedness throughout the earth.
Her soul-throbs knocking on the door of care
That shuts from mortals all that life is worth.
To him, as in the twinkling of an eye,
Stern Truth confronted ancient codes of fraud,
Of sanctioned wrongs, of crimes that underlie
Man's dire transactions—blasphemies of God.

Then memory turns the "volume of the Book"
That brands oppressors and defends the weak,
Whose holy inspirations never brook
The base achievements wily graspers seek.
Greed's condemnation stamped on every verse—
In vain the rich man scans the sacred word;
The plea, the mandate, prophecy, and curse
Once scarcely noticed, now like thunder heard.

Can *he* exclaim, "Who thwarts the Father's plan
Defeats the answer to the Saviour's prayer"?
The soul's Accuser cries, "Thou art the man,
Though of thy sin uncounted thousands share."
It is for him to take with spirit bold,
With patriotic fire and potent zeal,
Christ's golden rule for Mammon's rule of gold,
That henceforth he may work for human weal.

It is for her like Miriam by the sea
To lift her voice, not with triumphal strain,
But, with a Marseillaise the land to free
From hard Monopoly's imperial reign.

AN INTERESTING REPRESENTATIVE OF A VANISHING RACE.

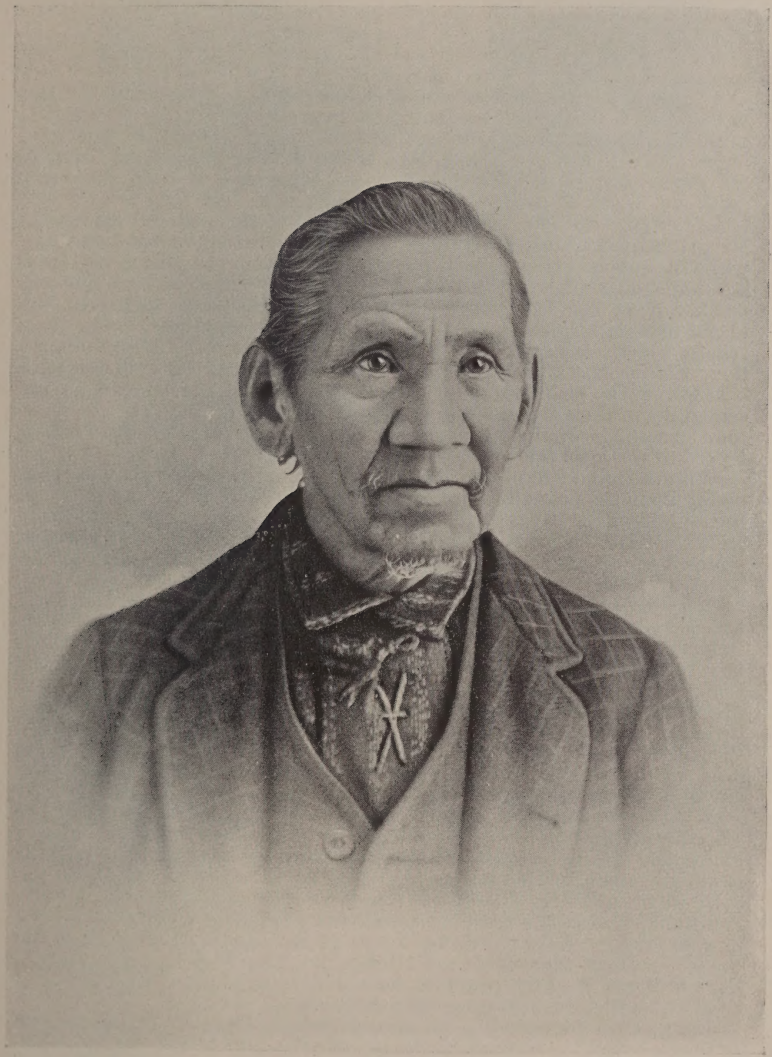
BY B. O. FLOWER.

One of the most interesting characters at the World's Fair at Chicago was the simple-hearted and earnest champion of his people, Simon Pokagon, chief of the now small tribe of Pottawatomie Indians. This tribe, it will be remembered, sprang from the powerful Algonquin family.

There was a peculiar, if gloomy, interest attached to the appearance as well as the address of this chief of a vanishing tribe and race, owing to the fact that in the boyhood of this patriarch the very spot occupied by Chicago was the home of the Indian, and where to-day stand the palatial residences of such men as George M. Pullman, Marshall Field, and Philip D. Armour, was the scene of the massacre of the garrison of Fort Dearborn by the Pottawatomies. In this connection I desire to quote a graphic description of the past and present relating to this memorable place as given by Mr. W. T. Stead.*

On the rim of the shore of Lake Michigan, on a spot then a desolate waste of sand hills, but now crowded with palaces, stands, leafless and twigless, the trunk of an old cottonwood tree, which marks the site of the massacre of the garrison. Four score years and more have passed since the thirsty sand drank the life-blood of the victims of that Indian war, but still the gaunt witness of the fight looks down upon the altered scene. In 1812, when the British were at war with the French in Europe, our Canadian representatives were busy fighting and diplomatizing against the French and their allies on the Great Lakes. The Americans had struck in on their own account on the side of the French, and the British had just whipped them out of Detroit and Michigan. War is war, and British and Americans fought on, each using as best it could the Indian tribes which swarmed in the unsettled country. The British made allies of Tecumseh, the great chief of the Pottawatomies, and Fort Dearborn, the American outpost at Chicago, became the immediate objective point of the allies after the Americans had been driven out of Detroit and Michigan. The officer in charge, Capt. Heald, a weak incompetent, decided to evacuate by arrangement with the Indians. Whether this decision was right or wrong, he carried it out in the worst possible way. He first summoned the Indians to a council and promised them all the goods in the fort, including the ammunition and fire-water, and then broke his word by throwing all the powder and shot down a well and emptying the liquor into the river. The Indians, furious at

* "If Christ Came to Chicago."



SIMON POKAGON.

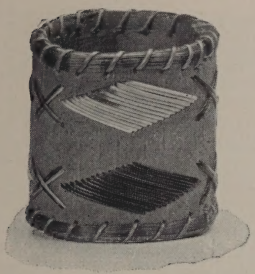
this breach of faith, waited until the little party had reached the open, a good mile distant from the fort, when they attacked and massacred all but twenty-five soldiers and eleven women and children. The scene of the massacre is marked by the venerable trunk of the cottonwood tree, while close by the genius of a Dane has commemorated, at the cost of a millionnaire, the evacuation and the massacre, in a spirited group surmounting a pedestal with bas-reliefs.

The sculptor by a happy inspiration has selected as his *motif* the one incident of that bloody fray that possesses other than a gory interest. While the Pottawatomies were scalping or tomahawking the palefaces, regardless either of sex or age, Mrs. Helm, the daughter of Mr. Kinzie, the patriarchal settler of early Chicago, was rescued from imminent death by Black Partridge, an Indian chief who had long known and loved her father. The group on the summit of the pedestal represents Mrs. Helm desperately struggling to seize her assailant's scalping-knife, while the splendid chief, Black Partridge, intervenes to snatch her from her impending doom. The surgeon, who was slain, is receiving his death-blow at her feet, while a frightened child weeps, scared by the gleam of the tomahawk and the firing of the muskets. The bas-reliefs, which are not in very much relief, tell the story of the evacuation, the march, and the massacre, and enable the least imaginative observer, as he looks out over the gray expanse of the lake, to picture something of the din and alarm of that bloody August day, and to recall, too, something of the elements of heroism and of humanity which redeemed the grim tale of Indian war.

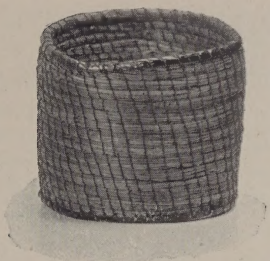
With the mind full of the Pottawatomies and their tomahawks, pondering upon the possibilities of latent goodness surviving in the midst of the scalping-knife savagery of the redskin tribes, you tear yourself away from the traditions of Black Partridge, the Kinzies, and the rest, and find yourself confronted by the palaces of millionnaires. Mr. George M. Pullman's stately mansion stands in the shade of the cottonwood tree, his conservatory is erected upon the battle-field, and he lives and dines and sleeps where the luckless garrison made its last rally. Prairie Avenue, which follows the line of march, is a camping-ground of millionnaires. Within an area of five blocks forty of the sixty members of the Commercial Club have established their homes. Mr. Marshall Field and Mr. Philip Armour live near together on the east side of the avenue a little further south. Probably there are as many millions of dollars to the square inch of this residential district as are to be found in any equal area on the world's surface. It is the very Mecca of Mammon, the Olympus of the great gods of Chicago.

What strange instinct led these triumphant and militant chiefs of the Choctaw civilization of our time to cluster so thickly around the bloody battle-field of their Pottawatomie forbears? "Methinks the place is haunted," and a subtle spell woven of dead men's bones attracts to the scene of the massacre the present representatives of a system doomed to vanish like that of the redskins before the advancing civilization of the new social era. Four score and two years have hardly passed since the braves of Tecumseh slew the children in the Dearborn baggage wagon; but the last of the Pottawatomies have long since vanished from the land over which they roamed the undisputed lords.

Long before four score years have rolled by the millionnaire may be as scarce as the Pottawatomie, and mankind may look back upon the history of trusts and combines and competitions with the same feelings of amazement and compassion that we now look back upon the social system that produced Tecumseh and Black Partridge. How the change will come we may not be able to see any more than the Pottawatomies were able to foresee the value of the real estate on which Chicago was built. They parted with it in fee simple for three cents an acre, and did not get



INDIAN NAPKIN RING MADE OF COLORED QUILLS AND BIRCH BARK.



INDIAN NAPKIN RING MADE OF SWEET GRASS.

even that. But the Pottawatomie passed and the millionnaire will pass, and men will marvel that such things could be.

On Chicago Day Liberty bell was rung for the first time during the Exposition,* and Chief Pokagon was selected to ring the bell and also to deliver an address. During the course of his remarks, which were delivered in the presence of more than half a million people, he made the following touching and suggestive utterances:

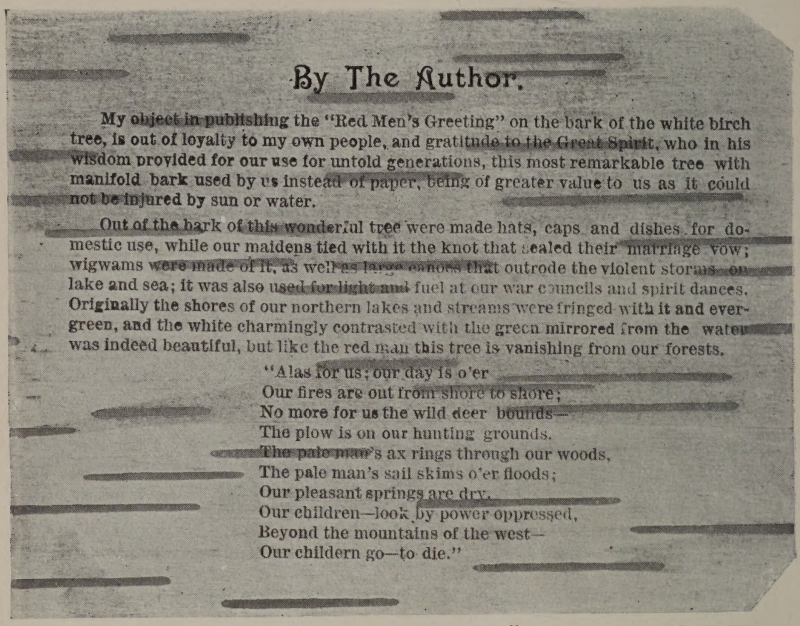
Through the untiring efforts of a few friends of another race I greet you. If any of you, my countrymen, feel the sting of neglect because your rights have been ignored in taking part in the World's great Fair until now, I beseech you to lay aside all bitterness of spirit, and with hearts so pure and good that these noble mothers and daughters that have so labored in our behalf for this may rejoice that the kind seed they have sown has not fallen on dry and barren ground.

Let us not crucify ourselves by going over the bloody trails we have trod in other days; but rather let us look up and rejoice in thankfulness in the present, for out of the storm-cloud of darkness that is round about us we now see helping hands stretched out to aid and strengthen us, while above the roar and crash of the cyclone of civilization are heard many voices demanding that to the red man justice must be done.

In my infancy I was taught to love my chief and tribe; but since then the great West has been swallowed up by the white man, and by adoption we are the children of this great Republic, hence we must teach loyalty to this nation to our children, and solemnly impress them that the war-path leads but to the grave.

The question comes up to us again and again, "What can be done for the best good of the remnant of our race?" The answer to me is plain and clear, and it matters not how distasteful it may seem to us. We must give up the pursuits of our fathers. However dear we love the chase we must give it up. We must teach our children to give up the bow and arrow that is born in their hearts; and in place of the gun we must take the plough and live as the white men do. They are all around about our homes. The game is gone never to return; hence it is vain to talk about support from game and fish. Many of our people are now

* The *News* of Plymouth, Mich., on Feb. 8, 1893, observed editorially that "the elder Pokagon was one of the chiefs to whom was ceded by treaty the ground on which Chicago now stands, and which was afterward conveyed back to the government through conniving of the swindling agents, for a consideration that amounted to about three cents per acre."



By The Author.

My object in publishing the "Red Men's Greeting" on the bark of the white birch tree, is out of loyalty to my own people, and gratitude to the Great Spirit, who in his wisdom provided for our use for untold generations, this most remarkable tree with manifold bark used by us instead of paper, being of greater value to us as it could not be injured by sun or water.

Out of the bark of this wonderful tree were made hats, caps and dishes for domestic use, while our maidens tied with it the knot that sealed their marriage vow; wigwams were made of it, as well as large canoes that outrode the violent storms on lake and sea; it was also used for light and fuel at our war councils and spirit dances. Originally the shores of our northern lakes and streams were fringed with it and evergreen, and the white charmingly contrasted with the green mirrored from the water was indeed beautiful, but like the red man this tree is vanishing from our forests.

"Alas for us; our day is o'er
Our fires are out from shore to shore;
No more for us the wild deer bounds—
The plow is on our hunting grounds.
The pale man's ax rings through our woods,
The pale man's sail skims o'er floods;
Our pleasant springs are dry.
Our children—look by power oppressed,
Beyond the mountains of the west—
Our children go—to die."

FAC-SIMILE OF PREFACE OF "RED MEN'S GREETING" PRINTED ON BIRCH BARK.

successful in raising grain and stock. What they have done we all can do. Our children must learn. They owe no allegiance to any clan or power on earth except the United States. They must learn and love to wear the stars and stripes, and at all times to rejoice that they are American citizens.

Our children must be educated and learn the different trades of the white men. Thanks to the Great Spirit, this government has already established a few schools for that purpose, and to learn of the success you have but to visit the Indians' school in these grounds, examine the work of the children, see the different articles they have made, examine their writing-books, and you will be convinced that they will be able to compete with the dominant race.

I was pained to learn that some who should have been interested in our people discouraged our coming to the Fair, claiming openly that we are heartless, soulless, and godless. Now let us all as one pray the Great Spirit that he will open the eyes of their understanding and teach them to know that we are human as well as they; teach them to know that

Within the recess of the native's soul
There is is a secret place, which God doth hold;
And though the storms of life do war around,
Yet still within His image fixed is found.

I am getting to be an old man. I often feel one foot is uplifted to step into the world beyond. But I am thankful that the measure of my days has been lengthened out, that I am able to stand before you in this great congress of people, in this four hundredth year of the white man's advent in our fathers' land.

The breadth of thought and the innate spirituality which permeate this address are no less marked than the stoical acceptance of conditions with an earnest determination to make the best of circumstances as they exist.

Some months prior to the opening of the Exposition Chief Pokagon published a little booklet entitled "The Red Men's Greeting," printed on the bark of the white birch tree. This "Greeting" was pitched in a minor key. The plaintive note of the representative of a warrior race who had beheld the glory of his people vanish characterizes it throughout. It is so entirely out of the ordinary in all particulars that I reproduce in this paper the author's preface enlarged and photographed from a leaf of the birch bark on which it is printed.

Mrs. Flower reviewed this work in THE ARENA on its appearance, which called forth an interesting letter, from which I quote the following extract:

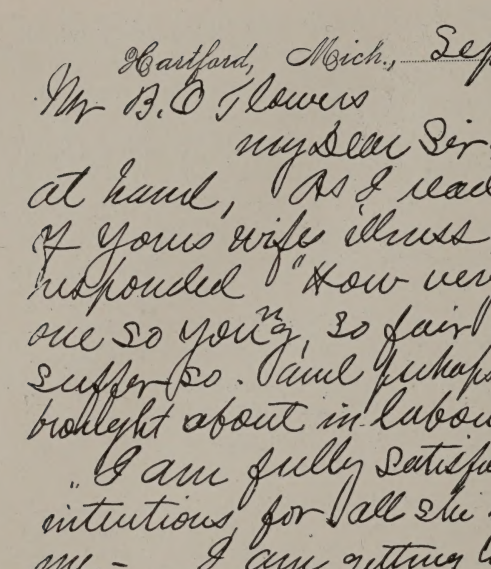
> I have written especially for you a brief article on "Geese," hoping the reading of it will please you. Of course you know our race love the chase, which leads our minds to see many strange things in the brute creation that awaken our mirth. If the article does not interest you, receive it and think of it as the author wrote it and sends it to you.

The enclosure referred to above is one of the most characteristic, and in some particulars unique, sketches I have read in years, simple in treatment and revealing in a marked degree the child mind, while carrying with it the keen perception of the true son of the forest, coupled with ethical deductions as relating to man's life which suggest the ancient stoic philosopher, as will be seen by the copy given below.

AN INDIAN'S OBSERVATION ON THE MATING OF GEESE.

Having studied the habits and languages of beasts, birds, and insects of forest and field since early childhood, I have obtained a knowledge of them not learned in books.

In this article I shall present a few interesting peculiarities of the goose family. In springtime of each year these fowls have their courtship and marriage. All the geese-men select the oldest goose-woman of the flock or society, age being admired above all other qualifications for a good wife. Hence, in view of so many suitors for the oldest goose-woman, it can only be settled in a fair field fight in single combats. Everything must be fair on both sides. Two men geese march out in front of the flock, straighten up in front of each other, firmly grasping in their bills the feathers on each other's necks, while they commence pounding each other with their wings in a most brutal manner, being cheered by the flock in wild strains of admiration. When one gives up the contest, another takes his turn, and so on until there is but one acknowledged hero, and he, amid cheers and shouts, marches off with his choice, the oldest dame goose of the flock, who congratulates him on his success, telling him how long and well he fought, and how proud she is of him; promising how she will strive to be a good wife, on account of



Hartford, Mich., Sept 12 1895.

Mr B. O Flowers

My Dear Sir: Yours of the 7th at hand, As I read what you said of Yours wife illness, My heart responded "How very sad it is that one so young, so fair and wise should suffer so. Paul perhaps it has all been brought about in labouring for others"

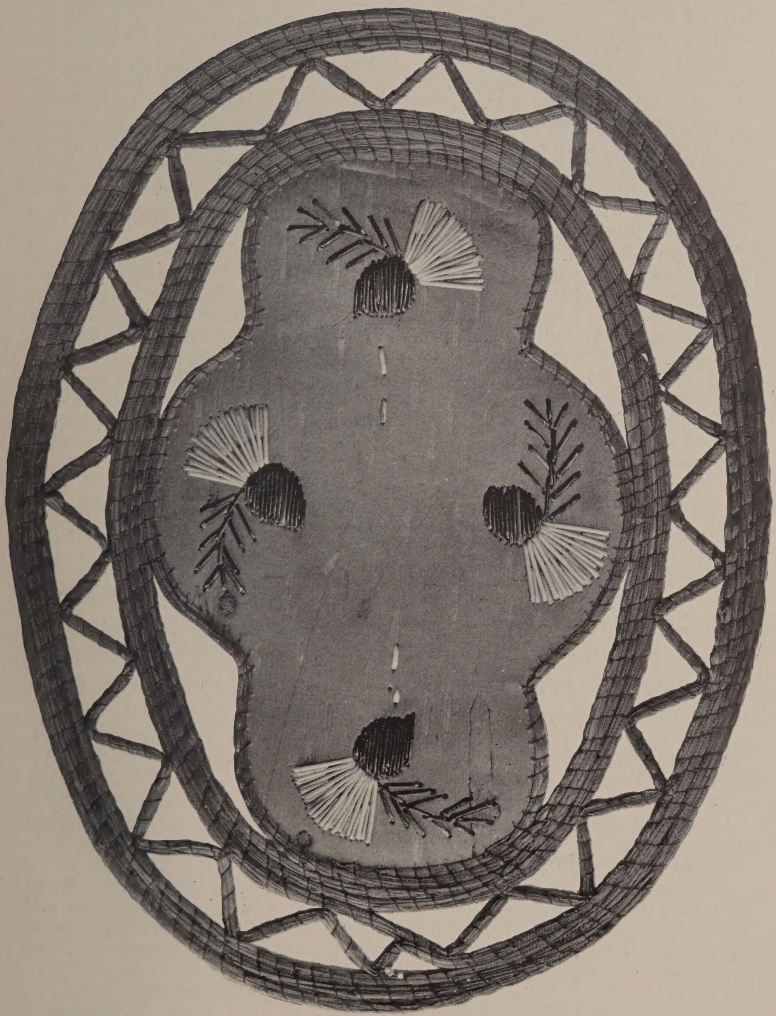
I am fully satisfied to accept her intentions for all she intended to say of me - I am getting to be an old man passing over the threshold of my home here into the great Wigwam beyond where there are many rooms I trust & pray that your wife may fully recover & that she may be spared many years to benefit her race If you think it will not disturb her say to her she has my best wishes & the prayers of my heart,

Very respectfully Jno S. Kakagon

FAC-SIMILE OF LETTER WRITTEN BY THE CHIEF OF THE POTTAWATOMIE INDIANS.

the great sacrifice he has made for her, while he joyfully drinks in all her flattery, smiles and laughs, and, puffing, chats, telling her how he would sooner have died in the fight than to have lost her, his first and only choice. And so the contest goes on, until each man goose in turn is the acknowledged hero of the remaining flock, and marches in turn with the oldest woman goose as his bride, all of which laugh and chat together, apparently well satisfied with the result; when all have paired off but the remaining woman goose, who may be a handsome bright-eyed maiden, the last man goose takes her as his bride with a disappointed heart, while she, poor maiden, accepts him through force of circumstances, with saddest of feelings, cheered by hopes alone that the time will come when on account of her age she will be sought for as her older sisters have been.

After the last pair have reluctantly agreed to become man and wife,



INDIAN MAT MADE OF BIRCH BARK, COLORED QUILLS, AND SWEET GRASS, AND PRESENTED WITH NAPKIN RING TO MRS. FLOWER BY CHIEF POKAGON.

if there are any left of the flock of either sex unprovided for, they tag around after the last pair as mourners of the unhappy marriage. I have closely watched these husbands and wives as they have commenced housekeeping, have seen them pluck the down from their bodies and line their nests, talking over with each other the prospects of the future, and when the eggs were laid amid the softest down, have seen both man and wife guard them with equal care. In childhood, I thought this mode of securing wives would lead to disagreement and discord; yet not having known of a case of divorce among them, I watched them still closer and have not heard an unkind word or seen an unkind look. Have watched them when their gosling children were first hatched, and seen each guard them with greatest care, and with their bended necks stretched over their little brood, with chats and laughs tenderly lead them to some pond or river side, then into the water with them swim.

I have admired the first opening flowers of spring, and joyed to see young lambs skip and play, yet never has my admiration with joy been so moved as when I've seen these infant goslings by their parents led into the waters of some stream or lake, and gently, with their parents, float about as if moved by some power divine, the very semblance of themselves just beneath the surface of the rippling waves.

And to myself oft have said, "How strange it is!" Before the marriage vow is said these geese-men select their wives without their consent and fight it out against all rivalry, but when settled down in life all "man's rights" are laid aside and "woman's rights" are never born, but "equal rights" are all in all.

CHIEF POKAGON,
Author of "Red Men's Greeting,"
Hartford, Mich.

Mrs. Flower had prepared notes for a sketch of the life of this venerable head of a once powerful tribe, when she was stricken with a severe illness from overwork. I communicated these facts to the chief, and received the following touching and appreciative letter, which is elsewhere reproduced in fac-simile:

HARTFORD, MICH., Sept. 12, 1895.

MY DEAR SIR:

Your favor of the 9th at hand.

As I read what you said of your wife's illness my heart responded, "How very sad that one so young, so fair and wise, should suffer so, and perhaps it has all been brought about in laboring for others." I am fully satisfied to accept her intentions for what she intended to say of me.

I am getting to be an old man, passing over the threshold of my home here into the wigwam beyond where there are many rooms. I trust and believe that your wife may fully recover, and that she may be spared many years to benefit her race. If you think it will not disturb her, say to her that she has my best wishes and the prayers of my heart.

Very respectfully yours,
S. POKAGON.

This noble representative of the red man has been a strenuous advocate of temperance and virtue. On one occasion he wrote:

When I am gone I wish no stone to rise above my last resting-place as oft is done, to tell, not what men were, but what they should have been. However, I desire to leave upon the printed page an epitaph which all

may read. That shall be my most solemn protest and prayer against the introduction of alcohol in any form among my people; and to accomplish that desire of my heart I see no hope except by the complete overthrow of the rum-shop and the destruction of all that can intoxicate, together with cigarettes, the father and mother of palsy and cancer.

In touching upon the subject of the Indian, even in a cursory manner, I cannot forbear expressing my strong convictions in regard to this race, which, as it appears to me, has been so ruthlessly treated by our civilization, — a civilization claiming to be based on a universal brotherhood. To me few subjects are at once so humiliating, pathetic, and essentially tragic as the history of the Indian so rapidly disappearing from our continent in the light of the treatment received by him from a civilization which claims to follow the meek and lowly Galilean.

It has been observed that the early Spanish conquerors of the Western Hemisphere used the sword and the cross; the writer sagely remarking that after the sword had done its work the cross was raised over the lifeless form. Nor have we of the more northern climes much to boast of over the Spaniards. It is true that the treatment meted out to the Indians by such Christ-like souls as William Penn and Roger Williams stands in bright relief against the inky background of betrayal, appropriation of the Indian's land and slaughter of his people; but such instances, while revealing the potentiality of conquest on the spiritual plane, its feasibility and its practicability, are merely the exceptions to the rule which mark the savagery of a civilization which claims to follow the mandates of the Sermon on the Mount. It is true that the Indian retaliated, and was in many cases the aggressor, *if we can call people the aggressors* who object to having their native land taken from them by aliens. This sentiment has been well put from the Indians' point of view in the following stanza:

> Shall not one line lament our forest race,
> For you struck out from wild creation's face?
> Freedom! — the self-same freedom you adore —
> Bade us defend our violated shore.

Of the savagery and brutality exhibited by the Indian in many cases, I would merely observe that it is manifestly unfair to judge them by the standards of a people who have enjoyed Christian civilization for many centuries and who have behind them the lessons and warnings, the glory and the gloom of Roman, Grecian, Syrian, Chaldean, and Egyptian

civilizations. Moreover, if one calls to mind the methods which marked the terrible religious struggle of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Europe, and will remember how human ingenuity was taxed to its utmost to devise methods of horrible torture which were remorselessly meted out by those claiming to be Christians to others claiming to be Christians, he will, I think, feel it wisest to pass very lightly over the charge of excessive cruelty on the part of those he flippantly terms savages. Had the Indian submitted more tamely he would have been characterized by this same self-engrossed class, who delight in echoing the brutally false phrase that "there is no good Indian but a dead Indian," as cowardly and unworthy of the land which for unnumbered generations had been the land of his fathers.

AMERICAN FINANCIAL POLICY.

BY H. F. BARTINE.

In the December number of the *Forum* appears an elaborate article from the pen of Paul Leroy Beaulieu on the financial policy which America should pursue.*

When he says that "there is not a single European country, in a normal financial condition, that attaches the slightest importance to bimetallism," to put it mildly, it is strongly suggestive of a belief on his part that the masses of the American people are unable to read.

When he attempts to belittle the bimetallic theory by disparaging such men as Balfour, Cernushi, and Emile de Laveleye, he should at least accompany the disparagement by some argument showing the unsoundness of that theory.

When, referring to issues of paper money, he says, "It is only professional bankers, constantly mingling in the daily current of the country's business, who can with competency and tact acquit themselves of the task of furnishing this substitute for money in the proper proportions, varying as these do from day to day," it reads as if some "professional banker" had been whispering in his ear as he wrote.

M. Beaulieu claims that the "conditions for American financial supremacy" are the following: First, that all issues of paper money should be made by the banks; second, that we should establish the gold standard pure and simple, using silver only in a subordinate way.

In support of these contentions, as before stated, M. Beaulieu presents nothing that is new and nothing that reaches the heart of either question.

BANK ISSUES OF PAPER MONEY.

On this point about the substance of his claim is that a bank can protect its gold reserve by raising the rate of dis-

* There is nothing in the article that should disturb the mind of a bimetallist, but some of them have feared the effect of anything from the pen of a French writer of some repute who assumes the *rôle* of a disinterested and sympathetic adviser.

It is only in the latter view that the article merits consideration, for it is essentially and intrinsically weak. It contains nothing by way of argument that could not have been gleaned from the editorial columns of a few of our leading gold-standard newspapers published any week during the last two years.

If it had been written by plain John Smith of New York or Chicago, it would have attracted no attention whatever. In truth, the general tone of the article is disappointing to one who naturally expected to see the subject placed upon a rather elevated plane of discussion when handled by M. Beaulieu.

count, while a State cannot. Hence, that a bank is better prepared to redeem its notes with coin than a State can be.

Concede that for the sake of the discussion, and it still falls a long way short of covering the problem.

In the first place he ignores what ought to be obvious, the fact that there is a great deal more necessity for a bank to maintain a strong reserve than for the Government of a powerful and wealthy State to do so. A bank has nothing behind its notes but its own resources. The Government has the resources of the entire country at command through the power of taxation. Again, banks are engaged in all sorts of speculative ventures, and they are so largely interdependent that a failure of one frequently involves the failure of many.

In times of panic the credit of no private bank is above suspicion. No bank can maintain a sufficient reserve to meet *all* of its outstanding obligations. And hence, in seasons of financial disturbance, many a perfectly solvent institution has been forced to the wall by runs that are simply the result of causeless fright. The only run upon the United States Treasury that is ever likely to occur is to satisfy a demand for gold for export. Gold is not withdrawn from our national treasury because of waning confidence in the Government's solvency, but merely because it is needed for export and can be obtained there more easily than in any other quarter.

If the banks were issuing our paper money it would not make the foreign demand for gold any weaker. Consequently the banks would have to respond not only to the demands of the exporters of gold, but to those of frightened depositors and the timorous holders of their notes as well. Nor is there any reason to believe that the financial wisdom of the bankers would enable them to furnish the notes in "proper proportions," thus giving the people a flexible currency in accordance with their needs, varying from day to day. In the issuance of circulating notes banks are governed by their *own* interests. They will expand the volume when they can profit by doing so, and contract it whenever *their* necessities demand, regardless of the effect upon others. It is a matter of common, every-day knowledge, that as an almost invariable rule banks restrict their credits at the very time when an enlargement is most needed. The raising of the discount upon which M. Beaulieu relies for the protection of the reserve is itself nothing less than a contraction of the currency,

always depressing prices to the injury of the producer and the advantage of those who control the money supply.

On this point he makes a banker's argument in the most ultra sense. He sees nothing but the maintenance of their reserves and the consequent preservation of a parity between their notes and coin. Whether the people have many dollars, few dollars, or no dollars at all, like some of our American economists he seems to think that national prosperity is assured if one dollar can only be kept as good as every other dollar. And while assuming this to be the prime essential, he offers no proof whatever of their ability to maintain specie payments, and knowing that the moment they failed to redeem one of their own notes in gold on demand, they, the notes, would depreciate, and we would be confronted by all the evils of the "wild cat" money which beset the country prior to 1860.

If it be said that their notes would be secured by United States bonds, it may be replied that bonds are not *money*, they are simply collateral security. When a note is presented to a bank and the gold demanded, presumably it is because the gold is wanted, and not bonds. The bonds are surely no better than the Government itself which issues the bonds; and yet we are assured that United States notes will depreciate the moment the Government fails to redeem in gold on demand. Besides, if notes are to be issued solely on the basis of United States bonds, it involves not only a perpetuation of our interest-bearing debt, but a vast increase of it in order to keep pace with the ever-increasing needs of the people for currency.

If other securities are to be issued as a basis of circulation, then the uniformity of the security would be lost. Different banks would be issuing notes based on bonds differing in character and value, which in seasons of distrust might very seriously affect the notes themselves.

M. Beaulieu contends that as our paper currency was created to meet the exigencies of war, it should have been retired as speedily as possible after the return of peace; but the only reason he gives is that other countries have generally done so. That, however, is no reason at all. If every other nation in the world should deliberately engage in the work of oppressing the debtor for the benefit of the creditor, it would not justify the United States in doing so.

And that is exactly what the retirement of paper currency

so issued does. When a nation under financial stress issues a large amount of paper money, the expansion of the currency always raises prices to a higher level. Contracts are made and the business of the country is adjusted to that price level. Creditors are paid in cheaper money than the money of the contract, but as a rule they find more than an equivalent in the general prosperity that comes from rising prices.

But when the currency is contracted by the calling in of the war issues, prices fall and the pinch upon the debtor and producer is terrible. The fall of prices not only increases the burden of debt, but frequently so paralyzes business that hundreds of thousands and millions of people are forced into idleness, and either consume the savings of former years or become a charge upon others. In short, a rise of prices nearly always stimulates business, while a fall of prices has a depressing effect.

Hence comes the question: The money supply of a country having been largely increased, prices having risen to a higher level and business having adjusted itself to that level, why should the paper currency be retired and prices once more driven down to a lower plane? Who is benefited by it? Not the man loaded down with debt. Not he who is engaged in any legitimate productive enterprise. None, in fact, realize any advantage but a few creditors and holders of fixed incomes. Even of these many have other interests through which they are injured more than they are benefited by an appreciation of money.

When a certain price level has been attained, either by large additions to the stock of metallic money or by paper issues, no good reason has ever been given why that price level should be arbitrarily lowered. Such a lowering has never taken place save for the benefit of those whose interests as creditors predominate over all of their other interests.

This is a phase of the question that has never received adequate consideration at the hands of monetary writers, and it is one of the greatest importance. In a loose, general way, Government issues of legal tender paper have been classed as ordinary debts, to be paid off at the earliest possible moment. The distinction, however, is very broad. If a private individual owe a hundred dollars represented by a promissory note, it is to his interest of course to pay it and be rid of the burden. In doing so he harms nobody, because his note concerns only himself and the holder.

But Government legal tender paper, while in a sense representing a debt, is also a part of the money supply of the country, helping to measure the value of every piece of property within its borders. Therefore every dollar of such paper redeemed is just so much money withdrawn from circulation, with the effect of lowering the money value of property, which always bears heavily upon the producers and those in debt.

M. Beaulieu entirely fails to make it clear why the greenbacks, which enabled the Government to fight to a successful issue one of the greatest wars of history, and which have perfectly performed the duty of money for nearly thirty-four years, should now be treated as an element of danger and retired, either to leave the currency depleted, or to be supplanted by bank notes of more than doubtful value.

BIMETALLISM.

His treatment of this most important of all monetary questions is even more unsatisfactory than his manner of dealing with paper issues. About two thirds of his entire article is devoted to this theme, but he does not discuss the principles involved at all. He simply tells us that the leading nations of Europe have permanently advanced it, and that "*the financiers and capitalists — that is to say, the only persons competent to express an opinion — are almost unanimously for the single gold standard.*"

I desire to be highly respectful to M. Beaulieu, but there is nevertheless a strong temptation to say that any man who will endeavor to dispose of a great economic question which affects every civilized being on the surface of the planet by declaring that nobody is competent to express an opinion upon it but financiers and capitalists, furnishes at least presumptive evidence of his own unfitness to deal with the question. If the issue could be disposed of in that easy way, the "financiers and capitalists" would certainly be in clover.

All men who are engaged in any kind of business in which terms of money are employed are interested in money, its quantity and its character.

The man whose work is of a productive nature is certainly interested in the price which he is to obtain for his product, whatever that product may be. This price necessarily depends upon the amount of money which is available for the purchase of the particular product. All business being done on the

basis of "price," the question of money concerns everybody who is connected with business either as an employer or employee. Whether a man be competent to express an opinion upon it, depends entirely upon his intelligence and the extent of his research.

Why a man who is raising potatoes to be sold for "money" cannot study the subject of "money" in its relation to potatoes quite as intelligently as the man who simply loans money, charging interest for its use, M. Beaulieu makes no effort to explain. He simply elevates his financier and capitalist upon a mountain height of assumed superiority, and in effect tells all other men that it is useless for them to study the monetary question, for they will not be able to understand it if they do.

M. Beaulieu's fitness to discuss the question of bimetallism is further impeached by the fact that he begins his argument with a reference to the insignificance of the silver product of the United States compared with other products, as if the struggle for the restoration of bimetallism involved nothing more than a raising of the market price of silver for the benefit of the miner.

It is essentially a Wall Street argument (?), one of those crafty plays by which the real issue has been obscured and millions of honest men deceived.

If silver is to be destroyed as money because the market value of the annual product of our mines is only thirty-seven and a half million dollars, as he says, why would not a similar argument apply to gold? From 1873 to 1893 the average annual production of the gold mines of the United States was considerably less than that figure.

The value of our silver product or of the gold production to the miner is only an infinitesimal part of the question. It must be borne in mind that they have both, from the earliest ages, been treated as money metals, — agencies by which the values of other things are determined. The effect of practically destroying one of them as a measure of value and devolving the entire function of standard money upon the other is scarcely noticed by M. Beaulieu.

And yet what he says concerning the market price of silver bullion does possess a certain value in the discussion as it has been conducted in America. Many of the advocates of the gold standard have quite persistently claimed that the demonetization of silver has had no effect upon its value.

Even Mr. Carlisle has declared that silver fell, not because of demonetization, but as a result of "enormous over-production." M. Beaulieu tells us that if all civilized nations should adopt the gold standard, silver would probably "fix itself between twenty-five pence and twenty-eight pence per ounce," at which price "it would be nearly stable."

By what method of calculation he arrives at these figures, or by what process of economic reasoning he reaches the conclusion that at those figures the price would be nearly stable, he fails to inform us. Had he attempted a demonstration, he would have at once realized the vast difference between glittering generalities and rational deductions.

In fact, the statement is not only a mere arbitrary assumption on his part, but, speaking with all due respect, it is absurd. No human being is competent to say what the gold price of silver would be under the conditions he names. Unless there should be a very marked falling off in the production, it is morally certain that the price would be considerably lower than it is now. Beyond that no economist mindful of his reputation would feel safe in going.

The statement is wholly unimportant except in the admission that a further demonetization of silver would lead to a still further shrinkage in its market price. M. Beaulieu probably did not realize the significance of this admission, because, when analyzed, it goes to the very core of the question, which his own argument fails to touch.

How would the adoption of the gold standard by all civilized nations affect the price of silver? In two ways. First, it would lessen the demand for silver for monetary use, and, second, it would increase the demand for gold for that same use.

Unless production should increase *pro rata*, — of which a little later, — an increased demand for gold to be coined into money would necessarily enhance its value.

This means a still further fall in the prices of commodities and property. It is scarcely conceivable that any writer will seriously argue that the value of gold can rise without a corresponding fall in the prices of those things which gold measures.

If M. Beaulieu is prepared to make such a claim, his friends in all kindness should advise him to permanently retire from the field of economic literature. So the concession that silver will fall in price as a result of further demoneti-

zation carries with it the corollary that under normal conditions of production gold will rise in value, and this simply means that the prices of commodities and property measured by the gold standard must fall.

M. Beaulieu does not deny the great fall in prices that has taken place during the last twenty-two years in countries that use gold as their standard money, but he denies that it has been caused by an appreciation of gold. Technically he may be right. A fall of prices cannot be fairly said to have been *caused* by an appreciation of gold. It *is* an appreciation of gold. Value is merely a term of relation indicating the rates at which two things will exchange for each other. Hence, when wheat falls relatively to gold, the latter must rise relatively to the wheat.

Whatever the cause may be, the fact is that an ounce of gold will now exchange for nearly twice as much of commodities in general as it would twenty-two years ago. If that does not indicate that gold is more valuable than formerly, then there is no meaning in words.

A man who had $100,000 in gold in 1873 and has it now, can buy with it nearly or quite twice as much of the products of other men's labors as he could at the former date. In effect, he is twice as rich, and still we are gravely assured that there has been no appreciation of gold.

M. Beaulieu repeats the well-worn claim that prices have fallen because of "considerable increase of production, the progress in industrial methods, and the application of science to this production." Briefly, this is increased production and nothing more, because improved methods can only affect prices by increasing production.

He glides smoothly over this point, asserting dogmatically that increased production has been the cause, but making no effort whatever to prove it. Even within the limits of a magazine article, he might have found space for a few specifications. Surely, if he had been in possession of any proofs, he would have presented some of them. He was keenly on the alert to give figures on points altogether prophetic and almost immaterial, but upon the vital claim of over-production he contents himself with a mere general assertion, leaving the bimetallist to prove the negative.

It is a well-known fact that between 1850 and 1870 wholesale prices rose upon an average about twenty per cent. It is equally well known that since 1870 they have fallen

nearly fifty per cent. Such a change is nothing less than phenomenal. Something of an extraordinary character must have occurred to produce it. What was that extraordinary thing?

We know that in 1873 the monetary system of Europe and America was revolutionized by the practical abandonment of silver as standard money.

Can M. Beaulieu suggest anything in the way of mechanical improvement that will compare in importance with the virtual destruction of nearly one half the metallic money of Europe and America? The opinion is respectfully ventured that he cannot.

Money is one side of every business transaction. Consequently anything which affects the supply of money must affect the prices of all things that are measured by money.

We *know* that silver has been demonetized. We do not know of any unusual increase of production. On the contrary, the best attainable evidence is the other way. Prof. Sauerbeck is the highest living authority, and his carefully prepared tables show that the increase was much greater from 1850 to 1870 than it was from 1870 to 1890. He states that during the first twenty years production increased two and three quarters per cent annually, while during the latter twenty the increase was only one and one sixth, — less than half as much.

Still in the face of a vastly increased production prices rose twenty per cent during the former period, while with less than half the increase during the latter they fell twice twenty per cent.

The economic writer who denies that the demonetization of silver has lowered prices is simply closing his eyes to what ought to be self-evident, and seeking blindly for purely theoretical and speculative causes.

Not only does M. Beaulieu ignore the obvious cause of falling prices, but to the distress resulting therefrom he appears to be entirely oblivious, for he makes no mention of it. That falling prices continuing over a long period of time have the effect of increasing the burden of debt and benefiting the non-producer at the expense of the producer, is too plain to admit of discussion.

It tends to check industrial enterprise, leading to business depression, enforced idleness and suffering among the masses. That such conditions have existed for more than

twenty years is recognized by almost every reputable economist, and the causes have been made the subject of several laborious official investigations.

The United States is the greatest debtor and producing nation in the world. The demonetization of silver necessarily lowers the prices of what we have to sell, increases the burden of our vast debt, and thus injures this country far more than it does any other.

Moreover, our great agricultural staples are being sold in the closest competition with silver-standard countries which have the benefit of both cheaper labor and cheaper money. Thus they are enabled to force the prices of those staples even lower than the mere destruction of silver, standing by itself, would carry them.

This whole question of prices, deeply involving the happiness and prosperity of seventy millions of American people, — the very germ of the entire bimetallic problem, — M. Beaulieu completely ignores.

He advises the adoption of the gold standard as a mere abstraction, wholly regardless of its probable effects. The greatest producing nation in the world is urged to establish a monetary policy which will certainly lower the money value of its salable products. The greatest debtor nation is told that it should bind itself completely to a monetary system under which the dollars that we have to pay are constantly growing more valuable and more difficult to get.

We are suffering from competition with silver-using countries, intensified by the difference in exchange between gold and silver, and he asks us to pursue a policy the effect of which must be to further enhance the value of gold, lower that of silver, increase the difference in exchange, and give the silver countries a still further advantage.

In short, that because we are a rich nation, full of resources, we must submit to be plucked, bled, and robbed at every turn in order to attain financial supremacy.

His estimates of future gold production can scarcely be considered legitimate economic discussion. They are mere guesses. No man is justified in attempting to decide a great question of political economy by blindly guessing at the future production of gold. All human experience proves that in such cases, when excitement is rife, as at present in Colorado and South Africa, the tendencies are strongly in the line of exaggerated estimates. In 1857 the gold fields of California and

Australia were believed to be inexhaustible, and greater men than M. Beaulieu advised the demonetization of gold. In fact the work was begun, and if France had yielded to the clamor, the relative positions of gold and silver might now be completely reversed.

In 1873 the most marvellous tales were floating in the air of the fabulous wealth of the Comstock lode, and probably no one thing contributed more largely to the demonetization of silver than the belief that the Nevada mines were about to "flood" the world with that metal. To-day they are almost exhausted.

Even if his estimates be approximately correct, they prove nothing in favor of the gold standard. He does not claim that the increase will be sufficient to cause a decided advance in prices, or in fact any advance. He thinks it will merely have the effect of steadying them. When a writer dealing with a future production that must necessarily involve much uncertainty, arrives at the conclusion that it will not be sufficient to cause a decided advance in prices, but will be sufficient to "steady" them, it should be apparent that he is drawing the lines of conjecture with a very delicate pen.

He is probably right, though, in the opinion that there will be no decided advance of prices consequent upon the enlarged output of gold. Not for the reason which he gives, *i. e.*, scientific progress in methods of production and the smaller increase of population in most countries, but because of the vastly greater amounts of gold being steadily absorbed by the arts and the constantly increasing need of more money with which to transact the rapidly augmenting volume of the world's business.

With great nations and great banks swelling ever their hoards of gold, and more and more countries planting themselves upon that standard, it is morally certain that gold will continue to rise in value, which is only another way of saying that prices will continue to fall.

The "scientific progress" of which M. Beaulieu speaks, also enormously increases consumption. Therefore its probable effect upon prices is very difficult of determination.

It is a most remarkable thing that all "scientific progress" should operate to the disadvantage of the producer and for the benefit of the moneyed classes. But that is the inexorable logic of the whole argument based upon the theory of over-production.

Whatever improvements may be made whereby production is increased, the man with the fixed amount of money must have the entire benefit.

It never occurs to the gold advocate that money should increase *pro rata* with other things, so as to maintain stability of price. The sole remedy possible under his system is to *limit production*, which means more idle labor, more business depression, and more suffering among the toilers and producers.

Therefore in an essay written for the sole purpose of demonstrating the conditions of American financial supremacy, he leaves us without a glimmer of hope.

The only way the American people can reach that supremacy is by getting fair prices for what they have to sell. No individual ever got rich working for nothing. No more can a nation. No person of good common sense, heavily in debt, ever attempted to improve his condition by making it more difficult for him to pay that debt. No more should a nation. But that is exactly what M. Beaulieu advises as a sure road to "American financial supremacy."

WOMAN IN SOCIETY TO-DAY.

BY ANNA EDITH UPDEGRAFF HILLES.

There is perhaps no sign of the times so full of promise, so inspiring to effort, and so helpful to right living as the enlargement of the opportunities of women. And this the world over; for not only is it specially true in our own blessed land, but in England, in Australia, in New Zealand, in Hungary, in Germany, in Italy, in Iceland, in India, in Syria, in China, and even in Russia, doors whose bolts and bars have been covered by the rust of centuries are to-day being pushed open by the united efforts of women. On all sides it is agreed that there is just now a great awakening among women.

As to their attributes and capabilities, we are told that they are seriously inquiring for the roads that will conduct them to their largest and noblest development. Prof. Mason, the curator of the United States National Museum, in his scholarly essay on Applied Sociology which he calls "Woman's Share in Primitive Culture," declares that "no study can lead them to truer success than a careful review of those activities and occupations through which they have contributed so much to the general sum of happiness." Prof. Mason in this book proves by her works woman's share in the culture of the world. He calls five witnesses to the stand: History, Language, Archæology, Ethnology, and Folk-lore are examined for data respecting the primitive woman's activities. He learns of her as food-bringer, weaver, skin-dresser, potter, Jack-of-all-trades, burden-bearer, artist, linguist, as founder of society and patron of religion; in a word, the inventor of all the peaceful arts of life. This book is called by a critic "a record of honorable achievements, stored capital, accumulated experience and energy."

It is well worthy of its prominence as leader of the new scientific series. If woman, the founder of society in its beginnings, its mainspring through all the ages (often hidden, it is true, but steadily keeping time for all humanity), becomes to-day the vital force which is to make society morally purer and intellectually broader, surely it is most fitting that we look for a little upon her privileges, her responsibilities, and her use of both.

On the 19th of November a representative gathering from eighty-nine clubs of women in the State of New York held a meeting in New York City to harmonize the different elements that tend to develop and educate her sex and to unite in common interest women of all ranks, professions, industries, and faiths, the main idea of this call to organize a New York State Federation being to organize in groups literary, educational, scientific, professional, industrial, reform, philanthropic, political, and village improvement clubs.

The president of Sorosis said two things worthy of mention:

First. — "The practical interests of woman are multiplying so rapidly that only in this way can we follow them and give their value to the world." Second. — "She who stands alone to-day — be she woman or an organization of women — is missing her place in the great accordant note of the century."

On Nov. 3 Mrs. Cornelius Stevenson said to the three hundred and fifty women composing the Civic Club in Philadelphia:

When this club came into existence last January, we publicly pledged ourselves to promote "by education and active co-operation a higher public spirit and a better social order." Our broad and flexible organization, divided into four departments covering Municipal Government, Education, Social Science, and Art, clearly defines the scope of our work and at the same time gives ample freedom to individual ability and to personal preference. "Mutual love represented by mutual forbearance and mutual service" is the law of social organism. We have already held meetings in co-operation with the Municipal League, with the Public Education Association, with the Permanent Relief Fund and the Charity Organization.

She goes on to say:

The unfortunate condition of municipal politics is after all but the outcome of our general social condition. I am firmly convinced that much of the present evil may be traced to the thoughtlessness of the so-called thinking classes, to our own indifference, self-indulgence, and self-righteousness. I take it that the conscience of the average councilman fairly represents the ethical development of the average citizen. A people, it has been said, generally has the government it deserves. The task before us to-day, as I see it, is not to wield weapons and to slaughter men and parties who do not happen to think or feel as we do, principally, perhaps, because their training has been different, but to show the way to higher standards and to help those about us to see, to know, to aim at the intangible something that, to those who possess it, is worth more than money, patronage, and preferment, — the self-respect that brings with it the respect of others, and the unselfish devotion to certain ever-broadening ideals that leads a man to take a disinterested interest in the advancement of his town, his country, and, finally, his kind.

In line with this we hear much also of the "fine example of the Woman's Club of Chicago, through which splendid individual work has been accomplished, with the full backing of hundreds of loyal women, thus presenting the soul-stirring

spectacle of a huge piece of human machinery in which individual ability is the sharp cutting edge driven through the hardest metal by the powerful force of a united sisterhood."

As nineteenth-century women, with our multiplied means of organized effort in every direction, we are possibly in danger of forgetting all that is due to one pioneer woman, a contemporary of Defoe, Mary Astell. It is but two hundred years since she dared to plead, and to be the very first to plead, for just this thing, — social equality and the necessity of a thorough education. It is but one hundred years since Mary Wollstonecraft was persecuted beyond measure for believing the same thing. It is within the memory of women like Harriet Judd Sartain and Mary Mapes Dodge that when these sister friends sought to fit themselves for their chosen fields of medicine and journalism their own families and relatives became their most persistent and discouraging opponents. Dr. Sartain has repeatedly said that the insults and derision, the jealousy and unmanliness of the students in the clinic and lecture room were as nothing to her (so determined was she to ignore them, even though the only woman among scores of hooting and hissing men), but the criticism and doubting of those who were near and dear to her — this was the sorest trial of that day of unbelief in the *union* of career and character in *any woman*. More and more does the public opinion which moulds society see that the only way to have absolute freedom is to establish one standard by which men and women shall be judged. Dr. Coit asserts that every restraint put upon man's laxity means added liberty for woman. Happily it is now the fashion for women to become workers and to engage in any honorable occupation for which they can fit themselves, whether it be trade, manufacture, a profession, the public service, or any other career for which they are competent. The New York *Sun* said recently:

> Women are now successfully pursuing *every* department of business and professional industry in numbers so great that their appearance in competition with men no longer attracts attention and they suffer nothing in public or private estimation in consequence of this; now, having won their social rights, now, having demonstrated their ability to compete with men in private business, they are growing confident of their ability to join with them in the management of the affairs of the State. They are calmly organizing to influence the reason and the justice of the coming Constitutional Convention. It is noticeable, too, that the headquarters of the committee of ladies who sent out the circular which follows are at a resort of fashion in Fifth Avenue and not at a place with which radicalism or eccentricity is associated. This indicates that the present movement expects to receive aid and impulse from social forces which hitherto

have turned with indifference or revulsion from efforts to obtain woman suffrage. Therein consists its great significance. This circular reads as follows:

A committee of ladies invite you and all the adult members of your household to call at Sherry's on any Saturday in March or April, between nine and six o'clock, to sign a petition to strike out in our State Constitution the word male as a qualification for voters. Circulars explaining the reasons for this request may be obtained at the same time and place.

Signed to this circular are the names of seven women prominent in society, beginning with Mrs. Lowell, the chairman of the Municipal League, — Mrs. Charles Russell Lowell, Mrs. Joseph H. Choate, Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi, Mrs. J. Warren Goddard, Mrs. Robert Abbe, Mrs. Henry M. Saunders, Miss Adele M. Fielde.

The *Sun* adds:

Undoubtedly if this committee represents the sentiment of a great body of the intelligent women of the State, its petition to strike from the State Constitution the word "male" as a qualification for voters will not go unheeded. Whenever women generally want the suffrage, and make known their want, they will obtain it.

He would be a brave man indeed who denied to woman to-day her equality of education and social position. In addition, conservatives like Cardinal Gibbons and Dr. Parkhurst freely admit the inability of men to cope with the evils of the times unaided by the mental and moral strength of women. These men and a host of others have publicly besought the co-operation and influence of women to bring about a new order of things, especially in New York, in Chicago, in Kentucky, and in Colorado. The quick and effective response of an immense majority of the women who lead in society is an omen of good not to be under-estimated, and one of many things which may make us exceeding glad to be women at the close of this nineteenth century.

Mrs. Lowell's selection of ladies for the Municipal League was a wonderful committee. Probably none more representative could have been chosen from the Four Hundred. The twenty-five women composing this committee were said to be worth $20,000,000 in their own right and to have husbands whose aggregate wealth was over $100,000,000. But it was not so much their wealth as their social distinction which impressed the city. If they had done nothing else, they have accomplished a weighty fact in stamping the movement with the seal of fashion.

The *Tribune* says:

Women have now a new title in New York to respect and praise by their fidelity to principles they were urged to defend everywhere except at the polls. With an enthusiasm and persistency that did them infinite

credit, they contributed their influence to the cause of good government. We trust that they will derive great satisfaction from the assurance that they were powerful allies even without the ballot.

The Boston *Advertiser* says:

The unquestionable sentiment of women and of the majority of thinking men is that there is no reason why a woman, on account of her sex, should be shut out from participating in municipal affairs. Such being the case, the eternal justice of not raising any distinction of sex in regard to voting is none the less established, and we believe the advent of women in the consideration and discussion of public questions is always uplifting and improving.

By the admission of the Associated Press we learn of the recent election in Denver that "nothing since the adoption of the Australian ballot system has more contributed to quietness than the presence of women at the polls. Men who shrank from the bustle and uproar of the contending partisans at the polls came with their wives to-day, so that the male vote is much larger than usual." A significant fact in connection with the registration of thirty thousand women in Chicago is brought out by the papers of that city. "As in Denver and Boston, so in Chicago, the registration of women voters is largest in the best wards and smallest in the ignorant and degraded parts of the city."

Frances Willard, in her annual address before the National Women's Christian Temperance Union, evidently agrees with the little girl who, when asked how Eve was made, responded, "Out of Adam's backbone, and I guess it took it all," for she says:

The moral backbone of this nation is its womanhood. In twenty-two States women now vote on the school question, and following the lead of their brothers in Wyoming, the men of Colorado have placed the women of their State beside them on the throne of popular judgment. The municipal ballot has been given to women in Kansas, and has proved the right arm of the enforcement of prohibitory law.

In New Zealand men have given the full ballot to women, and the dominant issue is the prohibition cause.

(Women delegates have been welcomed from Wyoming to the Republican National Convention, and for the first time in the history of the world have cast their ballots in the election of a national ruler.)

In Iceland, since 1882, widows and all self-supporting women over twenty years of age have had the right to vote at municipal and vestry-board elections, and a movement is on foot to make them members of the National Assembly, or Parliament.

In England, the women have been specially working for the passage of the Parish Councils Act. This gives woman the power to vote on the same terms as men and permits her

election on the Board of Councils. Heretofore the parson and the 'squire have controlled the affairs of the laboring classes. "Now for the first time," writes a relative, "they will have a chance to show their power if they can be made to understand. But their sodden darkness and ignorance is immense. Most of the people in our village did not even know that there were to be any Parish Councils at all, until we went around and distributed leaflets on the subject. Now, however, we hear that they are all stirred up by our leaflets, and we hope that they will have the courage to shake off the tyranny of the 'squire and the parson."

WHAT THE COUNCIL WILL DO.

The chief work will be:

1. The appointment of overseers and assistant overseers, whose duty it will be to collect the poor-rates, levy the rate required for education, put every person qualified to vote on the proper register, and in cases of "sudden" and "urgent" emergency, to give relief to the poor. (A woman can be an overseer.)
2. The holding of property for the benefit of the poor.
3. The purchase and hiring of land for allotments and other purposes (under certain conditions compulsorily).
4. The entire or partial control of parish charities (generally not ecclesiastical) by the appointment of charity trustees.
5. The removal of nuisances.
6. The obtaining, by agreement, of a proper water supply, and bringing it to the houses.
7. The erection of a village hall.
8. The protection of village greens, rights of way, and roadside wastes, and the repair of footpaths.
9. The carrying out of any of the "Adoptive Acts" if they be adopted by the Parish Meeting:
   (*a*) The Lighting and Watching Act;
   (*b*) The Baths and Washhouses Acts;
   (*c*) The Burial Acts;
   (*d*) The Public Improvements Act;
   (*e*) The Public Libraries Act.
10. The power of appeal if the Rural District Council does not fulfil its duty as local sanitary authority, or its duty of protecting public rights of way, etc.

A veteran statesman, Sir George Grey, has watched with interest the triumphant consummation of women's suffrage in New Zealand, and in a speech of great weight made the other day he assured Englishmen "that if the women of Great Britain have the franchise given to them they will bring mildness into severe laws, promote temperance to a great degree, and that their interest in their husbands and children will be greater because they will possess more power to do good to those they love." This is the view that earnest and thoughtful people are everywhere taking.

A comprehensive work now in course of publication in Berlin is entitled "Woman's Struggle for Existence in Modern Life." The first part, "Woman in the Service of the State," has just appeared. It notes the remarkable fact that while three of the rulers of Europe — the Queen of England and the Queens Regent of Holland and Spain — have displayed capacities which put them quite on a level with their masculine contemporaries on European thrones, neither of them, if she had not been called to the very first place in the Government, could have obtained even the lowest employment in the administrative service of the country.

The *Critic* adds:

> This concrete instance appeals to the mind more powerfully than volumes of abstract discussion. Does our present system of exclusion really deprive us of the services of what is, on the whole, by far the better half of humanity?

But while it is true that in America, in England, in Australia, and even in far-away little Iceland, woman is a large and influential factor in society, that her horizon is constantly widening so that her dreams and desires of yesterday are being crystallized into realities to-day, on the other hand let us for a little glance at the condition just now of women in Germany and in India, especially, the better to appreciate their despairing and degraded state. Can we for a moment doubt that if the Empress of Germany were in any degree able or willing to see beyond her own luxurious and safe environment, her countrywomen would be suffering as they are to-day? The Kaiser has declared more than once that he prefers a wife who can make jam to one who can discuss a constitution. In the last issue of the *Woman at Home* we read that she is called the "Patron Saint of the Three K's," and a favorite saying of the Emperor is that he could wish nothing better for the welfare of his nation than that the girls of Germany should follow the example of the Empress and devote their lives as she does to the cultivation of the three K's — *Kirche*, *Kinder*, *und Küche*. With such a combination of conservatism at the head of this great empire, is it any wonder that in all civic and social duties, in all just recognition of the work and wages of women, in all educational rights and advantages which they are still struggling to grasp, German women to-day are whole centuries behind in position and privilege? Can it be a matter of wonder that four millions of these women are doing the

scavenger work of the streets, winding coal up from the mines because woman-power is cheaper than steam-power, mixing the mortar for the building trades, and living under conditions, even in the rich city of Frankfurt, that, as Edward Atkinson says in the last *Forum*, "are so abject that the water in which one man's sausage is boiled can be sold to him who has no sausage to give a little flavor to a starvation diet." If that German Empress and the women of her court believed "that the end of creation is not the happiness but the virtue of rational souls," would their days and nights be given up to selfishness, ease, and pleasure, while wrongs and cruelties and oppressions are rife about them? I hope to live to see the day, and I have full faith in its speedy dawning, when these high-born women will become aroused and awakened as from an awful nightmare of lethargy and sloth, becoming a mighty moral force which shall right these monstrous wrongs. For nowadays the moral force is the prevailing force, and sooner or later legal action is bound to follow persistent and united effort, the unanimous sentiment of society.

In a lecture heard a short time ago I was told that there are in India one hundred and thirty millions of women. They are by no means the savages we imagine, but polite, extremely intellectual, and deeply religious. The most appalling feature in work among them is their ignorance, and their ignorance of their ignorance. Many, most, indeed all, of the millions of women in the zenanas know less than our little children, and are absolutely shut in one or more rooms from the age of seven or eight until they die. One aged woman told a zenana worker that she had never seen a tree since a little child and had quite forgotten how it looked. In all their religion — and one might add religions — is that sort of fatalism which gives them that patient endurance of their lives and burdens so characteristic of the Eastern woman. Yet their strength of intellect and character is such that the Christianizing of scores and hundreds of villages depends upon the women in these villages. They are followed, not led, by the men in all matters pertaining to religion, in giving up their idols, renouncing caste distinctions, and so forth. When these women are permitted to take their proper places in society, what will be the inevitable result? Will the world not take a great stride toward that millennium we all desire?

In looking up the achievements of many hundreds of

women representing all classes of society, I think nothing has given me more genuine pleasure than to learn that in the car-shops of the Harlan & Hollingsworth Company, in Wilmington, is an Irish-American girl who has been for some time the head designer in car decoration, earning her $54 each month. Her father for forty years was an Irish laborer in the P. W. & B. R. R. yard, but by her energy, ability, and the atmosphere of privilege and opportunity she has breathed, this girl has risen step by step to the top in her department, and has recently been given charge of it. In the Pullman car works in Wilmington are employed many women under a woman foreman in the upholstery, car-decorating, designing, and glass-embossing departments. The only woman now taking a course of mechanical drawing in the Institute night drawing-school is one of these glass-embossers, who is hoping thus to train herself for a higher position in this glass work, all of which has heretofore been done by men.

A valuable report has recently been issued by the Department of Labor at Washington which gives personal statistics of 17,427 wage-earning girls in twenty-two different cities. The largest proportion of these began to support themselves at fourteen. Miss Dodge, who has learned to know about the lives of over 11,000 of these girls, says that "nowhere else can be found in greater degree the noble impulses of heroism, self-sacrifice, patience, cheerfulness, and aspiration. Thousands gather every night in working girls' societies or other rooms opened to them, where they can study and improve themselves." Our present factory system began only at the latter part of the last century. In 1836 only seven vocations were open to women, chief of which were factory hands and household servants. In 1884 no less than 354 sub-divisions of industry were open to them, into which more than 2,600,000 women had entered. Out of a million population in the Australasian colony there are 114,222 women wage-earners to-day, of whom 30,924 are under twenty years. The State Factory Inspectors report last week that in the State of New York in 11,000 factories and workshops are employed 412,237 persons, of whom 138,708 are women. The total number of children under sixteen employed was 13,864. During the year 2,580 children were discharged under the law (passed in 1886) restricting the employment of illiterate children or those under fourteen.

At the opposite end of the social scale we are told that Jay

Gould's daughter Helen spends every possible dollar of her $6,000 a month in charity, so that with $15,000,000 at her command, she decided not to take a box at the opera the past winter that she might have the extra sum for some coveted charity. It is said that twelve of the fifteen girls entering society in New York this winter are millionnairesses, two being wealthier than Miss Gould.

In a recent number of the *North American Review* there is an article by a young woman, Elizabeth Bisland, setting forth the opinion that the average woman is totally ignorant of fundamental economics, though she is the spender and distributer of the money the men accumulate. The *Working Woman's Journal* lately presented a striking instance of ability in this direction, which may be interesting in this connection.

Mrs. Harriet W. R. Strong of Ranchito del Fuerto, near Los Angeles, Southern California, had seven exhibits at Chicago — oranges, lemons, and walnuts in the Horticultural Building, and others in the Mining and Agricultural Buildings. A model of a restraining dam for hydraulic mining took a prize at the Exhibition. A system of storage reservoir for mining *débris* was highly indorsed by practical men of experience. She is a member of the Chamber of Commerce in Los Angeles, and the other day, in conjunction with Miss Kelso, the City Librarian of Los Angeles, voted on the question of a deep-water harbor for Los Angeles. She has also just given bonds to the amount of $100,000 as treasurer of an irrigation district. Mrs. Strong is one of the many women who have been thrust into the business world without preparation for it. Her husband, Mr. Charles L. Strong, was the first superintendent of the Comstock mine. He died ten years ago, leaving his wife and four daughters only a small life insurance, which was soon swallowed up in litigation. Mrs. Strong was under Dr. Weir Mitchell's care in Philadelphia when the news of her husband's death came to her. Returning to Oakland, her home in California, she took her young children to the South, where she had an interest in an entirely uncultivated ranch of 320 acres. Against the persuasion of all her friends, Mrs. Strong determined to cultivate this ranch. She borrowed $4,000 and set to work. Every one thought she was demented and would die in the attempt. To-day, 225 of the 320 acres are under cultivation — 75 acres are in English walnuts and 75 in oranges of the finest species; 35 acres are waving with pampas grass, hundreds of dollars' worth of which she sells in Europe every year.

In a large number of manufacturing concerns in Massachusetts the affairs of which are covered by the latest report of the State Bureau of Labor statistics, there were 43,803 partners or stockholders in 1893 against 42,735 in 1892. The number of men included in the total for the latter year was greater, however, than that which was covered by the larger figures for 1893. There were 27,325 male partners or stockholders in 1892 and 27,211 in 1893. On the other hand, the number of women who had an interest in the manufactories dealt with by the report was 16,592 in 1893 against 15,410 in the year preceding. The partners or stockholders were 63.94 per cent men in 1892 and 27.56 per cent women. In 1893 the proportions were 28.38 per cent of women and 62.12 per cent of men. The change thus shown to have taken place in one year is regarded by the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* as a curious hint of the tendency of the times to place more and more of the property of the world, and especially

of the United States, in the possession of women. It looks as if the weaker sex, which must hold its goods and chattels in a sense by virtue of the forbearance of the stronger, were destined to become the moneyed part of the human family.

Gen. Booth, the founder of that marvellous organization, the Salvation Army, has directed that at his death its vast financial interests be put under the entire control of his daughter, not his son, and why? Because, as he is wise enough to see and just enough to say, "a woman is far better fitted to deal with and to control either vast numbers of people or vast sums of money than a man." And this, like Col. Higginson, he finds in the very constitution and lifelong habits of women. In his book on "Men and Women" Col. Higginson says:

> Every one who has served on public boards or charity organizations with women is probably familiar with this trait. Their memory for small details, too, is more formidable than that of men. The late Miss Abby May, when a member of the State Board of Education, could at any time send a thrill of anxiety through the board by quietly taking from her pocket a certain inexorable little red memorandum book.
>
> It will be found in almost any American city, on comparing the list of officers in the charitable societies of fifty years ago with those of to-day, that whereas they found it necessary to begin with having men as treasurers, women now usually keep these financial affairs in their own hands. This results in a detailed accuracy which is heroic and sometimes pathetic.

A careful statement of the real estate and moneys at interest upon which the women of Philadelphia pay interest has been prepared by the Woman's Suffrage Society of Philadelphia County. It sets forth that in the thirty-seven wards the whole amount of taxable property owned by women is $153,757,566 in real estate and $35,743,133 in money at interest. The proportion paid by them is 20 per cent of the entire amount of taxes on real estate in the city of Philadelphia. In the State of New York 350,000 are engaged in industrial pursuits; yet these women and all the women holding property and paying taxes are denied the ballot, while male occupants of almshouses have it. The wittiest woman I know (Kate Field) says: "Reason is said to be a goddess; perhaps this is why there is so *little* of reason in politics. It has never had a chance, owing to sex." The negro and the alien may vote, no matter how ignorant; but woman, no matter what her position or intellect, may not. What a delightful satire on republican institutions!

For myself I do believe, with Frances Power Cobbe, "that any woman worth her salt sooner or later takes an interest in some question which involves legislation, and however much

they may recoil from political duties, women begin to ask themselves, 'Why should I, because I am a woman, be forbidden to help to achieve some public good or to redress some flagrant wrong?'" She herself has given to all women an example for all time, of one woman who, though utterly without wrongs of her own to redress, yet stirred into action by reading in a newspaper a whole series of assaults upon wives, rose from her arm-chair and saying, "I will not rest until I see what I can do to stop this," did stop it. For in 1878, when sixty years of age, she succeeded in having Parliament pass the Matrimonial Causes Act, a law it had year after year refused even to consider, "whereby about one hundred women a year are released from what is practically slavery plus torture and the constant fear of murder, who would otherwise have been still living in that condition."

Some of us may need light on this, that, and the other phase of this wonderful woman-movement as much as that university student who had listened for an hour and a half to the professor of the chair of political economy. "I think I understand the most of your lecture, Professor," spoke up the deeply interested young man, "but I'd like to know whether this *ad valorem* you've been talking about is a man or a woman?"

Nevertheless, with sixty-one new books published this autumn on economics and social problems; with Vassar College raising its standard of scholarship higher than ever before and introducing a new course in money and banking; with women's Municipal Leagues in both the East and West arranging for classes in politics and social science, we surely *need* not and we *will* not remain longer in ignorance concerning those problems which are confronting every thinking mind. With Frances Willard urging that the National Women's Christian Temperance Union create a new department, that of politics; with Miss Jane Adams, the founder of the first social settlement (that woman whose financial ability is as unquestioned and quite as remarkable as is her knowledge of political economy), with this woman presiding over the Arbitration Labor Congress which convened Nov. 14,— with all this and much more that cannot now be named, we are gladdened by the conviction of the speedy enlightenment of women along these lines.

One can study no finer setting forth of this interesting woman-movement concerning both her position and her duty

in society to-day, than in Lady Henry Somerset's paper on the "Renaissance of Women" in the *North American Review* for November. And since I brought to the reading of it an inherited conviction of the natural equality of the sexes, she, like Frances Power Cobbe, seems to me "to be the pioneer and prophet of the widest and most far-reaching manifestation of the divine thought in this our day and generation." I cannot close this paper without repeating some thoughtful words which thrilled me strangely as I read them. They are taken from the *Century Magazine* for December and are these:

Whatever be the future history of woman suffrage, the recent widespread agitation is sure to develop a greater interest on the part of all serious-purposed women in public affairs, and to awaken in them a keener sense of personal responsibility to the community at large.

The effect of the movement upon the State, it is to be hoped, will be a more frank and generous recognition of the women who possess strength, ability, and leisure to serve the public good. Without "erasing the word male" from the Constitution — startling phraseology! — the State has ample power to-day to enlarge the scope of their work. In the expenditure of the vast sums of public revenue, to which women largely contribute, there are many directions in which their watchfulness would tend to increase honesty and economy. In the management of State hospitals, asylums, and prisons, women should be allowed an influential voice. Over public schools there should be the supervision of properly qualified women. In municipal matters that concern health, comfort, and cleanliness, the purifying and beautifying of waste places, the enforcement of tenement-house and poor laws, and in the regulation of the rules that govern the employment of women and children in factories and shops, the woman's hand should be felt and her special knowledge utilized.

In all these directions the best qualities of mind, of heart, and of consecrated service could find ample outlet without any infringement or strain on the natural laws that govern the relation and divide the world's work between the two sexes.

May the State be induced, through enlightenment or pressure, to take these important matters into consideration and to act upon them. And may all women, be they suffragists or anti-suffragists, appreciate that the best promise for to-morrow lies always in the best use made of the opportunities of to-day.

These earnest words seem to contain in a nutshell all that is needful for us as women to know concerning the open avenues of usefulness and service that lie before us to-day, — open avenues that wind away into the sun-rising and whose perspective is lost in its light, a light that is to illumine a new day wherein righteousness shall reign.

THE IMPERIAL POWER IN THE REALM OF TRUTH.

BY PROF. JOSEPH RODES BUCHANAN, M. D.

The imperial power in the sphere of truth is undoubtedly God, the imperial power of the universe and author of all truth. And in the Bible we may see certain supreme truths. Likewise in yonder mountain there is gold. It came there during the wild reign of fire. The fire has vanished, but the gold remains, and science, which is from God, will bring forth the gold from the concealing earth.

The truth was sublimely expressed by St. Paul to the Athenians at Mars Hill, when he told them of the "*unknown God*," — the Lord of heaven and earth, who dwelleth not in temples made with hands, who is not far from every one of us, for in him we live and move and have our being, as we are his offspring.

And of this God St. John, the profoundest thinker of antiquity, because most godlike in his sentiments, being the beloved disciple, said, "In the beginning was the law, and the law was with God, and the law was God," — a sentence which demonstrates his inspiration, being the profoundest of truths, foreign to the thought of his age. And so it stood in his writings until juggling priests substituted for "law" the unmeaning mysticism of "the Word" or the "Logos," * converting profound wisdom into mere empty verbiage, adapted to empty minds, who speak of the *Word* that was God, and similar inanities.

Of this God, the God of law as well as love, St. John has spoken wisely, and as it is known that man was developed in His image, man is the Lord of earth, as an infinitesimal representative of the Lord of the universe.

But man is the Lord of earth only in proportion as God is represented as dwelling in him, — for God is the sole light of the universe, and as St. John said, "That was the true

* Hereafter I shall vindicate St. John from the libel that connects his honored name with that production of a young lunatic, the Apocalypse, which has muddled a million brains in the attempt to find some meaning in it, since it was wrongly placed in the Bible after being decisively rejected by those who, during the first four centuries, were competent to judge, and by the churches to which it was addressed.

light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world;" and as the divine element is lost man becomes a savage, no better than a wild animal, or a grovelling idiot, or a miserable criminal, sunk in the purgatorial hell of his own debasement.

These self-evident propositions are the substance of all philosophy, for in them we find the entire code of life, if we understand that God is love as well as power, to which we owe unlimited devotion, as Jesus taught and as man has forgotten.

Yes, the world has forgotten God and lost the sacred truth which came with Christ. He came when all seemed going down into a moral abyss — when the basest criminals of all the earth not only ruled in servile Rome, but were deified when they died, and worship demanded for their infamy.

He came to an inevitable death, to flash the divine light upon a world of gloom and misery. He died, and that gloom has never been lifted; and now the same abyss yawns before us as in the dread years of Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, and Titus, — sixty-five years of terror, ending in the bloody destruction of Jerusalem, predicted by Christ, and the sudden burial of Pompeii and Herculaneum by Vesuvius — a mournful period, contemporaneous with the saddest and sublimest of earth's tragedies — the dawn and the destruction of visible Christianity by the deaths of its founder and its heroes.

The modern Pharisee may deny the destruction of Christianity in that awful time when, as Jesus predicted, there were wars and rumors of wars, earthquakes, famine, pestilence, nations rising against nations, the ocean raging and Jerusalem destroyed; but if he can point to a single nation or a single year in any nation, or a single community in which Christianity has existed as in the Pentecostal days or the days when the Master washed the feet of the disciples in a humble apartment, instead of dwelling in a bishop's palace, exacting the last dollar of tithes from impoverished and ignorant toilers for his own splendor, and giving commands or inspiration and blessings to answer for their bloody work, as when they inspired and prayed for the Hessians sent to conquer our ancestors, and the bloody hordes of Louis XIV sent to exterminate the Albigensian and Waldensian Christians, then it might be admitted that latent Christianity has had some small and limited growth in earth since its apparent destruc-

tion in the first century, as the grass may sometimes have a green spot in winter.

But looking at the entire world, we see all nations trampling on the overthrown principles of Christianity, which is the religion of peace and brotherhood — brotherhood being treated as the dream of a visionary, and war as the normal condition of humanity, as Von Moltke maintained, and as all great statesmen practically agree — ten millions being ready armed for slaughter, and uneasily anticipating when it will begin; Christian Armenia devastated by the Turks, with the full consent of all European nations, so farcically called Christian; Christian Abyssinia murderously invaded by the desperado government of Italy, which has nearly enslaved and bankrupted itself to attain the rank of a bully among bullying nations; and struggling Cuba threatened with extermination to enslave it by a realm which boasts of its fidelity to what it calls a Christian church, which never objects to such wars, with a Christian (?) nation looking on which could end it in a month if it cared.

And whether we look back into the centuries or look around the globe, we find no brightness anywhere, but only deeper and denser darkness, as we look into the gloomy past beyond which we see where the light of Christianity was extinguished at the end of the first century.

How daringly absurd then to speak of Christianity surviving the first century, because human virtue has not been and cannot be extirpated entirely, and a few good men in every age have raised their voices in earnest protest, often at the risk of the loss of life, and many good women obey their natural inspiration of love, for God cannot be entirely walled out from humanity by any brazen dome erected either by a false theology or by governments and armies. And we must not forget that many good people have sought God not in vain; many lives have been devoted to the work of salvation as they understood it, and there have been many times of glorious outpourings of the Spirit of God and of marvellous works. When the sun is gone we have the moon and stars to relieve our night.

But the Christianity of Christ has been so effectually walled out — *how and why is the great question* — that society illustrates well the Cain and Abel story by its intense, unvarying war of social selfishness, against which a few followers struggle in vain. Selfishness is eternal war — the war of the

fortunate and unfortunate, of wealth and poverty — the upper ranks on the social ladder kicking down all below them, wealth ever pushing poverty to the desolate border of starvation, and poverty angrily defiant until it is conquered and becomes pitifully abject — a condition concisely described by Carlyle as a "*hell-scramble*," a continuous war, the annual result of which in the United States is a murder for every hour of the day and night through three hundred and sixty-five days of the year, and about two thousand more for the holidays and mobs.

Our Christianity is the bedfellow of a social system organized well to divide mankind into two classes, of lords and serfs,— the oligarchy and the laborers,— the eighteen hundred years of the prolonged crucifixion of Christ, — for as he said, what is done to the humblest is done to him.

But Christianity is not a corpse, for *it can never die.* It lives in the bosom of humanity as the seed that falls in summer lives in the cold ground through the winter.

The continents have had their ice age, we know not why, and in the progress of old humanity has had its moral age of ice, upon which the sun is now shining, and along its thawing margin the hardiest mountain growth, the tree of liberty, appears,— a hardy forest. Though half stunted, even on the American continent, we know that when full blown it will shelter justice, brotherhood, and love, all of which will come with Christianity.

From this digression, looking at falsehood, let us return to the imperial power of the truth that is to save the world. It is the divine light of which St. John spoke, and it is the highest achievement of theosophy to have demonstrated in the constitution of man the influx of that light and the wonderful structure by which it is received. The brain is the centre of life, in which the power of Him in whom we live and move and have our being controls the apparatus that it needs for fifty or a hundred years to achieve the conquest of the earth, which is destined in other ages to grow into the likeness of heaven, as foreshadowed in the prayer "thy kingdom come."

In the long darkness that has followed the first century, so fatal to religion, man, becoming ignorant of God and ignorant of the higher laws of life, knows not that he has in himself the divine element that dwells in humanity, and when first informed of this he is as helpless in its development and use

as the babe just learning to use its muscles and unconscious that it can ever learn to walk.

In the essay on Scientific Theosophy I have endeavored to show that man carries in himself the potentiality of all wisdom — the divine power that may lead him out of all ignorance, discord, misery, and crime to the fulfilment of the loftiest aspirations and attainment of the most perfect happiness — not by the old scholastic cramming methods, but by the culture of his inborn powers.

The sudden presentation of so great a truth, though it be the result of sixty years' investigation of the temporal and eternal worlds that are ours, by all the methods known to scientists and by methods not heretofore in use, cannot at once command implicit confidence (it certainly would not formerly have commanded mine), for it needs to be preceded by the volumes of recorded investigation and experiment by which this result has been reached. Had the world been more hospitable to revolutionary truths, all this would now have been in print, as well as the five thousand pages already issued and circulating among advanced thinkers while the remainder has been waiting the progress of the public mind. What I am offering now through a magazine is like offering a summary at the end of a volume the contents of which have not been read. In the two volumes now in preparation the scientific and the religious consummation of theosophy will be presented.

The most essential proposition is the existence in man of divine elements, heretofore unrecognized by colleges and churches (though very dimly perceived by mystic philosophers of antiquity), capable of coming forth to practical utility if cultivated, as the healing fountain of Lourdes began to flow when the obstructing sand was removed.

In this evolution there comes the absolute unity of science and religion. Their antagonism heretofore has been due to the blindness and the narrowness of each. True science in its highest sphere is as inseparable from *true* Christianity as the light and warmth in the sun's rays, for each is absolute truth, and the summit of the sciences reaches the sphere of Christianity, which is the one sole, absolute, and complete religion, alike for the sage and the saint.

The tendency of fashionable science as expressed to me by an eminent college president is to seek for all things a complete expression in number, quantity, and dimension — a style

of thought which excludes both the soul and the deity from the human mind, and therefore harmonizes well with the kingdom of Mammon and the reign of plutocracy. But even to the materialist whose mind is not sealed by dogmatism, I would be pleased to show the material laws, the anatomical mechanism in which the highest truths of theosophy are demonstrable, and I feel eager to teach my readers, through the works now being prepared, and show the physical basis and demonstration of all transcendent truths — the absolute unity of the physical forms and forces of the earth and other planets with their unseen life and the soul of the universe.

Theosophy is therefore an eminently practical science, or group of sciences, leading to the true hygiene and spiritual development of man, as I have realized in my own health and happiness under its guidance, while my contemporaries have left their worn-out bodies long since under the sod. It leads us to the true condition of prosperous society and government — to all the reforms which THE ARENA seeks to establish, and to the true methods and laws of progress in all science, for it relies on the imperial power in the realm of truth, the divinity in man, so unconsciously neglected, so feebly, accidentally, and sporadically developed in the present stage of evolution, that it requires some courage to announce and maintain its existence.

Sixty years ago this would have been a strange and mysterious doctrine to me. It has been reached only through these sixty years of continual, steady, and experimental investigation, and having reached it by the methods of the sciences, I perceive that Jesus Christ was its inspired exponent, who needed no long years of research, for he was born into the sphere of wisdom, and laid aside the ceremonial superstitions of Egypt, of his own Palestine, of Persia, and of India, with all of which he was familiar (for I have traced his unknown history), to present to us in its majestic simplicity the truth of heaven.

To present the "new world of science," which embraces the entire existence of man, temporal and eternal, requires the grasp of cosmic laws heretofore unknown, controlling the physical and the spiritual man, — the body filled with nerve structures and spiritual energies, the brain, the wonderful centre in which millions of fibres and cells unite the powers controlling matter with the eternal life and divine light from God, — every convolution, fibre, and cell from the *gyrus*

fornicatus and *septum lucidum* to the *cuneus*, the *crura*, the *pons*, the cerebellum, the pineal gland and *gyrus angularis*, being organized and located with the majestic simplicity that organizes its complexity, or as Pope expressed it, "a mighty maze, but not without a plan," — and in this wondrous maze holding the still more intricate and wonderful life — the life eternal that begins on earth, but continually ascends through the ages toward the divine.

This is the new world of science which connects man with God and leads to the divine life on earth which will expel all ancient ignorance and ancient forms of tyranny and fraud and force. *But this is religion;* for divine wisdom contains all that is beneficent, from the mother's love to the patriot's and the martyr's heroism; and this was the religion that Christ came to announce and to present in living embodiment.

But as already stated, Christianity is externally dead — unable as it was to survive the apostolic age, existing only as the divine fountain flowing from inspired life, yet is it latent in humanity and in the divine purpose.

What was its early history in the first two centuries? is a question which the ablest theologians confess they cannot answer. It was a time of myth, of legend, of wild tradition, and of pious fraud and forgery. But if primitive Christianity is to be restored in its purity, we must know what it was in the time of Christ, and how much authority there is in what has been accepted as the gospel. The question of their authorship has never been settled. Theological scholarship struggles in vain to ascertain where or by whom the canonical Gospels were written, and the Encyclopædia Britannica confesses that these questions are unanswerable, saying: "It is very doubtful whether the most searching investigation will ever determine with certainty the name of the author or authors of any one of the synoptic Gospels." Nor does it recognize the authenticity of the fourth Gospel, but gives a muddle of opinions in which it is refuted by Baur, Zeller, Helgenfeld, Schenkel, Keim, Réville, Scholten, and Davidson, and commends as most correct the sceptical views of Rev. George Sanday.

Their existence cannot be traced to the apostolic age, nor even to the first century by any fair examination of the facts. We *know* only that they were brought out by the Church of Rome a hundred years after the deaths of the apostles, without a particle of evidence, for no gospel manuscript has ever

been produced or even heard of. Judge Waite of Chicago, who gave several years of honest investigation to this question, could find no evidence of the existence of the New Testament prior to A. D. 170; and Rev. Dr. Davidson, in his introduction to the New Testament, gives it even a later date. He says: "No canon of the New Testament, *i. e.*, no collection of New Testament literature, like the present one supposed to have divine authority, existed before A. D. 200."

The general conviction of advanced scholarship that the Gospels of the four Evangelists were not written in the first century deprives them of all real authenticity by destroying the possibility of apostolic authorship, though partisans make plausible stories by suppressing important historical evidence.

Bishop Faustus in the fourth century said it was well known that they were not written by the apostles. Rev. J. T. Sunderland, in his careful work on the origin of the Bible, says that the Gospels had no authors in the sense in which that word is now used, for they were only compilations or "mosaics;" and Prof. Schleirmacher, the greatest theologian of Germany, said that the Gospel of Luke was a compilation from six different manuscripts; but all the manuscripts of that time which might have been used are now rejected as apocryphal for their falsehood and almost forgotten.

The defence of the authenticity of the New Testament is so hopeless that an Episcopal clergyman of San Francisco, Rev. Mr. Moreland, said in a sermon published last January that the Gospels were written by "churchmen" for the church "many generations" after the church had been established; but he gave no excuse for attaching the names of the apostles to the names of Roman priests whose names are unknown. Mr. Moreland's name is not quoted as an authority, but as an illustration of the loss of faith in the New Testament.

In quoting these opinions *I do not indorse them*, but use them to show that while true Christianity has disappeared, all faith in its records is dying out among scholars, and we are threatened with the loss even of the counterfeit of Christianity.

The religious records of the first two centuries are regarded by scholarship as of little or no value. What is preserved comes from a sphere of delusion. The forty gospels and other apocryphal literature of the first and second centuries are recognized as worthless, and critical research leaves the canoni-

cal Gospels no more authentic than some of the apocryphal which in the second and third centuries held their ground against the canonical.* If we believe Rome we must accept whatever she gives, but if we have left the Papacy we must demand its credentials.

Gibbon speaks of the "dark cloud that hangs over the first age of the church," and the Rev. Robert Taylor says, "The most candid and learned of Christian inquirers have admitted that antiquity is most deficient judicially when it is most important; that there is absolutely nothing known of the church history in these times on which a rational man could place any reliance; and that the epoch when Christian truth first dawned upon the world is appropriately designated as *the age of fable*."

The credulity and fraud of that age taint everything coming from it, and we cannot get from the blundering interpolated Scriptures even a correct list of the names of the twelve apostles, which I have been able to ascertain only from other sources. The three lists given differ each from the other and all from the truth. The lives of the apostles handed down are half mythical, indefinite, and fictitious. We have the wholly mythical stories of the reverse crucifixion of St. Peter (head downward) at his own request, and of the boiling of St. John in oil without doing him any harm. But theologians do not know where he lived and died, Ephesus and Patmos having presented fictitious claims, and it is still discussed whether St. Peter ever was in Rome. The Cyclopædia professes not to know how, when, or where he died.

Through the entire thousand years of forced credulity when theologians reported Lot's salt wife to be still standing on the shores of the Dead Sea the age of church fables continued, which has been happily portrayed by President Andrew White in the *Popular Science Monthly*.

But the *apostolic age of Christianity* is guiltless of all this. The frauds and forgeries, the corrupted and interpolated Testament and papal despotism but prove the external death or disappearance of Christianity. But even in its mangled remains, which have been given us by Rome upon its own worthless authority, there is life enough to prolong the existence of the church after its historical foundation has crumbled away. The evidence is really gone,

*Many of the apocryphal gospels had the confidence of second-century Christians of high standing in the church, and I could refer to one which upon the whole is more correct and less interpolated than either of the four canonicals.

though not forever lost. It was destroyed when the Gospels were embezzled and hid for interpolation and forgery. But if the original Gospels, as they came from the hands of the Evangelists, were presented now, they would need no historical evidence for their genuineness and authority, for they are beyond comparison with any other literature or history of expression of religion. As Washington would take his rank above common men, as Jesus Christ was recognized in Jerusalem even by the hostile multitude, so will the purified Gospels be recognized, which are doubted by the intelligent and good only because they are corrupted.

To explore the history of imposture tends to destroy one's faith in humanity and impair one's faith in God, as I have painfully realized. Nevertheless, I have undertaken this unpleasant task, scrutinizing dishonesty and honesty alike, — to penetrate the darkness and corruption of the first two centuries with the indispensable aid of the honest scholarship of the nineteenth century, to rescue Christianity from the grasp of fraud and despotism, — to show what it was once and will be when it appears again, believing that mankind is capable of receiving the divine truth in the coming century, and that it will be accepted, for such truth is irresistible in its divine beauty, and that it will ultimately cover all continents and islands where man abides, as the waters cover the limits of the sea.

The task is almost accomplished, — the essential truth is rescued from the thick darkness, — but the fascination of the task still holds me to look farther into the *dawn of Christianity*, — communion with which and with the lives of its heroes is like the communion with God which was a reality in the apostolic age, filling the soul with that undying love with which St. John has looked down upon us for nineteen hundred years.

ARE WE BECOMING A HOMELESS NATION?

BY JOHN O. YEISER.

In 1891 the Legislature of Nebraska enacted a law requiring registrars of deeds to keep a "mortgage indebtedness record" in which should be noted each day the number and amount of mortgages filed and also the amount of and the number of releases of mortgages.

It appears from the passage of a law upon this subject that at least some of the members of the Legislature were beginning to suspect that harm instead of good might result to the citizens of the State from the extensive loans of money advanced to them upon real estate security, and it is also evident that the Legislature intended by the act to procure statistics upon this dangerous business. However, either by stupidity or design the worthy intention of some of the members was foiled by the following provision in the law:

> All sheriff's, special master's, or other deeds which are based upon foreclosed mortgages *shall be considered as releases* of the corresponding number and amount of mortgages for the purposes of said record, and should be counted in making up the totals for each day's entries [what an absurdity it is to consider forfeitures as payments or bankruptcy as prosperity!], and the aggregate number [bear in mind that it is "number" and not amount] of such sheriff's or other deeds so considered as releases shall also be separately noted on the record.

This provision of the law serves to cover the damnable results of the business by leading people to believe that decrees of forfeiture and eviction are receipts for large amounts of money earned upon the mortgaged premises and voluntarily paid in discharge of the mortgage.

Newspapers commenting upon the "fact" that we were paying our mortgage indebtedness faster than we were contracting it, seems so preposterous that it is a great wonder such mischief has so successfully escaped a just rebuking.

Upon investigating this law one cannot fail in arriving at the conclusion that our representatives were guilty of either stupidity or knavery in making such a provision in this law as might only be used for the silly purpose of assisting to determine the number of mortgage conveyances on the total abstracts of all the land in the State. We would naturally

suppose that the compilation of mortgage statistics was for the purpose of determining the condition of the men who own the real estate rather than the bare legal condition of the land.

If the law provided that the number of deeds executed in pursuance of foreclosures should be accompanied by the *aggregate amount of their considerations separately added*, it would have been valuable and honest, and moreover would have shown a shocking condition of the country. It would have shown how the land of the pioneer citizens of the State is being systematically taken from them at a tremendous rate.

From June 1, 1891, the date this law went into effect, until Nov. 1, 1895, the time of examining that record, such record shows one thousand five hundred and thirty deeds of property in Douglas County, Nebraska, executed by order of courts in real estate foreclosure; one thousand five hundred and thirty homes sacrificed; one thousand five hundred and thirty families turned out of home in but one county of a single western State.

There are no means by which it can be ascertained how many more persons voluntarily deeded their property to mortgagees to escape annoyance of litigation, deficiency judgments, and attorney's fees. In all such cases an ordinary release was probably filed to clear the title. This manner of voluntary sacrifice and surrender adds to the false amount of payments and further conceals the amount and number of forfeitures. The records fail to disclose the amount of the deficiencies for which the mortgagors were liable when their property was sold for less than the debt. All of these facts are lost in the sea of oblivion. But notwithstanding this, the record of Douglas County, Nebraska, poor as it is, discloses one thousand five hundred and thirty forfeitures within the short period of investigation reported.

It is commonly known that western loans were made for not more than forty per cent of the value of the property mortgaged. Therefore every forfeiture means that the mortgagee by a proceeding in "equity" takes not only an equivalent value to the money loaned of the security, but that he also confiscates the other sixty per cent of the value, which transaction would be estimated by a broker as an investment of one hundred and fifty per cent clear profit. Very often before foreclosure suits were begun, interest had been paid, and in such cases, after the mortgagee had collected

interest, foreclosed for the balance of the interest and principal, and bought in the mortgaged property, he pursued his debtor to destitution with a claim for deficiency. In these cases, God pity the man who is forced to seek chattel loans upon exempt property to obtain money on which to exist a few weeks longer in the vain hope of obtaining employment by which he may support his family.

It is utterly impossible to guess reasonably near the number of people in the Western States who have been deprived of the use of the earth the last few years and made tramps by the recent financial manipulation of loan company manipulators.

What other result than tenantry and feudalism can we conclude will be our misfortune from such practices when we read the calculations of the amount of one cent compounded annually at six per cent interest from the birth of Jesus Christ to the present time; when we observe the extent of loaning money for interest upon real estate mortgages; when we notice the gradual increase in our percentage of tenant occupants of land; when we read of the results of opening Indian reservations to white settlement; and when we are aware of the thousands of courts over the country entering decrees of foreclosure?

The skeleton of Rome should be continually held up before the people and attention should at all times be directed to the fact that Rome gradually reduced her currency from $1,800,000,000 to a less volume and a finer metal, amounting finally to only $200,000,000. Very soon after the commencement of this contraction the manipulators procured all of the land, and ninety-nine per cent of the people had none. The results were that the bone and sinew of the country was impoverished by the greed and avarice of the conscienceless ness of the few, and the masses of the population having no country to defend, could not and would not resist the unscrupulous barbarians who robbed and laid them waste.

We do not know how many nations have risen and fallen on the sands of Egypt. Neither do we know when the Egyptian nation began its ascendency, but we have an account of its decline and fall. At the time Egypt went down two per cent of her people owned all of the land.

Babylonia, to-day a barren waste, once supported a magnificent city of buildings and palaces of marble and stone, enamelled brick, and bronze castings. Artificial mountains

were reared in that city, and a river was made to run smoothly therein between banks of masonry. If property in land was not one of the causes of the destruction of beautiful Babylon, it was a coincident with Rome and Egypt that when she went down only two per cent of her population owned all of the land.

Persia had so far advanced in agricultural development two thousand years ago that irrigation was a potent factor in its pursuit. Chosroes caused the rivers and torrent courses to be cleared of obstruction, and stored the superfluous water of the rainy season, which he meted out in the spring and summer with wise economy to those who tilled the soil. Property in land was the probable cause that prevented a continuance of such prosperous pursuits, and, strange to say, only one per cent of the people owned all of the land at the time Persia went down.

The fate of these countries has been the fate of Greece and other countries. It has been the fate of Florence, Carthage, Tyre, Sidon, Jerusalem, and Nineveh, and will be the fate of this country unless the coming generation steps between the landlord and tenant.

History repeats itself because human nature remains the same. That is why we are travelling in the same road and to the same grave that the countries mentioned travelled. Just how far we have travelled can be estimated with reasonable accuracy. And indeed it is not so far beyond the sight of the "conservative" that he has no interest in ascertaining how much more of this great strain can be borne by human endurance.

Having shown by a local example the manner in which land is being absorbed from the many by the few, an effort will be made next to show the extent, not only locally but generally, of the absorption. This investigation is not to group the great landholders and show the vast number of acres which a very small per cent of the people own and the large per cent of the people who own only a few acres each or even none; but it is an effort to show the result of speculation in depriving the masses from owning the particular spots they call their home. All of the virtue that ever was claimed for the institution of property in land was on the theory that the first land a man would own would be his home, and having that sacred spot securely as his own, he would lavishly spend his surplus labor upon its development and adornment.

To state it more particularly, this research was made to ascertain the number of those sacred spots in the State of Nebraska and also in the United States in proportion to their population.

As an average proposition we can reasonably assume that a man will purchase land for a home before purchasing it for non-use or speculation or for another person's home. Therefore if men do not own their homes it is fairly safe to say as a general rule that they do not own any other land.

From the eleventh census we find that there are 206,820 families in Nebraska and that the average number of these families are 5.12 members. Calculating from these figures and this estimate furnished by the United States, we find that Nebraska's population would be about 1,055,840, which is very near the exact number reported.

Of the 206,820 families in Nebraska only 66,071 occupy their own farms or homes clear of encumbrance, while 82,291 families rent the farms or homes which they occupy. There are not only 82,291 families who rent the farms or homes they occupy, but also 58,458 more families who are listed as owners of the farms and homes they occupy that should be considered as tenants because the farms or homes they occupy are mortgaged. Whoever is obligated to pay tribute upon his home is a tenant, whether the receipts for such payments are dignified by the amount of money they acknowledge to have been paid as "interest" or whether it plainly recites "for rent."

Grouping the two last classes together as tenant families and the number of individuals represented in the 140,749 tenant families of this State aggregates 720,834 homeless persons whom it will be reasonably safe to designate as our landless population. And yet that is not all, because of the 66,071 families who occupy and own their own farms or homes clear of encumbrance, only one member, or usually the head of the house, owns the farm or home, and the rest depending upon him are homeless and landless, living upon the land of relatives by their sufferance — even the wife's dower interest or part of it never attaches until after her husband's death. On account of this extra number of landless people we may add 227,208 more to the homeless class, making the total landless population of Nebraska 993,042 as against 66,071, the number of the other class.

In view of the foregoing estimates the landowning popu-

lation of Nebraska ought not to be considered as being over about six and one half per cent of the whole population.

Making the same calculations from the figures of the United States furnished in the census of 1890 for the first time, and the result is we find that only about seven and one half per cent of the people of the United States own the land on which they live.

The history of the past is accessible to you, and the Government has compiled statistics of the present which you may study. From these make your own comparisons and draw your own conclusions. The fact will become apparent that the legions of those who were once known as American landlords are rapidly becoming mere tenants, and some day soon will be counted with the legions of European tenants unless the present generation abolishes both public and private property in land.

THEOSOPHY AND H. P. BLAVATSKY.

BY KATE BUFFINGTON DAVIS.

The unique personality of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky must remain a psychological problem to our day and generation. Yet after all the small talk shall cease and the prejudices of the hour have passed into history, a clearer, more impersonal judgment of her work must crystallize.

She, like many famous characters in the world's history, came on to the stage of action in the last quarter of a century; at the close of a period, too, that must be acknowledged a history-making epoch. For the cycle closing with the year 1899 has so revealed to man mysteries of nature as to create almost a new environment for the human race, one enabling man to experience in the course of his four score years and ten a wider knowledge of material life than centuries of time could give him when nature hedged him in, with space a barrier to communication and the elements not yet subject to his bidding.

I do not by this mean to claim that the present is the first and only time in the world's history when civilization has encircled the globe and man has had dominion over natural forces. But within the generally accepted historic period there is no record equalling the present for luxury and learning. This rapid development of material science has riveted man's attention upon the nature side of life and wedded him to sensuous enjoyment, while this focalizing of man's attention on the objective manifestations of life has dimmed his perception of the eternal verities of spiritual existence. His attention thus held with the glamour of transitory phenomena, man loses sight of the fundamental truth of all life, that out of the unseen come all things seen. This objective world, that is so worshipped, is only a plane of effects wrought from the unseen world of causes. Man as a thinker becomes a power in this phenomenal world by the exercise of those intangible forces called mind and will. But when man creates for himself an idol out of his works and, fascinated by the toys of sense, steeps himself in the pleasures of material life, he has passed the summit of his achievement and civilization

begins to wane. And it is because man no longer realizes his spiritual nature. He no longer serves as a conscious creator in the world of his habitation, because he ceases to exercise the divine powers that alone make him a son of and a coworker with the infinite Creator.

The great need of the last quarter of the nineteenth century was not a warrior bold to conquer the nations of the earth, but a spiritual awakening. A great class of mankind had drifted apart from all crystallized forms of religion, and it needed new expressions of the ever-existent truth to bring home anew to the heart of man the knowledge that he is a child of spirit and the universe as well as of earth and of passion. In various ways have enlightened souls striven to gain the attention of the sense-enthralled multitudes. Logic and assertion received some attention. Spiritualistic phenomena obtained a measure of recognition, and turned many aside from worldly pursuits to listen and investigate and thereby sense again the unseen side of life; the shock of death claiming a loved one brought many to this door of learning. Christian science has also proved an open door to metaphysical wisdom. But still among the great mass the tide was unstemmed. Each could reach only a measure of accomplishment in the task of reawaking man to his great heritage of spiritual consciousness. Among the laborers to this end was Helena Petrovna Blavatsky. She dazzled, mystified, antagonized. But she made men *think*. And she gave forth a philosophy of life that harmonizes the great thought of the ages.

"Charlatan," "Adventuress," and like names have been freely showered upon her, and few save those who have studied under her know whether the accusations are true or false. Let us consider facts. Born in a favored class of society, with wealth and high position at her command, why should she resign these worldly advantages, that were hers beyond dispute, and devote her life to incessant toil and hardship merely to become an "adventuress" and a "pretender"? Charlatans and adventurers generally have some selfish end in view, some worldly gain after which they strive. There is always a selfish motive at the root of fraud. No one can find a true incident in Madam Blavatsky's much-ventilated career to show that she ever asked or would accept money — other than what she legitimately earned in the literary mart of the world — for her personal use. Instead of gaining what the

world values, Helena Petrovna Blavatsky renounced her inherited advantages to carry out her work. Mere accusations cannot endure without sustaining evidence.

Another favorite term of reproach flung after her is that of "plagiarist." Taking Webster's definition, we find a plagiarist is "one who purloins the writings of another, and puts them off as his own." Turning to the introduction of "Isis Unveiled" we will find she said:

It is offered to such as are willing to accept truth wherever it may be found, and to defend it, even looking popular prejudice in the face. It is an attempt to aid students to detect the vital principles which underlie the philosophical systems of old.

Again, in the introductory chapter "Before the Veil," page xiv:

Before closing this initial chapter, we venture to say a few words in explanation of the plan of this work. Its object is not to force upon the public the personal views of the author; nor has it the pretensions of a scientific work which aims at creating a revolution in some department of thought. It is rather a brief summary of the religions, philosophies, and universal traditions of humankind, and the exegesis of the same, in the spirit of those secret doctrines, of which none, thanks to prejudice and bigotry, have reached Christendom in so unmutilated a form as to secure a fair judgment. . . . Deeply sensible of the titanic struggle that is now in progress between materialism and the spiritual aspirations of mankind, our constant endeavor has been to gather into our several chapters, like weapons into armories, every fact and argument that can be used to aid the latter in defeating the former. Sickly and deformed child as it is now is, the materialism of to-day is born of the brutal yesterday, and unless its growth is arrested it may become our master.

From the Introductory to "Secret Doctrine," vol. I, page xlv, edition of 1888, we quote as follows:

To my judges, past and future, therefore, whether they are serious literary critics or the howling dervishes in literature who judge a book according to the popularity or unpopularity of the author's name, who, hardly glancing at its contents, fasten like *lethal bacilli* on the weakest points of the body, I have nothing to say. Nor shall I condescend to notice those crack-brained slanderers — fortunately very few in number — who, hoping to attract public attention by throwing discredit on every writer whose name is better known than their own, foam and bark at their very shadows. These having first maintained for years that the doctrines taught in the *Theosophist* and which later culminated in "Esoteric Buddhism" had been all invented by the present writer, have finally turned round and denounced "Isis Unveiled" and the rest as a plagiarism from Elêphas Levi, Paracelsus, and *mirabile dictu!* Buddhism and Brahminism. As well charge Renan with having stolen his "*Vie de Jésus*" from the Gospels, and Max Müller his "Sacred Books of the East" or his "Chips" from the philosophies of the Brahmins, and Gautama the Buddha. But to the public in general and the readers of the "Secret Doctrine" I may repeat what I have stated all along, and which I now clothe in the words of Montaigne: "Gentlemen: I HAVE HERE MADE ONLY A NOSEGAY OF CULLED FLOWERS, AND HAVE BROUGHT NOTHING OF MY OWN BUT THE STRING THAT TIES THEM."*

*The emphasis in the quotation is madam's own.

Why the omission of a few inverted commas should be held important after such clear acknowledgment, and be made the basis of a serious and degrading charge, is more than I can understand. No canon sanctioned by art or justice will maintain the charge. In the books referred to she gleaned from both ancient and modern writers and the folk-lore of various nations. She always preferred the expression of a fact through the words of another to asserting herself. Only a generous soul would willingly adopt that method. She tried to bring forward every fragment of wisdom with which the thinking world was familiar, thus leading the student by known paths to the higher perception brought about by what she did that stands apart as a marvel in literature, the synthesis she gave us of the religions, philosophies, and science of the age. It was the few words here and there of added wisdom that indicated the unity underlying the apparent diversity of the great systems in the world's thought. There was the original work, the "string that tied them." To this she also added suggestive hints for new and valuable lines of research. Members of the theosophic school of thought who are truly students will bear witness to this. When in the coming century the aid she has rendered the student bears its legitimate fruit, justice will be done the worker who fearlessly faced the contumely of a cold and arrogant world with a message of wisdom. In those days the ponderous volumes of "Isis Unveiled," two in number, and "Secret Doctrine," in four volumes, — only two of which are published as yet, — will be acknowledged as marvels of erudition and the world of scholars will do them honor; while the little book entitled "The Voice of the Silence" will live like a song of the angels in the hearts of her pupils, to whom it is dedicated. The sublime ethics of this little volume can best be indicated by a few quotations:

If through the Hall of Wisdom thou wouldst reach the Vale of Bliss, Disciple, close fast thy senses against the great dire heresy of Separateness that weans thee from the rest.

Strive with thy thoughts unclean before they overpower thee. Use them as they will thee, for if thou sparest them and they take root and grow, know well these thoughts will overpower thee and kill thee. Beware, Disciple, suffer not e'en though it be their shadow to approach. For it will grow, increase in size and power, and from this thing of darkness will absorb thy being before thou hast well realized the black foul monster's presence.

Let thy Soul lend its ear to every cry of pain like as the Lotus bares its heart to drink the morning sun.

But let each burning human tear drop on thy heart and there remain; nor ever brush it off until the pain that caused it is removed.

Desire nothing. Chafe not at Karma, nor at nature's changeless laws. But struggle only with the personal, the transitory, the evanescent, and the perishable.

Thou canst not travel on the Path before thou hast become that Path itself.

These few quotations serve to indicate something of the moral quality required in an aspirant for the Divine Wisdom. To the pupil who is in earnest, making theosophy the unfaltering motive of his life, scientific instruction is also given, whereby he can develop the two additional senses said to be latent in man, and a practical knowledge of occultism. The following testimony to the truth of a measure of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky's teaching will interest even the general reader; it is taken from No. V of the "Theosophical Manuals" issued by the society, which treat of "The Seven Principles of Man," "Death and After," "Reincarnation," "Karma," and the one quoted from, "The Astral Plane," wherein Mr. Leadbeater says:

We must note first that every material object, every particle even, has its astral counterpart; and this counterpart is itself not a simple body, but is usually extremely complex, being composed of various kinds of astral matter. In addition to this, each living creature is surrounded with an atmosphere of its own, usually called its Aura, and in the case of human beings this Aura forms of itself a very fascinating branch of study. It is seen as an oval mass of luminous mist of highly complex structure, and from its shape has sometimes been called the Auric egg. Theosophical readers will hear with pleasure that even at the early stage of his development at which the pupil begins to acquire this astral sight he is able to assure himself by direct observation of the accuracy of the teaching given through our great founder, Madam Blavatsky, on the subject at least of the seven principles of man.

The writer then goes on with an analysis of the Aura, too long to quote here.

I want to emphasize an important fact indicated in Mr. Leadbeater's words, and that is, while as students we love and honor the advanced pupil of the master who heroically fulfilled her difficult mission of pointing anew the way to wisdom, yet no theosophist pins his faith to the personal dictum of any teacher. The teachings of the Theosophical Society do not indorse credulity or personal authority. If every leader in the organization, from Madam Blavatsky down through the entire membership of all the international councils from the period of its organization to the present hour, should falter on the path and through the weakness inherent in human nature should stray into the byways of error, it would make no difference to the genuine student who

has acquired any degree of perception of the priceless wisdom held in the esoteric philosophy, a philosophy that treats of man and his relation with the infinite.

So letting the world say what it will in its idle talk of the puzzling personality of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, while we make no infallibility her crown of glory, and worship not at the shrine of any idol, still every sincere student in the school of her founding will feel his heart thrill responsively to the following words of her most brilliant and progressive pupil, Annie Besant, recently published in *Lucifer:*

> For myself, I may say, — as I see in many papers that I am going to leave or have left the Theosophical Society, — that since I joined the society in 1889 I have never had one moment's regret for having entered it, nay, that each year of membership has brought an ever-deepening thankfulness, an ever-increasing joy. I do not expect to find perfection either in the outer founders of the society or its members, any more than to find it in myself, and I can bear with their errors as I hope they can bear with mine. But also I can feel gratitude to Col. Olcott for his twenty years of brave and loyal service, and to H. P. B. for the giant work she did against materialism, to say nothing of the personal debt to her that I can never repay. Acceptance of the gifts she poured out so freely binds to her in changeless love and thankfulness all loyal souls she served, and the gratitude I owe her grows as I know more and more the value of this knowledge and the opportunities to which she opened the way.

So too, in my limited way, would I bear witness to the world of the truth of the message brought, and the trustworthiness of the messenger who was known in the closing years of the nineteenth century as Helena Petrovna Blavatsky.

THE GENERAL DISCONTENT OF AMERICA'S WEALTH CREATORS AS ILLUSTRATED IN CURRENT CARTOONS.

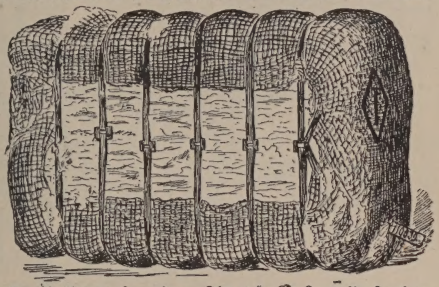
BY B. O. FLOWER.

The general discontent of the present manifested among wealth creators from the Atlantic to the Pacific suggests to the student of history the Corn Law agitation in England, which triumphed in spite of the cruel punishment meted out to the leaders of the great agitation in its early days, together with the fact that for a long time the leading newspapers of Great Britain resolutely refused to permit the cause of the people

The Work of the Gold Bugs; or "Where He's At."

to be heard in their columns. Moreover, it will be remembered that at that time both the great parties controlling the government were equally opposed to the people in their mighty uprising; but the justice of the cause, the poverty of the multitude, and the fact that the people who were denied intelligent recognition by a subsidized press devoured with avidity the multitudes of pamphlets and leaflets with which it was said England was literally sown at that time, and also that they were enlightened through great political meetings which resembled in many instances religious revivals and at which such men as John Bright, Richard Cobden, and other illustrious statesmen, who in those elder days were abused as roundly and as unscrupulously as were Whittier, Sumner, Lincoln, and Phillips some years later, compelled the people to think for themselves and thus rendered the machinations of the two dominant parties, though intrenched behind the bulwarks of government and the great press of the land,

PURCHASING POWER OF A BALE OF COTTON



Money Value of 500 lbs., 1865 at $0.8338 per lb. $416.90.

Money Value of 500 lbs., 1870 at $0.2398 per lb. $119.90.

Money Value of 500 lbs., 1875 at $0.1547 per lb. $77.30.

Money Value of 500 lbs., 1880 at $0.1151 per lb. $57.55.

Money Value of 500 lbs., 1885 at $0.1045 per lb. $52.25.

Money Value of 500 lbs., 1890 at $0.1107 per lb. $55.35.

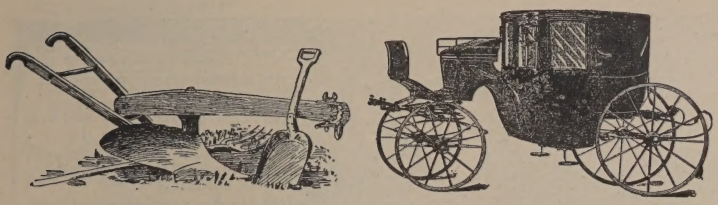
Money Value of 500 lbs., 1894 at $0.0738 per lb. $36.90.

Uncle Sam's "Crown of Thorns."

How long, O Lord? How long wilt Thou forget me? How long wilt Thou hide thy face from me? How long shall I take counsel in my soul having sorrow in my heart daily? How long shall my enemies be exalted over me? Consider and hear me, O Lord, my God; lighten mine eyes, lest I sleep the sleep of death.

– Psalms, xiii. 1. 2. 3.

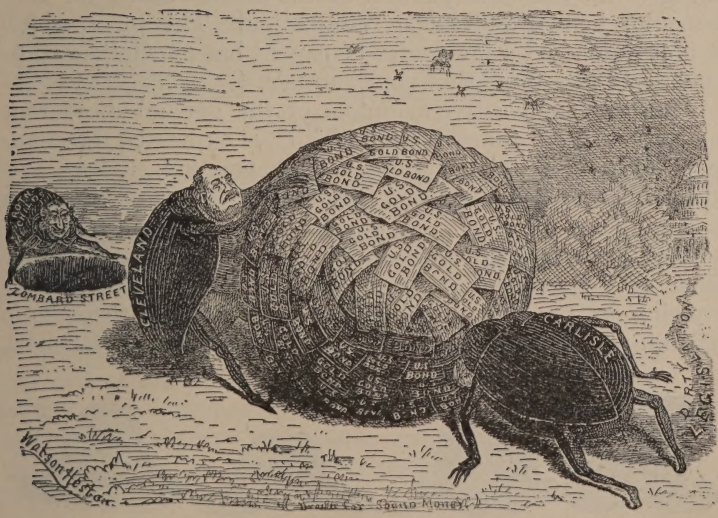
absolutely powerless before the aroused indignation of an awakened people. In many respects the symptoms of the Corn Law agitation as it neared its triumphant close are markedly present to-day. Not only have the people been slowly educated through the systematic betrayal of their interests by both the great parties, through broken pledges



Why should these be Emblems of Poverty? And this of Patriotism?

and the domination of the gold ring's influence on the administrative and legislative departments of government, but the metropolitan press has been so overawed by the handful of multi-millionnaires known as "financiers," that the reading public have been compelled to look to other sources for anything like an impartial or intelligent discussion of financial problems, precisely as they were at the time when the Whigs and Tories in England were pitted against the people, vainly believing that they could continue forever to play fast and loose with the populace and imagining that by traducing every bold, able, and unpurchasable friend of the people they would be able to continue their dominion indefinitely.

A significant symptom of the wide-spread and incontrollable discontent of the present hour is strikingly illustrated in the successive Waterloos encountered by the two dominant



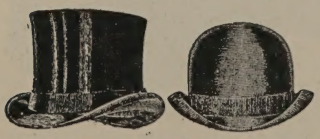
The Work of the Gold Bugs.

(ADAPTED, IN PART, FROM SHELLEY TO SUIT THE TIMES.)
Men of America, wherefore sow
For drones who eat the grain ye grow?
Wherefore weave with toil and care
The rich robes your bosses wear?
Why live in hovels, hut or cell?
In halls ye built, shall traitors dwell?*
Why be enslaved in want and woe?
When, IF YOU WILL IT—GREED MUST GO!
The seed ye sow, the landlord reaps;
The wealth ye find, some Shylock heaps;
The robes ye weave, a robber wears;
The arms ye forge, a hireling bears.
Sow seed—but let no landlord reap;
Find wealth—but let no Shylock heap;
Weave robes—but let no robber wear;
Forge arms—let none but free men bear.
Lo! all the fiends from Mammon's hell
Can't rule a land where patriots dwell;
VOTE RIGHT, and FREEDOM'S cause is won—
THE BALLOT BEATS THE GATLING GUN!
(* The Capitol and White House.)
Watson Heston
FOR "SOUND MONEY"
BALLOT BOX
WALL STREET
THE FARM

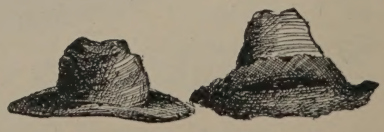
A Cartoon for the Times, with lines adapted from Shelley.

parties during the past twelve years, no less than in the steady rise of an independent or non-conformist press which has fearlessly and frequently at a great cost to its proprietors, owing to the increased poverty of the masses, stood for fundamental justice and social reformation. This press, which at first numbered a few scores of papers, has now increased to something like three thousand journals.

Another very positive symptom of the general discontent has been the call for cartoons which have expressed the sentiment of millions of America's wealth creators. These cartoons have frequently been wretchedly executed from an artistic point of view. If the gold ring, the railroad monopoly, the standard oil, beef, whiskey, sugar trusts, or any other of the vast corporations had been behind this mighty uprising of the people, we should have had all the artistic results which money could procure; but these cartoons,



Did God Put All the Brains Under These,



And All the Power of Suffering Under These?

"Thou art the Man."

crude as many of them have been, are valuable as illustrating the pronounced and wide-spread and rapidly accelerating discontent of the American masses; a discontent which, as I have before observed, has been for a quarter of a century assuming greater and greater proportions alike under Republican and Democratic rule, under the "McKinley war tariff" no less than under the "Wilson tariff," and which the people at last recognize as due to the fact that both the great parties have pursued substantially the same financial policy and for the spoil of office have surrendered the interests of the nation no less than the happiness of the masses and the prosperity of business interests to England's financial policy and the American Tories.

In this paper I have reproduced a few cartoons and object lessons which were drawn for *Vox Populi*, *Sound Money*, and other non-conformist papers, and which have been copied in hundreds if not thousands of journals. They are especially interesting as being symptomatic of our times as well as carrying with them suggestive thoughts and forcible truths which are carefully barred from the columns of the plutocratic or gold press.

The Two Old Parties as the "Two Dromios."

"Methinks you are my glass, and not my brother."—Comedy of Errors, Act V., Scene i.

THE VALLEY PATH.

A Novel of Tennessee Life.

BY WILL ALLEN DROMGOOLE.

CHAPTER XI.

The clock above the mantel monotonously ticked off the time; the wounded hand, sponged and bound, lay on the doctor's knee; the strong clear profile of the guest shone with cameo effect against the crimson firelight as the owner turned his face from the physician's. Suddenly he faced him; in the clear depths of his eyes the tears were shining.

"And you didn't *kill* him?" he said, — "you didn't kill him, like you would kill a dog?"

"No, he lives yet; she is dead, though, years ago."

"You ought ter 'a' killed him. He ware not fittin' to live."

"Would his death have restored to me that which her perfidy had lost me, — my peace, my faith, my mother?"

"Well, no," said Joe, "but I'd 'a' killed him. I'd 'a' had my satisfaction that far."

"No," said the doctor; "I chose the better part, I hope. I gathered my burden to my shoulders as best I could, and for thirty years almost I have stumbled along with it in the dark. But, Bowen — "

He leaned forward, placing a hand upon either knee of his visitor, compelling his strict attention — "I resolved with God's help and man's strength that I would never be the despoiler of any man's happiness. That is why I called you in to-night."

He got up hastily, and began to walk the floor. Joe regarded him steadily a moment, then he too arose.

"Doctor Borin'," he said, "I have been a fool: I have been a great fool. I'd like to ask yo' — "

"It was granted long ago," said the doctor. "Look at the clock, — twelve. That is your candle on the mantel. Aunt Dilcy built your fire two hours ago."

The mountaineer regarded him stupidly; he had a faint suspicion that the rehearsal of his wrongs had unsettled the old man's mind.

"If Zip don't min' lettin' me have that hat o' mine he's made his bed in, I'm goin' home," said he. "I reckin my nag is in an' about froze by this time."

"Your horse has been in the stable for hours, ever since you came. You are not going away from here to-night. The guest chamber is waiting for you. We are to be fast friends from this on, Bowen. We will begin by your sharing my roof to-night."

He was lighting the candle as he spoke; when he held it toward the mountaineer the latter shook his head.

"Not yet," said he. "I tell you, Doctor Borin', I ain't fittin' ter be yo' friend. I want ter be, but O Lord! — I tell you; you must take my horse for the one I killed."

"We will talk about that to-morrow," said the doctor.

"No, sir, to-night, now. You must promise to take my horse; he's a good one, an' I'm fond of him. But I'll feel like a thief, an' a sneak-thief at that, unless you say you'll take him. He's in your stable, thar he stays, an we're even. Be it so?"

"Be it so," said the doctor.

"Good; gimme my light; though I ain't sayin' as I don't feel like a blamed fool, an' a horse thief, an' Brother Barry all to once."

He thundered up the stair, spilling the hot sperm upon the linen bandage that enwrapped his wounded hand. The physician sat a long while before the fire, his head dropped forward in the weary way that had come to him of late. The grate grew red, then gray, before he rose and began to disrobe for the night.

"A disturber of no man's peace," he said softly as he bent to lay a shovelful of ashes on the dying coals. "A spoiler of no man's happiness. No man can charge me with that. Yet I could have won her, — she is very gentle and pliable and sympathetic; I could have — won."

He turned off his lamp and crept into bed. The moonlight through the window where he had failed to drop the curtain fell upon his face while he slept; gently, a caress in each silvery beam, as if they would have smoothed the lines grief had traced upon the full pale brow.

When he awoke the sun shone, and his guest was gone.

"Tromped off befo' breakfus," said Ephraim, "leavin' his black horse in de stable."

The presence of the horse confirmed the presence of his

master, which in the good glad light of day the physician was for an instant disposed to regard as a part of the last night's dreams; it gave the stamp of genuineness also to Joe's regret for past unfriendliness.

Later in the day Lissy stopped at the gate to ask the doctor to go up and see Lucy Ann's baby.

"It's real bad off," she declared, "with the measles."

It was such a message as she brought any day, yet she was awkward and slow in delivering it, and he noticed that the gray eyes refused to meet his with their old-time frankness.

Joe's jealousy had revealed the physician in a new light; the mere suspicion of love had poisoned the perfect friendship.

"Are you going back up there?" said the doctor.

"I can go if you want to send somethin'," she replied, "but I'll have to hurry back home again." It was the first time since he had known her that she had not found time to devote to the sick.

"No," he said, "I can go up, though I am a little busy. It is a tiresome walk and you have taken it once this morning. Moreover, you seem to be as busy as I."

Without a moment's hesitation she stepped into the trap he set for her.

"It ain't anything but can wait as well as not," she insisted. "An' I don't mind the walk a bit. I'm strong an' young. You better send me in yo' stead."

She had not meant to hurt him, he knew it. He knew that to her the years that lay between them were as nothing. Yet her words hurt. He began to see how old he must appear to other people; began to see himself that he was an old man; "an old fool," he said, "so old that even Joe Bowen had comprehended at last the folly of being jealous of such an ancient." But there he did himself and Joe injustice. That gentleman had never discovered any reason on earth why the doctor should not love and marry Alicia, save that he wanted her for himself. Joe's was a primitive faith. To his thinking, love could come but once. And this love of the doctor's, with its tincture of tragedy, must, according to his idea, forever debar the heart where it had been harbored against all meaner passions. That first love is all-love is granted by those more skilled in heart lore and more worldly wise than Joe. With him it was not a question of will; and he had failed to catch the finer point of honor with which the physician meant to pledge himself in an unspoken promise not to interfere with

his love affair. To him it was an impossibility; as much so as the new growth of a limb that has been amputated from the human body. With him love had no second birth. A primitive faith, and, like other primitive beliefs, gone to find a grave in the cobwebbed past.

Alicia refused to "come in," but said "good mornin'" in the stiffest way, and went home.

"Anybody would think, to see her," mused the doctor, "that I had robbed her henroost, or refused to pay my truck bill."

The coming of Mrs. Tucker a few minutes later, however, changed the current of his thought.

"Doctor Borin'," she began, "I reckin I pester you a heap with my troubles. I reckin we *all* pester you, right smart."

"Sit down there by the fire," said the doctor, "and while you are thawing tell me what the 'trouble' is this time. What is a physician for, if not to listen to the ailings of his patients?"

She took the chair he placed for her, and pushing back the familiar black bonnet, said:

"Doctor Borin', I have come down here to ax you for a settlemint. I reckin the interest on my debt to you will in an' about eat me out o' house an' home. You air a city doctor, but a mighty good one. I ain't faultin' of you for bein' a city man: you couldn't holp that. But I have heard say city men axed mighty high for their se'ves, an' I'm a po' woman. But I'm honest; an' you'll git yo' pay, Doctor Borin', if I have to sell my house an' bit o' lan' for it. I've come down here to tell you so, an' ter ax for a settlemint."

"Haven't time to-day," laughed the doctor. "Besides, I have a new patient at your house. Wait until I cure the baby, then we'll bunch the debts and make one of them. I want you to take some medicine up to Lucy Ann; and see that the measles don't 'go in,' and that the baby doesn't take cold. No, it isn't any use to try to pin me down to arithmetic to-day. I am going down to Pelham to call on Joe Bowen: he promised to let me have a load of hay for my horse."

He saw the worried expression come into her eyes, and gave up teasing.

"Wait," he said. "How much do I owe you?"

She was an honest trader, a careful accountant.

"You owe me," she replied, in a slow, business-like way, "two dollars an' seventy-five cents. I owe you so much — "

"I am keeping my side of the account," he interrupted her to say. "You look to yours."

"I am gittin' to be an ol' woman, Doctor Borin'," she continued, "an' I want to leave myse'f square with the world when I come ter quit it. I owe you so much that I've been a'most afeared ter ax you how much it air. But I've saved up a little money ter he'p pay you anyhow, an' I'm proper glad to git you ter talk about it at last. That two dollars an' seventy-five cents — "

"There it is," said the doctor. "I am putting it into your egg basket, since you do not seem to see it. And now, my good woman, we are *square*. That is our settlement."

She stared first at him, then at the silver he had slipped into her basket.

"But, Doctor Borin'," she began, when he again interrupted her:

"Bring me some more chickens, if I haven't emptied your roost."

She understood at last, and went out silent, but with tears in her eyes.

The next morning Lissy came down to the gate and sent for him to come out. Al was sick; he had been taken with a chill the night before, and she had wished to come for him then, but her grandmother was opposed to it. She had given him a quantity of pepper tea and had put him to bed, to wait for the herb doctor.

"He's real sick, Doctor Borin'," Alicia continued, "an' I wish you would go over an' see him befo' the herb doctor gets there."

"I cannot do that, Lissy," he replied; "but if you will come in I will fill some quinine capsules for Al. But you must come in the house. I shall not touch them if you insist upon hanging on my gate-post for half an hour in the cold."

She hesitated, blushing. It did not appear altogether proper for her to go in alone, and no woman there but an old negress. While she hesitated he opened the gate and led her in, up the walk, into the little sitting-room where patients and other visitors came every day, almost every hour of the day.

"What in the name of common sense has come over you, child?" he asked fretfully, in order to disguise the pleasure he felt in having her once more sitting opposite him at his own hearth. "You're getting tired of the old hospital, Lissy; I just know that's it. And everybody else in the neighbor-

hood likes it, likes to come here. Mrs. Tucker sat an hour only yesterday."

His words and manner quite reassured her. After all, she was fond of coming over and chatting with him before the big fire, with the terrier asleep in her lap, and Aunt Dilcy putting her head in now and then to give the milk jar a turn on the hearth where she always set it until ready for the churn. Sometimes Al came over with her, and then the visit was real pleasant. But of late, — well, after all, she failed to detect any difference in the doctor's manner, so she concluded Joe had allowed his jealousy to warp his good sense. The doctor didn't appear near so fond of her as he did of the terrier on her lap.

"I will fill the capsules," he said, seating himself to the task, "and you may give one to Al every two hours. You can give them on the sly if there's any fuss made."

"I'll give them fair an' square, if granny'll let me," she replied. "I won't do anything on the sly. I reckin granny'll throw it all in the fire for a lot o' foolishness, because it's bitter instead of hot. Granny believes in fire. Grandad says that's why she's so wedded to the bad place; it's hot. He says hell's about the only medicine ever give that was hot enough for granny. An' he says she's equal to a pretty big dose of that. Doctor Borin', if I ever get sick I want you to doctor me. Remember now you're notified befo'-hand. Will you?"

"If you let me know you are ill before you send for the undertaker," he replied, tapping the quinine bottle with his finger until the white fluffy powder lay in a soft heap on the paper he had spread upon the table to receive it. "You people have a way of getting sick and sending for a physician while they are taking your measure for a coffin."

She laughed softly, twirling her hat upon her slender, well-shaped finger.

"Well, I'm too healthy to send for either of you *yet*," she said. "When I die," — she glanced up, caught the expression in his eyes, and blushed. Was Joe right after all? His next words almost made her think herself a fool.

"Be sure you are not guilty of such a folly until I get home again," said he. "I am going back to the city soon to be gone — months."

He was watching her now so intently she dared not look up, and so failed to read the truth, as Joe had seen it, in his

eyes. He saw her start, however, and his heart gave a sudden joyous bound, although she went on talking quietly, even merrily, of his going.

"I sha'n't die befo' you get back, I reckin. I'm healthy an' strong. I reckin I ought to be thankful; I am thankful, though I ain't as rejoiced over the comin' back of Brother Berry as I might be."

He was silent, hoping she would talk on; it was a happiness to have her sit there in his house and prattle in her sweet, girlish way. But when she drew her chair a trifle nearer the table and began helping him fill the capsules in a matter-of-fact, at-home way, his happiness was complete, so thoroughly in her proper place did she appear. "I reckin," she went on to say, "they're all expectin' a big revival. Joe said he lay I'd give in this time sure. 'An' little Al has asked granny ter ask the church folks to pray for him. I know he's a sight better than a lot of them, but I don't say so; I wouldn't hinder nobody, let alone little Al. But for me, I can't see my way plain to believe. They haven't explained away that resurrection of the body yet, not to *my* satisfaction."

He could help her over this stone at all events.

"Lissy," he said, "that is the easiest part of the problem. Listen."

He leaned forward, a half-filled capsule in his hand, his arm resting upon the table.

"You put a seed in the ground in the springtime, — a grain of corn. In a little while there appears a tender shoot of green, and you say your seed has 'come up;' yet it is not a seed; it is no longer a grain of corn. And if you dig there the next spring and every spring until decay has carried it away you will find the rotted roots, the skeleton of the seed you sowed. Yet the seed came up, albeit in another form. Was it the seed you sowed? So it is with our natural body; it is sown in corruption, in the earth; it is raised a spiritual body, incorruptible. Like the seed you sow, it is not the body which shall be, but bare grain, 'it may chance of wheat or of some other grain.' But God giveth it a body, a new body, just as he gives a new form to your seed when you say it has come up."

She had listened with a kind of rapt intentness while he revealed for her the mystery of her doubt. When he finished a smile parted her lips. "Why, it's as easy as dirt,"

she laughed. "I see it as plain as day now. Doctor Borin', I wonder if the rest might not be just as easy, with somebody to explain it all?"

"Just as easy, dear — child," he replied, blushing like a boy for the slip his tongue had made. "Just you go on living one day at a time, doing your duty as seems right to you, and letting creeds and mysteries take care of themselves. Take this for your creed, 'For me, I do believe in God and love.' That's creed enough to live by, and life well lived will light death's lantern, never doubt it."

The gray eyes were aglow with surprised delight.

"Why, Doctor Borin', you're not an infidel," she said. "You talk like the preacher."

"What?"

She laughed aloud. "I mean the Episcoper at Sewanee, not Brother Barry. O Lord! I hope you don't think I'd call you like Brother Barry. But you ain't like an infidel neither."

"Joe says I am."

"Oh Joe; he's always talkin', and he certainly does talk scan'lous sometimes; but it's funny too; to save my life I can't help laughin' at him sometimes. Joe says that Moses left off one comman'ment he ought to have put down on them tables of stone. He forgot it, Joe says. '*Plough your own row.*' That's the other comman'ment Joe says as ought ter have been put down. And he says he ain't been so mighty admirin' of them Israelites, who borrowed all their neighbors' earrings and jewelry and then set out for the promised land. Joe says if they ware to try that these times all the promised land they'd reach would be the state prison. And he says just ordinary folks air runnin' this country too, and not Moseses. That's what Joe says. Brother Barry says Joe's awful wicked, and that something'll certain'y happen to him for his wickedness. Goodness knows I hope it won't be another cow to die with the milksick poison. I'm afraid Joe's sins will in and about kill up all his stock and cattle befo' I go down to Pelham. And when the two of us gets there I reckin both our sins, Joe's and mine, will about finish up things, — burn up the house, or set rust in the wheat or somethin'. Joe ought to think about that befo' he fetches another sinner to his farm. Good by, Doctor Borin'. I've got to go carry the quinine to Al. It's mighty good of you to fix it for him. And I'm much obliged to you till you're better paid. You better come to meet'n' next month and get religion. Somethin'

will happen to you first thing you know. Zip might ketch the mumps or somethin' else dreadful. You better stay here and get religion under Brother Barry, 'stead of runnin' off to town so soon."

Was she acting? More than once he had detected, or thought he had, an insincere note in her voice, and when she set him laughing over Joe's foolish sayings, he had looked up to find that her own face was entirely destitute of mirth. He had been so satisfied to have her sit there in his house, at his side, so near him that her slight fingers among his capsules and powders touched his own more than once, thrilling him with strangely sweet content, that he had forgotten to sound her heart as he had meant to do, and to administer the advice for which indeed he had called her in.

"Lissy," he said, "sit still a moment. I want to talk to you."

She paled and flushed by turns, and nervously fingered the box of quinine with which he had provided her.

"Alicia," said the doctor, "have you and Joe adjusted your difference? I mean have you made up your quarrel?"

"No, sir," she replied; "we ain't friends, not like we useter be."

"Why?"

He saw the color in her face deepen; her eyes were bent upon her hands working nervously in her lap. Did he know? she wondered: did he think that she was fool enough to suppose that he could care for her, — a humble little pedler of the vegetables which her hands had raised? Embarrassment sealed her lips.

For him, he would have sounded her heart for the one certain blessed knowledge that he was not altogether merely a foolish old man to her.

He leaned forward to look into her eyes.

"Alicia," he said, the tenderness of his tone giving new music to the pretty, old-fashioned name. "Alicia, may I help you to set Joe right? I am an old friend, you know."

She flashed upon him with sudden vehemence:

"No, sir," she said; "I don't want any help to do that. But," she added more gently, "I'm much obliged to you, Doctor Borin'. I know you meant it kind, but I haven't settled it in my own min' yet that I want to make it up with Joe."

"What?"

"I allowed you'd be surprised some; but Joe's been mighty foolish."

He flushed, understanding thoroughly wherein Joe's folly lay.

"How has he been foolish? What has he done?"

He was watching her keenly; she was too honest, too innocently naïve not to betray her real feeling under his cunning probing.

"Well, he's been unreas'nable anyhow," she replied. "An' he has been mighty free with his fault-findin'. He has showed me somethin' in his disposition that I don't like, Doctor Borin'."

"Young men, young lovers, are always exacting, Alicia."

"Then I don't want 'em," she replied with blunt honesty. "I won't have my life made a tirade and a continual jow. I aim to do some good in the worl' if I can; and if I marry at all, I'm going to marry a man steady and sober, an' live quiet and helpful. I ain't so mighty anxious to marry at all."

Again life offered him a chance, and again he chose the nobler part — the nobler is ever the harder part.

"Alicia," he said, "you are young. But there is a womanliness about you that should win you a strong man's earnest love — "

He paused; she was looking straight into his eyes; as he continued he saw a warm light kindle in the shadowy gray depths of her own, a response that was ready to awaken with the slightest hint.

He leaned forward and folded her hands, palm to palm, between his own.

"You can have the life your heart calls for, the quiet, steady life. And you would be content with it. But, dear — my dear child, it would slay your youth at the outset, drop you from girl to woman. And your content would consist in ignorance, since you would never know the real joy, the aliveness of happiness which only the young and sentimental may feel. You must live your youth, have your joy. Joe loves you, and his is an honest, earnest nature. He will never be unkind to you. The little whims of the lover do not appear in the husband. You must think of it, Alicia. I am going away soon, to be gone until the azaleas come again. When I return I shall expect to find you happy, through my advice. You will not disappoint me, Alicia? I am an old man, but in my youth I too had a love, a love for a woman who cruelly cast it from her. And I can swear to you that an honest man's honest love doesn't easily die. Be good to

Joe; a cruel woman is God's abomination; I feel sure of it. Go home now, and give Al his quinine. I have kept you a long time."

She rose with him, and he opened the door for her to pass out. Had she grasped his meaning? Had he hurt her? Her face, as he caught a last glimpse of it, wore a puzzled look; into the gray eye the shadows had returned. His heart smote him sharply, but it was best, "best all round," he told himself, and that she "would soon forget it." As she reached the outer door, he called to her pleasantly:

"Oh, Lissy, I am going to bring you a wedding present when I come back."

She waved her hand lightly, but gave him no other reply. Yet he noticed that in the poise of her head which he had never observed before. There was a dignity, almost a defiance, in the way she carried herself; her very feet seemed to touch the ground with a new meaning, as if they demanded of the solid earth a footing strong as its own adamant far down among its basic foundations.

The physician watched until the red-crowned head disappeared down the brown footpath.

"More strength than stability," was his thought. "Under favorable circumstances she would have developed a tendency to fanaticism. With a guiding hand, what a force she might prove in her day! As it is — ah well; there is no telling the by-paths into which a nature like hers may turn."

(*To be continued.*)

BETWEEN TWO WORLDS.

BY MRS. CALVIN KRYDER REIFSNIDER.

CHAPTER XIII.

"I have had a strange and dreadful dream, father," said Ruby one morning. "You sat in a chair in your study alone; I came to the door to speak to you, but thought you must be deeply meditating, and would have withdrawn, when my attention was attracted by a most wonderful phenomenon. I saw your spirit drawn forth from out the body and form a perfect double of yourself, except that I realized that this was your true self, your spiritual body; and as I looked I realized that your natural body had died the moment the spiritual body came forth, and, oh, father! such agony as I endured when I realized that I could not speak to you and that you could not hear my voice."

She noticed a sweet, sad expression upon the calm white face, only for a moment, then it was replaced by a joyous, triumphant smile.

"You are positive that you were asleep, Ruby?"

"Yes, father, for I awoke and thanked God it was only a dream; and then I lay awake until morning, and fell asleep just when I should have been bright and dressed."

"Would it not be beautiful, my child, if you could see my spiritual body just as you saw it then? Would it not comfort you rather than frighten or distress you?"

"Why, certainly, father, if your natural body indeed were dead, but I could not speak to you."

"Tell me, child, what is it like, this spiritual body of mine?"

"Just like your natural body, father, form, face, and features, only younger and more real, father."

"More real?"

"Yes, indestructible; and I saw how possible it would be for such bodies to move about us without occupying space, just as the silvery clouds float above us, into which the birds may fly, a balloon ascend; and — father, may it not be true that those shining clouds are the floating garments of spirits

and angels that bring messages from heaven, the blue, the gold, the purple, the white and silver?"

"Was I a winged spirit?"

"Oh no, father, only a man; but I know that to ascend and descend, to soar amid the stars, would be not only possible but the easiest thing to do; to be with angels and with men."

"That was certainly a beautiful and instructive dream vision, my child, and comforts me, for it is an answer to my oldest prayer. I take it, darling, that when I go hence my Ruby has but to close her eyes and *think of father* and she will see him always as she saw him then. Death would not be so terrible then, would it, my child?"

"No, father, no; and yet I should miss you so, your counsel and encouragement."

"You would have it always then, far wiser and more unerring than now."

Mr. Gladstone related the conversation to Dr. Cadmus and told him that his end was near; that Ruby had seen what had really occurred in the spiritual world, and that the ultimation of it was a question of a short time, not to exceed a year. And then he began to accustom himself to the thought and comfort Ruby with the belief that they should never be separated, that his prayers were granted and that her spiritual sight was opened; and he explained why he had always believed in it; that her respiration was peculiar and different from other persons, and confided to her some of his own experiences.

"O grave, where is thy victory? O death, where is thy sting?" he said, folding her in his arms and kissing her fair young brow.

CHAPTER XIV.

We have seen that Dr. Cadmus was busy with the scientific and political questions of the day, and never lost an opportunity to express his sentiments when he thought he could get a sympathetic hearing. He regarded Mr. Gladstone not only as a great humanitarian, but as a religionist hewing out a new path.

"I assure you, Mr. Gladstone, that before the new thought will prosper you must destroy the old," he said.

"That would scarcely be practicable. One might as well say that in the improvement of a great city all the old tenements

must be destroyed before new ones were built. Do you not perceive that when a better, more convenient, wholesome, sensible building is erected, an old one is vacated and the inhabitants voluntarily change, and owners looking to their own interests are building to suit the people. Schools, churches, etc., are no exception to this rule. You do not need to point out the advantages; they see your building is superior in all respects and they accept it. This is the external of it. Now build them a new order of things in politics, in religion, in medicine, and they will accept it. You say they must have a new God. Show him to them. Do not destroy their old God first; let them keep him and compare the two and choose between them."

With all his great general plans, Dr. Cadmus had one particular plan in life. It was the establishing of a new race of physical beings upon the earth. This great wish had been his father's, his grandfather's. He saw new possibilities for the human race, nobler and grander than had ever been dreamed of in any other era of human existence. As a scientist he had demonstrated it. He believed that such religionists as Mr. Gladstone were the natural allies of the scientists, and as the religionists rule the world because they rule the people, he must have their co-operation. When Mr. Gladstone praised the doctor's gifted son, Dr. Cadmus was eager to explain the scientific *why* his son was different from other men's sons. He went into the details of his procreation and the prenatal influences.

He said: "There can be no permanent progress toward the perfection of humanity till the people are instructed in and learn to obey prenatal laws; until then the world must be continually peopled with inharmonious beings. If physicians would turn their attention to the causes and prevention of disease, and clergymen direct their chief efforts toward the causes and prevention of sin, the true welfare of the race would be advanced as never before. Physical and moral education must go together.

"Every person should understand that the relation existing between the mental condition and the circulation of the blood is very minute; and that the tendency of fear, jealousy, selfishness, and the black group of passions in general is toward discord and death; while faith, hope, cheerfulness, temperance, love, — all the virtues lead to harmony, health, and life. Under the depressing influence of anxiety, grief, and fear, the

amount of air consumed in a given time is lessened from twenty-five to fifty per cent, while on the other hand the exhilarating effect of faith, hope, and love increases the respiration correspondingly. Breath is life. Teach children to breathe; air is more than food or raiment."

"We agree most thoroughly on all these points," said Mr. Gladstone. "Our hopes and aims have been in the same direction so far as our children are concerned.

"And the result in either has been most satisfactory; to one of us through science, to the other through religion. Like sees like, and there is no perfect union in this attraction of opposites. Instinct teaches animals and birds better. Crows and doves never mate, nor the skylark and the ground sparrow. Come, my dear sir, let us wed religion and science, — your daughter and my son; for these two must love each other as the angels love."

Although Mr. Gladstone had felt that this must be the grand finale of all their conversations, this proposal of marriage, he had thought of it as something in the future, in another life perhaps, as already existing in the spirit from a time long prior to their meeting. He understood that Dr. Cadmus had a scientific hobby and had probably sat his son upon it and taught him to ride it in his babyhood as the only hobby horse worth riding. He knew that all scientific medical men were eagerly looking for something, expecting to be the discoverers of the causes of this or that great phenomenon. One took up his scalpel hoping to find the source of thought, perhaps catch a subtle essence, the thing divine, and thus do away with the idea of divine influx; to discover that the mind generates thought as the lining membrane of the stomach secretes gastric juice or the salivary glands secrete saliva, and some day to discover the very seat of the soul, the throne of reason, and find both to be little material organs that could be taken out and preserved in alcohol, as the fœtus or the brain, and to discover in the heart the abode of love, which would prove to be only a chemical generated by this same heart; a panacea or a poison, owing to the condition of the generating process.

He had watched the course of the great ones for many years and wondered if there could be no genius without immorality, no talent without infidelity.

Here were both talent and genius in this young Greek, and neither immorality nor infidelity according to his view, and

yet he could see how the world would grade both. Like the father the son believed that the old order of things must be destroyed before a new order of things could exist; and he was preparing himself for the conflict. Would he pull down or build up? Where would he begin? On the side of science or religion, politics or — where — and in whatever he undertook would Ruby prove his true helpmate? Had he indeed produced as strong a character aided by his religion as Dr. Cadmus had aided by his science?

While he sat silently communing with himself Dr. Cadmus walked the floor in some agitation, but outwardly perfectly self-possessed. He had hoped to be met half way with outstretched hands by the orator, and that very soon the picture would change and he would see Ruby fly to the open arms of his son. He had reasons for pressing the question, scientific reasons. The quick eye of the scientist saw what the quick eye of love also detected. Mr. Gladstone might die any day, any moment, and Dr. Cadmus would know his wishes and have Ruby understand that he favored his son's suit, had all arranged, even though the marriage might be delayed. Mr. Gladstone was suffering from no disease — he was quite well, but he realized that only a thin veil separated him from the great unknown; a rude hand might tear it aside at any moment; a sudden shock might destroy the tabernacle, and the spirit stood at the windows ready to depart at a moment's warning. Dr. Cadmus never looked into Mr. Gladstone's eyes without realizing this. He felt that Ruby was not ignorant in the matter, and he pointed out this fact to his son, who would recall his wonderful voice so full of power and pathos, so all-encompassing, and he could not but argue and believe that physical strength had something to do with such power.

"I tell you no," his father said. "His body is spiritualized, the grosser material is so refined that the spirit manifests itself with perfect voice and action. The spirit is all-powerful. It is the house of clay, the chrysalis, that will soon drop off, suddenly, as the closing of an eye."

Yes, it was all true; and as Mr. Gladstone pondered the question now a painful expression so new and strange marked his features, that Dr. Cadmus paused in his walk and marvelled at its cause. What was it? A rush of dark waters over a pure page of paper could not have sullied it more than these changing thoughts did the white face of Mr. Gladstone. It

was indeed violent emotion, heroically suppressed, but the scientist saw now the great enemy of his friend — some unconquered — what could it be?

The proud man turned his head away and shaded his eyes with his hand. Delicacy of feeling was ever on the alert in Dr. Cadmus, and he paused and said, "I will leave you to consider this matter alone, and you can give me your answer at another time."

Mr. Gladstone did not rise, did not remove his hand from his eyes, but cordially putting out the disengaged hand said, "Yes, leave me now. Understand this: I love your son, shall welcome him as my own; but I would speak with him of another matter first. I, in other words, must begin as he does, by destroying before building up. I cannot make myself understood to-day. I must speak with your son — then to Ruby — there might be an obstacle — an insurmountable obstacle — leave me, my dear sir. To-morrow afternoon I shall call upon you, or — write you."

"Is it that you doubt your daughter's affection for my son and would speak to her first?"

"No, frankly, no. Her heart is his. I would speak to your son first upon another subject."

"Other than his love for your daughter?"

"Yes, but — it may be a test of that love — too great a test. Strange I never thought of it before."

"I assure you, my dear sir, he would only be too proud to have you test it. I hope, sir, that it may be the severest test your ideality can conjure up, for surely it could only be that; there is no real test to make."

"Ah well, — I shall see you to-morrow, or write you. Good by."

The Doctor would gladly have dropped the subject and remained, but he saw that the master preferred to be alone, and he withdrew.

That evening Mr. Gladstone walked miles in the Temple, wandering amid the statues and the palms, now in the gallery, now below, with head bent forward and his hands locked behind him, rapt in deep, absorbing thought. Wrestling with unseen demons for his daughter's peace and happiness would not have called forth greater mastery and self-control, a keener sight or action moulded to the thought, to meet each devilish monster that rose up.

"Well, well; study as I will I am no nearer the solution

of the matter. A night's rest, and then the circumstances when I speak will suggest what to say. Would that it were already said, or that my Ruby could look within and read my soul, for only that could tell the tale. These lips are dumb when I would speak, as though some angel sealed them. This hand is paralyzed when I would write and lift the pall from that dead past, as though it were a sacrilege and an effort to defame a tabernacle. No, no, no. There are some things we cannot say, some things we may not do. The flesh is rude; it cannot paint pictures that the spirit can create; all effort is but failure. Could my soul but speak to her soul, my spirit to her spirit, there could be no misunderstanding. Then could my spirit, in the very clouds of heaven, unfold the great panorama of that past and let my child look up and see and feel without a word from me! Great God! How magnified our sin must be, that thou hast limited by speech the expression of our souls, our spirits, on this earth. O for that other life, where to ask is to have, to think is to see, to wish is to know!"

And Ruby wondered what it was. The same old something which from her earliest memory she had vaguely felt at intervals like this, that her father watched for something, somebody who never came, looked for what he never saw, dreaded what never came to pass.

She had seen Dr. Cadmus come and go, and wondered if in their conversation anything had occurred to turn her father's thoughts into the old dark channel, inward where his external sight was blinded, external feeling paralyzed, and all was turned backward, inward upon himself, his inner self.

To-morrow, yes, to-morrow he would speak.

Ah! could Ruby have dreamed when she kissed him good night that his resolution for to-morrow was to tell the story she had so longed to hear, to let her know what she had so ardently longed to know all her young life and never could find voice to ask about, she would not have laid her golden head upon her pillow and slept that sweet, soft sleep. She could not have stilled that anxious wish in her heart for the hours to fly more swiftly and bring the morrow. Ah! she would have walked the floor, she and her image in the mirror, and dragged out a weary night indeed. God and the angels know what is best for us, and silence sealed the old man's lips with a golden seal that night, that Ruby

might sleep and dream and awaken with new strength for the morrow that was to come with a new experience for her, that was to examine her in all the lessons of her life and see how well she had learned them, how truly she could live by them.

CHAPTER XV.

Ruby awoke from a dream. She thought her father had touched her and called to her that the morning was bright and fair. When she opened her eyes there was a consciousness of his presence, but he had disappeared.

"Coming, father!" she called after him, and, rising hastily, dressed, expecting to find him waiting for her in the Temple. Not doing so, she sought him in his study. There he sat; the morning paper was in his hand, the soft light from the stained window was falling on his pure white face in its silver frame. She stooped and kissed his lips. There was no answering kiss.

"Father!" She laid her hand in his. "Father! Father!"

Mrs. Goode appeared.

"Oh, see him, he does not answer me!" she said with wild eyes.

Mrs. Goode put down the tray on which she carried the morning meal, and said, "Call True."

But all the world could not call that spirit back into that house of clay.

"Dead!" sobbed Ruby.

"No, child, he lives indeed at last," True answered.

Truman's first care was to remove the newspaper from the dead man's hands. His keen gray eyes scanned its columns, and he pointed with silent, prophetic gesture to an article marked with pencil, and held it so his wife could read the headline, then silently, swiftly locked it in the table drawer, and hastened to call a physician. The body was still warm, and there was a faint motion of the heart. He was laid upon a couch, and every means to restore him resorted to, but no sign of resuscitation came. The eyes remained open as Ruby found them, fixed upon the paper in his hand, and except for that rigid silence there was no change in him.

Soon after the doctor's departure the dead man's favorite pupils came and offered their services to Truman Goode. So it was the hands of love and reverence performed these last offices, and his body was laid out in the Temple amid the

flowers and palms. Truman promised to inform them when the interment should take place.

"No black robes, but scarlet and gold for papa," Ruby said, and they had carried out her order.

Truman Goode was aware of his late employer's wishes in regard to his burial place, and held a deed to a plat of ground in the city's most beautiful cemetery. Leaving the orphan in charge of his wife he sought the place and superintended every detail, and sent word out to Dr. Cadmus, who started with his wife immediately for the Temple. In the mean time Ruby sat alone in her father's study, or wept silently with her face buried in Mrs. Goode's motherly bosom; then they would, at her request, go into the Temple and stand beside that solemn stillness which seemed to stop their very breath. Ruby remembered how her father had tried to teach her that death was nothing, and now she repeated much that he had often said, to Mrs. Goode. His countenance as they looked upon it was like that of an angel; as though the inmost came forth to ultimate and illumine it.

The hour had come. Leaning on the arm of her faithful friend, Ruby came forth to view him for the last time. There were no mourning garments about her. She was robed in soft white, and in her hand she carried a bunch of freshly cut flowers, her last offering. A minister and several of his pupils who stood beside the bier made room for her. Just then Salome made her way into their midst and stood with awe-struck face beside the bier. The minister began his prayer. Ruby closed her eyes, and those who saw her wondered what caused the expression of pain and sorrow to vanish so quickly from her face and a smile to beam upon it. This is what she told True and his wife afterward:

"When I closed my eyes, instantly there appeared just above the casket three forms. The central one was my father. A sweet odor filled the space between us, and as I looked my father spoke to me. I remember every word. He confirmed all he had ever taught me about the external existence of the spirit in substantial form. He assured me that the forms beside him were angels in whose care he was and with whom he was very happy. He told me that he could and would be ever near me when I thought of him. He insisted that in rejecting the material body men do not die, but that they live there, substantial bodies, as real and more real than our natural life could be. Then I could dry my tears. Then I could see them put the

casket away, for it did not contain my real father, but only the semblance of him, or his material home. My real father lives and will never be so far away from me but that a thought may bring him back. Oh, Goodie! it is indeed true; there is no death of the spiritual man. And now, Goodie, I know he heard my mental vows, for my spirit made them, and he is pleased, and I shall keep them, and he shall be ever with us though perhaps we cannot always see him."

CHAPTER XVI.

The night before the funeral of Mr. Gladstone Salome sat in a gloomy room beside a dying fire, gazing into it, dreaming. The public schools in which she had been teaching as a substitute had closed, and as usual she had saved no money, and three months of idleness would leave her deep in debt if she continued the lessons. Suddenly a faint fluttering hope kindled her heart, a beam of light brightened the eyes, the warm young blood leaped up like a flame to cheek and brow.

"I have waited long for something," she murmured, "but what is this? Who tells me I must up and be at work? Who shows me yonder vineyard and says the grapes are ripe? Who tells me the harvest is for me?"

She has been discouraged and has given up her lessons for a week. Several times she resolved to go to her master and tell him her circumstances, for she feels sure he would continue the lessons free; but something like a stubborn pride has held her back and she has not yet seen him. To-night she sits down to reason with herself. A strange mood comes over her, and we record the result. She rises and stands before the mirror on her dingy bureau.

"Why, it is I, only I, I see! The same face, the same figure, and yet it is *not I.* Whence comes the light within these once dull eyes? the flame upon these once dark cheeks? What lurid fires flow through my veins? They must be fresh from heaven or from hell. And something whispers, *Write!* Shall I write, I who from my in fancy have longed to write, have dreamed of writing, aye, prayed sometimes of late that I might yet through pen or tongue do something great, some holy thing? Well, I will obey. Here are a worn pencil and a bit of soiled paper. I sit me down to write without a thought, yet my fingers tremble and the

pencil moves. I'll read it. '*I died three days ago.*' Why? How? What is this?" Again she reads: "'*I died three days ago.*' What else is to be done? Write again? 'Live a pure, good life. Work with a pure, good motive, and success and peace and happiness shall crown you. I shall help you still.'

"Well! No sleep for me this night; but if this is all, my writing will not bring me fame; and yet the lines contain instruction. I will go to-morrow and see my master and take this scrawl along. He looks as though he might have had a glimpse of the other world and could easily hold communion with disembodied spirits and tell me what it means."

Morning came without Salome having changed her resolution. Who shall analyze her feelings when, instead of a welcome smile from her master, she was led to the silent figure around which others were already gathered to listen to the last solemn rite of burial? Who shall picture the awakening of that spirit in the inner temple of this poor girl as she realizes that her hope, her ambition, all had found life in the promise of those silent lips and now died with them? But a light, faint hope sprang up as she looked at the white-robed figure with its closed eyes holding communion with unseen angels. Was it her master who had visited her in spirit? Was it he who had whispered hope? he who prompted the words she had written the night before, he who still promised help?

Like one in a trance she took in the strange service. Her master, arrayed like a high priest of the temple, seemed to have lain down to sleep before beginning an imposing ceremony, or perhaps this was only a part of some quaint service. Surely it was not death. No black robes were seen, no tears fell, no moans broke the stillness. She was led to a carriage by a stranger, and the casket was placed in a hearse drawn by ten white horses.

CHAPTER XVII.

After a time Ruby and her friends calmly and carefully spoke of present and future. The will was probated, the insurance policies paid, and Ruby was sole heir and executrix. Of course there was to be no change in their mode of life. They would spend their lives in ultimating his wishes. To have refused to do this would have been to them a baser treachery than if he still were visible to them. As they sat

together a few mornings after all the necessary legal proceedings had been carried out, Ruby said:

"You know, Goodie, I must not mope; book learning, father taught me, was well enough if the lessons were practical. I have thought so many times of that poor girl Salome. I must make it my care to do something for her." And while they were speaking the bell rang, and Truman returned accompanied by Salome.

Ruby met her with a warm, affectionate greeting, which brought tears to the poor girl's eyes.

"I was just wondering where you lived and how I could find you. Come, throw aside your hat and let us sit beside the window."

Mr. and Mrs. Goode shook hands with her, and Salome was soon quite at her ease. After a little reflection Ruby said:

"My father assured me that you had great talent and its necessary accompaniment to success, perseverance. You must have another teacher. If he cannot be procured here, then you must go to L———."

"If it only could be! But — I must be reconciled. I must give it up," she said, with quivering lips. Then she told Ruby her position.

"Very well," said Ruby. "Father never used any of the money you paid him."

Going to the little safe in the corner of the room, she opened it and drew forth a little box marked simply "Salome."

"You see it is all here, and it was his intention to return it to you. I only carry out his design in doing so. Talk with your parents about it, and we will ascertain who is the very best teacher to be had for money, and you must go to him."

Tears of gratitude and joy came to Salome's eyes. She could not refuse the money, nor could she conceal the joy Ruby's words had given her. She felt that Ruby was doing just what she would have done under similar circumstances to one in her position, and she acted as she would have had her act.

It was a new feeling to Salome. She had had little cause in life to be grateful. Although it was a new emotion to her breast, she recognized it as something nobler and better than a desire to succeed simply to revenge herself upon somebody.

When Salome had taken her leave Ruby called Goodie and True again in counsel.

"Father intended to fit this young girl for the stage. Now I must finish his work. I cannot do what he would have done in the way he would have done it, but I must furnish the money to pay some one else for doing it. I shall be willing to give up my summer travels and pleasures. I am quite well, and if you do not care to go, we might be very happy here, Goodie."

"Why yes, I don't mind — "

"Of course you and True are to get your extra travelling expenses if you stay, just the same as if you were to go. I shall not share the pleasure of doing this all by myself so far as the money goes."

They both smiled and allowed her to have her own way.

"Think of it, Goodie, I never did anything in all my life worth mentioning. This is only finishing a piece of my father's work. He spoke to me of this girl and said she was capable of attaining rare perfection in dramatic art. Her people are poor. Just think of giving her an opportunity to lift herself and them from poverty. Wouldn't it be lovely and a work worthy my father's memory?"

"Yes, indeed, and worthy of your father's daughter."

Inquiry developed the fact that Salome must go to London to procure the very best training now to be had, and Ruby insisted it must be the very best, and preparations were made for her to start at once. In this arrangement Ruby found intelligent and valuable assistance in Dr. Cadmus, who wrote to Mr.———, theatre manager in London, and arranged every detail. The day before Salome departed, when she had come to bid Ruby adieu, the latter said:

"You must take me to your home now, Salome, and introduce me to your parents. I must be a daughter to them in your absence."

Salome crimsoned with shame.

"Oh, I could not; indeed I would die to have you see them," she said.

"Why should you feel like that? You have told me your sorrow; I know what to expect. I am prepared for it, and I want to help you to do what you have started out to do thoroughly. I can comfort your mother, and maybe teach her some things — older people do learn from younger ones sometimes. I love to learn from little children. Then, too,

I want your father to know I feel that he is worth saving. Yes, Salome, I do not care where it is, I want you to take me to them."

At first Salome was rebellious. She felt that she would rather have thrown back Ruby's gifts, rather reject all, present and future, than to lead this beautiful, refined child of fortune to them and be humiliated in her eyes in that place which was loathsome to her and yet called home. Ruby seemed to understand her struggle and stood silently waiting till the temptation and combat had passed.

Salome had seldom felt ill at ease in Ruby's presence indoors, but as they stepped out into the glare of the bright afternoon sun she was oppressed by the consciousness of the great contrast between them, and for a while a wicked feeling of jealous rage seized her, a feeling that Ruby was conscious of and enjoyed what was so deeply humiliating to her. But raising her face at last — for she hung her head in silent anger — her eyes met the calm, soft light of those liquid orbs that were turned half sorrowfully, half questioningly upon her.

"Salome, I really meant it well. If you, for good reasons, prefer not to take me to your parents, then I will not go."

"You, — you might as well," gasped Salome, "but — you don't know what it is to be ashamed of — of your parents. I — I wish sometimes I had never been born, for however I may strive I can never lift myself above the memory of my degraded home."

She was vehement, but all the time moved desperately forward until they were almost opposite a dingy-looking house where the lowered blinds were soiled and faded. Just as Salome raised her hand to the knocker with a desperate air a shuffling noise was heard and loud and angry oaths burst upon their ears. Salome's hand fell at her side. She cast one agonized look at Ruby in which were mingled reproach and anger, and then she turned and fled, leaving her alone. The noise grew louder, the oaths came fiercer, and then a child screamed. Ruby hesitated no longer. She knocked loudly and tried the door, which yielded, and she stepped into a wretched room. Standing opposite to a drunken man who wore only a dirty shirt and trousers, was a delicate woman with one child clinging to her dress skirts and another on her arm. She had evidently thrust the clinging child behind her out of harm's way, and

still had her hand clasped on its shoulders. Ruby's appearance caused such a shock that the tableau was transfixed before her, and she took in the full detail quietly, while the look of anger frozen on the face of the opponents never changed. They evidently thought the white-robed figure was some avenging angel come to deal summary justice out to them. She approached the woman and said:

"I am your daughter's friend, Salome's friend; I wanted to see you."

Ruby smiled at baby, and then turning to the drunkard held out her hand. He looked at it as though she had been a leper and then drew back. It was not such a hard matter to coax the little one into a welcome smile, and after a while the mother warmed a little toward her; but Bacchus, as his neighbors called him, remained silent and sullen.

"And so you are the lady who is going to help our Salome," said the mother.

"I certainly shall do all that I can to help her to improve her talents, then she can help you and her father in a very substantial way."

"I'll bet my head she'll never lay eyes on one of us again, once she gets out from under this roof," said the man.

"Oh yes, she will, and you will all be very happy."

A coarse laugh was the man's only reply. After a while Salome entered, evidently supposing Ruby had never gone into the house. When she found her sitting quietly among them like an angel paying a visit to hell, as she afterward said, she was mortified and angry; some of the old angry, revengeful spirit had been with her ever since she left Ruby, and she thought:

"Yes, I'll win. I'll earn money and I'll make her smart for this. I'll humble her some day. I'll dash the dust from my chariot wheels upon her."

Ruby was not blind to the effect of this visit upon Salome, and for a time doubted the prudence of her own course; but she waited calmly and took an affectionate leave of Salome, asking her to write while she was abroad, and wishing her success and happiness.

"I shall succeed if I have any talent," Salome answered in her resolute tones, "if work and such a memory as this can spur me on," indicating her surroundings, "and I shall repay you every dollar with interest that you so kindly advance me."

Her voice was harsh, and Ruby felt a little disappointment,

but when she returned home she did not allude to it, but sat down to plan how she could save the money to give this girl every advantage and help her on the road to success without increasing her expenses, as she had promised her father not to do.

(To be continued.)

A VISION OF LOST ATLANTIS.

BY JAMES G. CLARK.

In the mystic spell of slumber,
Through the sea's unfathomed gloom,
I beheld the Lost Atlantis
Burst the silence of her tomb;
And the grave-clothes that confined her
In the bonds of age-long sleep
By her hands were rent asunder
As she rose from out the deep.

I could see her gleaming rivers
Down the winding valleys run,
Where the olive groves and vineyards
Drank the kisses of the sun;
I could see vast mountain ranges
On her skies their glories trace, —
Winters wrapped around their shoulders,
Summers blooming at their base.

In the measure of a heart-beat,
In the twinkling of an eye,
I beheld her mighty cities
Lift their battlements on high,
And her strong, triumphant armies,
Which the very gods defied,
Marching to the field of battle
In their arrogance and pride.

Oh, the princes of that kingdom, —
How they ruled on land and sea!
How they spurned the God of justice,
And to Baal bent the knee!
And they reared a golden Image
In the grandest of their marts,
And the incense that ascended
Rose from ruined homes and hearts.

And the one word that the Image
Uttered day and night was "Give!"
Till the people only answered:
"Grant us work that we may live."
But the rulers babbled: "Business,"
As they revelled at their ease,
And they locked up Nature's storehouse
And to thieves consigned the keys.

And the wolves of want went prowling
Round the cabins of the poor,
While the toilers starved and perished
On the highway and the moor;
For the few claimed all the increase
From the ocean, soil, and air, —
Precious stones and gems and metals,
Flocks and grain and fruitage rare.

Bishops feasted at the palace,
Christ sat hungry at the gate,
Mammon held the sway of Haman
In the halls of court and State;
Priest and scholar bowed in homage
To the one malign control
That in church and school demanded
Prostitution of the soul.

Still the multitude paid tribute
To the miser in his den,
Still the Shylock knife was sharpened
For the flesh and blood of men;
Crafty minds, like human spiders
Weaving traps for human flies,
Veiled with webs of legal pretence
Things that all men knew were lies.

And the victims fell by millions,
Under land and chattel bond,
Driven from God's soil like lepers
By the usurer's magic wand, —
Till the army of the homeless
Gathered like a rising flood,
And the cry went up at midnight:
"Give us bread or give us blood!"

And the gathering flood climbed higher
Till it struck the palace door
And awoke the royal sleepers
With its wild, devouring roar.
There are tigers in the jungle
That delight in human prey,
But a fiercer tiger crouches
In a starving man at bay.

And the rulers and the robbers,
Though they quailed with inward dread,
Answered back in bold derision:
"Give them blood instead of bread!"
And I saw the moon blush crimson,
And beneath the weird eclipse
Sat and rode the "Scarlet Woman,"
With a sneer upon her lips.

There was gathering of the legions
At the mandate of their Queen,
And the flashing of a million
Blades lit up the awful scene;
And a million starving toilers
Fell like blighted stalks of grain
In that horrid midnight harvest,
By their sons and brothers slain.

There are crimes that stir with horror
Saints and angels round the throne,
And whose judgments can be meted
By the courts of God alone.
And I saw the kingdom sinking
At the Scarlet Woman's feet,

And her splendid cities plunging
Like a tempest-foundered fleet.

Mountain ranges met and melted,
And above the fiery tomb
Two great oceans swung together
Like the closing gates of doom.
And I heard a voice proclaiming
Down the solemn aisles of space:
"*He who slays a starving brother*
Smites his Maker in the face."

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

TRUE MEMORY; THE PHILOSOPHER'S STONE.*

REVIEWED BY THE EDITOR.

What, another revelation? This is disquieting! Nothing angers easy-going conventionalists so quickly, or so certainly arouses the sneers and lofty contempt of the Pharisees and Sadducees, as a high-minded message which comes to us out of the old stereotyped grooves; and this is especially true when the revelation in question calls man to a higher plane of life and insists on subordinating the physical desire to the mandates of the spiritual nature. In old times the prophets of Israel were stoned; Jesus, in spite of his mighty works and noble utterances in regard to man's duty to man, braved conventionalism, overturned the tables of the money changers, and was crucified. Socrates, who was in constant communication with voices, taught truths so far ahead of his time and so lofty in their conception that civilization repudiated him and he was forced to drink the hemlock. Joan of Arc beheld visions and heard voices, and, at the moment when England's supremacy over France seemed inevitable, under the guidance of her voices wrested victory for her nation, but was burned as a sorceress. So among the lofty teachers of the ages we find Epictetus teaching a noble philosophy, and for his teachings being banished by one of Rome's most cruel and immoral emperors. Victor Hugo refused to surrender the cause of liberty and republicanism at the wily behest of a selfish and unscrupulous ruler, and therefore suffered exile for almost a score of years. And these are only a few instances which mark the pathway of the ages, illustrating that those who are seeking to give the world high, fine thoughts in advance of their time, whether they be prophets, philosophers, or revelators, must expect the bitter opposition of the easy-going and selfish conventionalists who are joined to artificial ideals permeated by gross materialism and not infrequently clothed in elaborate ritualistic forms. Hence I shall not be surprised if "True Memory" is received with much lofty contempt, which those who speak to the soul rather than those who fawn at the feet of conservatism must expect from the conventional press. Especially is this to be anticipated in regard to this work because its philosophy runs counter to the popular theory of physical science in many respects, while it pays as little heed to form, ritual, and dogma as did the great Galilean in His Sermon on the Mount. It is a profoundly spiritual work and insists that man's redemption can only be attained through the supremacy of the spiritual, — a fact which lofty natures of all shades of belief are coming more and more to see each passing year.

The work, as I understand it, is a literal transcript of a message given to the author. It takes up creation, the fall of man and his redemption,

* "True Memory; the Philosopher's Stone. Its Loss through Adam; its Recovery through Christ," by Mrs. Calvin Kryder Reifsnider. Bound in fancy cloth, handsomely illustrated. Price $1.25. Arena Publishing Company, Boston, Mass.

as dictated to the amanuensis, who seems in many ways to be gifted with much the same internal illumination which marked Swedenborg as pre-eminently the mystic of the present age. Its style is simple and direct, and in many respects it resembles, without any suggestion of imitation, Olive Schreiner's "Dreams." It is a work that will appeal very strongly to the large and growing number of earnest Christians who are profoundly spiritual in nature.

SIEGFRIED, THE MYSTIC.*

REVIEWED BY JULIA DAWLEY.

To any psychic, or to one who has made a careful study of the methods and effects of what is commonly known as mediumship, there will be found in "Siegfried, the Mystic," nothing very startling or mystical, nothing which may not be seen and heard any day in almost any town or city where spiritual mediums or teachers of occultism, Christian Scientists or divine healers have found their way.

But to others who have never ventured to peep outside the fold of orthodoxy or explore the byways of mysticism, or who have been always content to chase after the unrealities which men call wealth, fame, learning, love, and so have never given a thought to metaphysical or spiritual things, the story of George Martin's first interview with the old seer and his charming pupil will seem somewhat puzzling, to say the least. The description of the first experience of Martin in what is erroneously called "development," the struggle between the "I and the not I" for possession of a body, is a correct portrayal of a scene which is presented at almost any place where so-called developing circles are held, or experiments in mesmerism, mental suggestion, or hypnotism are conducted.

The lesson conveyed in the scene described is, however, a good one for everybody to consider, and the answers of the voice to Martin's captious questions embody pretty much all that is best in the teachings of the mystics and all the rest of the occultists with which countless lecturers, teachers, and, finally, even novelists, make it possible to become familiar.

The book is clean, wholesome, and pleasing in style, full of wise teachings as has been said, yet interesting merely as a simple love story. The characters are natural, and the old man who, as the mystic, is given opportunity to voice the to many people unfamiliar doctrines is never tiresome or prosy.

The whole message of the book, the mission of the good seer, his beautiful pupil and the disembodied human souls whose medium she seems to have been, is the blessed assurance, "*There is no death.*"

There are many passages in this book which one would like to quote at length, so important are the lessons they teach or the warning they convey. For instance, this:

The advice of spirits, clothed or unclothed by flesh, may be unselfish

* "Siegfried, the Mystic," by Ida Worden Wheeler. 295 pages. Price, cloth, $1.25. The Arena Publishing Company, Boston.

and well meant, but all questions must be weighed in the balance of your own soul before you can safely act. If you consult a psychic upon purely earthly affairs you will not receive a response from a very high source. No spirit but one whose affections are still rooted to earth would answer an appeal for material aid or direction. . . . But when you aspire for a teacher to light your pathway to clearer truth, diviner love, be sure it will not be denied you.

The mystic's view of "the sentiment that passes current in the world as love" (pp. 127–130) is well worth consideration, but is too long to quote in this review; the scene between him and the "illegitimate" Josephine is very natural, and his expression of opinion on that question would startle ultra conventional people considerably.

The "Thought Exchange;" the half-crazed Dunn "pursued by an exasperating consciousness of his own inferiority and limitations, mistaking his own shadows for enemies;" the cure of the evangelist; the mutual love of the young psychics, and the more material union of the rich young Martin to his chosen bride,—all are well told and serve not only to pass away a leisure hour or two, but cannot fail to awaken thought and a desire for that better time when "men will be ashamed to be too rich; when the standard of society will be worth, not dollars; when where vulgar display and selfishness are, there will be the social slums; when men and women will be free to grow, free to express and free to attain to all that their unfolded individualities crave."

There is no deeper lesson in mysticism than this:

"Thought is the hidden force called fortune or fate. You are not elected to suffer by any other will or whim than your own. You are the effect of your past. You will be the effect of your present."

And so, again, we may close this notice of Mrs. Wheeler's book with the chant, familiar enough to some of us:

"The hand that smites thee is thine own."

NOTES BY THE EDITOR.

I.

A Startling Prophecy and its Fulfilment Relating to the Transformation of the Republic into a Plutocracy through the Gold Power.

A few days since I came across some lines written by myself some time since, relating to Gen. John A. Logan's prophecy and its fiulfilment, in which I had occasion to observe that I had recently read some striking predictions made by the late Senator John A. Logan when the discussion of the withdrawal of the treasury notes was in progress. At that time Gen. Logan came in for a large share of the lofty scorn, the abusive epithets and contemptuous sneers showered upon Senator Oliver P. Morton, Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks, and other leading statesmen of the people by the modern American Tories — the usurer class and their sycophants — who thronged the halls of legislation and shaped public thought through the press of the East.

At the moment when Gen. Logan uttered the sombre prophecy given below, hope sang in the hearts of America's millions; the nation, despite the terrible ravages of the late war, was springing into unparalleled prosperity; the hills, valleys, and vast rich prairies of the Middle and Western States were blossoming with new homes; money was plentiful; and with the States engaged in an enormous business, only a small fraction of which was carried on with foreign nations, there were only two classes disturbed over the prosperity of her people. One was England's capitalists, the other was the usurer class of our country — the drones in the hive of civilization, who acquired rather than earned wealth; the legal freebooters and commercial brigands, who, without toiling or spinning, in the sense of being engaged in producing wealth, secure millions of other men's money through special privileges.

It was not strange that England wished to change our monetary policy. She was practically a non-producer of the earth's great staples and essentials, and, if shorn of the advantages arising from a dishonest monetary arrangement and the power of ruling through craft, would necessarily be at the feet of the great wealth-producing Republic. Her only hope lay in checking the prosperity following a large volume of currency, with the high prices which attend such a condition, by contracting currency within the borders of the great wealth producer of the New World.

Nor is it strange that the usurer class, who had secured special privileges from Congress whereby they proposed to acquire millions, should combine with the ancient foe of American freedom in the conspiracy to defraud the wealth-producing millions and wreck the prosperity of the industrial classes. The position of Wall Street (and by Wall Street I mean the stock gamblers and professional usurers of America) in this battle for justice, human rights, and human happiness was essentially that of the Tories in America during the Revolution, who, in hope of wealth through confiscation, used every means in their power to defeat

the emancipation of the colonies. This usurer class joined forces with England. And it was at the time when these incarnations of the serpent and the tiger advanced upon the nation with the common object of acquiring the wealth earned by the toiling millions, that Gen. Logan said:

I, for one, can see benefit only to the money-holder and those who receive interest and have fixed incomes. I can see, as a result of this legislation, our business operations crippled and wages for labor reduced to a mere pittance. I can see the beautiful prairies of my own State and of the great West, which are blooming as gardens, with cheerful homes rising like white towers along the pathway of improvement, again sinking back to idleness. I can see mortgage fiends at their hellish work. I can see the hopes of the industrious farmers blasted as they *burn corn for fuel* because its price will not pay the cost of transportation and dividends on millions of dollars of fictitious railway stocks and bonds. I can see our people of the West groaning and burdened under taxation to pay debts of States, counties, and cities incurred when money was more abundant and bright hopes of the future were held out to lead them on. I can see the people of our Western States, who are producers, reduced to the condition of serfs to pay interest on public and private debts to the money sharks of Wall Street, New York, and of Threadneedle Street in London, England.

Now, at this time, when the people are making a last gallant stand against complete serfdom to the usurers of England and America, let us see how this terrible prophecy of Gen. Logan, which when uttered was sneered at by the American Tories as a calamity wail, has been verified.

"I can see," said the statesman from Illinois, "benefit only to the money-holder and those who receive interest." On this point we need merely call the attention of thoughtful people to the wealth acquired and influence exerted by the great monetary oligarchy which has of late so largely shaped legislation for its profit and which now assumes to dictate the financial policy of the nation.

For the last twenty-five years the defenders of an *independent and sound American financial policy* have been pointing out as did Gen. Logan the terrible results which were bound to follow the retirement of greenbacks and the demonetization of silver, but so subtle and powerful were the gold interests of England and the American Tories that they denied the existence of facts which have been time and again verified, and denounced all patriots who stood for the prosperity and happiness of the wealth creators of America as alarmists, and in various ways have sought to discredit those who sought to avert the peril impending, exactly as Wendell Phillips, John G. Whittier, Charles Sumner, and Abraham Lincoln were assailed by the selfish conservatism of their day before the cause they stood for proved triumphant. But the constant verification of prophecies made by such men as Oliver P. Morton, Thomas E. Hendricks, John A. Logan, and numbers of others has had its effect. Moreover, the last census report was a revelation to hundreds of thousands of thoughtful people, while it emphasized in a most signal manner the truth which the betrayers of our national prosperity had denied or sought to explain away for several decades.

In the *Political Science Review* for December, 1893, edited by the University Faculty of Political Science of Columbia College, Mr. George K.

Holmes, an expert in the department of statistics of wealth for our census bureau, contributed a most startling paper on the Concentration of Wealth, in the course of which he observed:

The census office has published the results of its investigation of farm and home proprietorship in twenty-two States and territories. In the case of every family, the census recorded whether it owned or hired the farm or home that it occupied, and in case of resident owners, whether or not the property was encumbered. If an encumbrance existed, its amount and the value of the farm or home were ascertained, and the values and encumbrances have been published both as averages and in a classification of amounts. The States and territories represented are Arizona, Connecticut, Georgia, Idaho, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Montana, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Utah, Vermont, Wisconsin, and Wyoming, and the District of Columbia is added. For the present purpose, the figures for these political divisions have been consolidated and applied to the whole country. It is believed that the results correspond closely to the real conditions of the United States, since the different regions where like conditions prevail give returns that correspond well with one another in proportion to population.

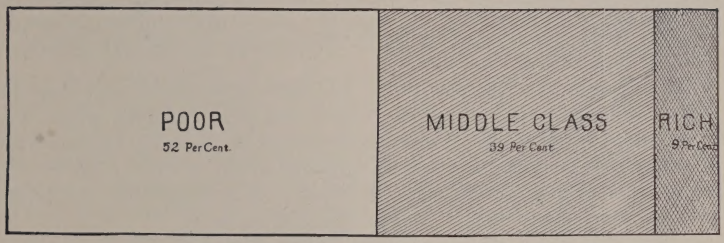
In these twenty-two States, thirty-two per cent of the farm families and sixty-two per cent of the home families are tenants. Among the farm-owning families thirty per cent carry encumbrances, with an average debt of $1,130 on farms whose average value is $3,190; among home-owners twenty-nine per cent carry encumbrances, with an average debt of $1,139 on an average value of $3,254. Until the census shall determine, it may be assumed that there are 4,500,000 farms in the United States, leaving 8,190,152 families that occupy homes that are not farms.

Otherwise stated, ninety-one per cent of the 12,690,152 families of the country own no more than about twenty-nine per cent of the wealth, and nine per cent of the families own about seventy-nine per cent of the wealth. The chief elastic elements of the estimate are the amount of wealth that is credited to each family in addition to its farm or home and the amount of debt with which the family is charged above encumbrance. Opinions will vary in these matters, but the variations will need to be extreme before the preceding conclusion can be considerably changed. In forming an opinion, it should be borne in mind that only the cheaper of the owned farms and homes are represented — those whose value, without regard to encumbrance, is in no case as much as $5,000, and average about half that amount.

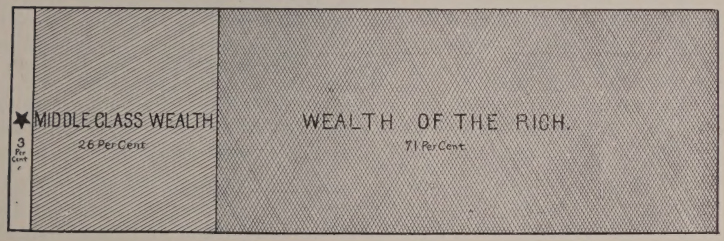
Among the 1,099,265 families in which seventy-one per cent of the wealth of the country is concentrated, there is a still further concentration which may be indicated by taking account of the wealth of the very rich. The New York *Tribune's* list of 4,047 millionnaires affords the best basis for this. Here the unknown quantities are of such magnitude that widely divergent estimates may be made. In Mr. Thomas G. Shearman's estimate of the wealth of millionnaires, partly based on the assessment of Boston, and published in the *Forum* of November, 1889, the average for the class is set at $2,125,000; but it would seem as if Mr. Shearman had considerably overestimated the number of millionnaires worth less than $3,750,000 apiece, and, if so, his average is too small. Without going into details, the conclusion adopted in this article is that the 4,047 millionnaires are worth not less than $10,000,000,000 or more than $15,000,000,000, say $12,000,000,000, or about one fifth of the nation's wealth. This gives an average of about $3,000,000.

We are now prepared to characterize the concentration of wealth in the United States by stating that twenty per cent of it is owned by three hundredths of one per cent of the families, fifty-one per cent by nine per cent of the families (not including millionnaires), seventy-one per cent

The Distribution of Wealth in the United States.

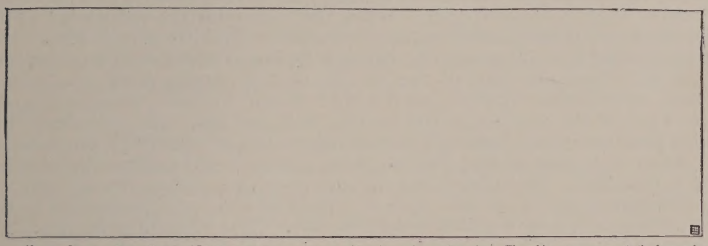


No. 1.—Showing the distribution of POPULATION into three classes, the Poor, the Middle Class and the Rich.

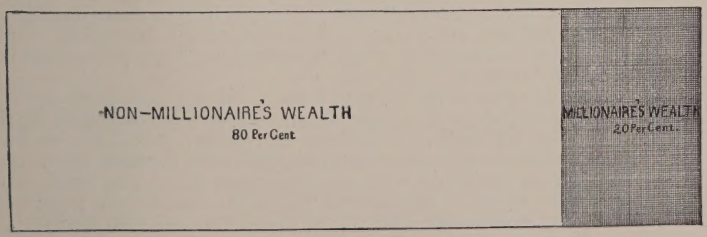


*Poor.

No. 2.—Showing the distribution of National WEALTH among the three classes of the population, the Poor, the Middle Class and the Rich.



No. 3.—Showing the distribution of POPULATION into two classes, millionaires and non-millionaires. The white space represents the former class, and the small dark space represents the latter.



No. 4.—Showing the distribution of National WEALTH among the non-millionaires and the millionaires.

by nine per cent of the families (including the millionnaires), and twenty-nine per cent by ninety-one per cent of the families.

About twenty per cent of the wealth is owned by the poorer families that own farms and homes without encumbrance, and these are twenty-eight per cent of all the families. Only nine per cent of the wealth is owned by tenant families and the poorer class of those that own their

farms or homes under encumbrance, and these together constitute sixty-four per cent of all the families. As little as five per cent of the nation's wealth is owned by fifty-two per cent of the families, that is, by the tenants alone. Finally, 4,047 families possess about seven tenths as much as do 11,593,887 families.

So exceedingly suggestive is Mr. Holmes's paper that I reproduce the diagrams which appeared in *Vox Populi* and were carefully made with explanatory notes. They are drawn in correct mathematical proportions, and they will serve to instantly fix upon the minds of the readers the tremendous facts brought out in Mr. Holmes's exhaustive article. In writing of these diagrams the editor of *Vox Populi* observed:

In diagram No. 1 the distribution of population into three classes is shown. The poor comprise fifty-two per cent of our families and are represented by the area in which the word "Poor" is written in the diagram. The middle class comprise thirty-nine per cent of our families and are represented by the area within which the words "Middle Class" are written. The rich comprise but nine per cent of our families.

The poor have property amounting on an average to $205 per family, exclusive of encumbrances. The middle class have an average of $3,201 per family exclusive of encumbrances, and the rich have $38,762, on an average, exclusive of encumbrances.

It would be easy to give the calling and condition of mind of each class, but we deem it best to show the distribution of wealth which is illustrated by diagram No. 2. The poor own that part of the entire wealth of the country that is shown in the space marked with a star. The middle class own the wealth indicated by the space within which are written the words "Middle Class Wealth," while the rich own the wealth indicated by the space within which appear the words "Wealth of the Rich." It will be seen that the poor, constituting fifty-two per cent of our families, own but three per cent of the wealth of the nation, while the middle class, constituting thirty-nine per cent of our families, own twenty-six per cent of the wealth of the nation, and the rich, who constitute but nine per cent of our families, own seventy-one per cent of all our wealth.

If we now pass to diagram No. 3 we will find still another distribution of population. This distribution is into only two classes, those who are millionnaires and those who are not. The first class are represented by the large white space, while the millionnaires are represented by the small dark square in the lower right-hand corner of diagram No. 3. In diagram No. 4 we show the way the wealth of the nation is divided between the millionnaires and the non-millionnaires. It will be seen that the millionnaires own twenty per cent, that is, one fifth of all the wealth of the nation, while the balance is distributed among their less prosperous but more productive brethren.

With a full adequate knowledge of the conditions set forth with at least approximate accuracy in our diagrams, in the possession of the American people, we believe a general movement would be at once inaugurated toward the discovery of causes that have brought about these conditions. Upon the matter of securing these facts and discovering the causes of the same, in our humble judgment depend the prosperity and happiness of our people and the prosperity of our free institutions.

To thoughtful Americans as well as Europeans watching events as they have transpired during the past twenty-five years, the tremendous discontent evinced in our elections must necessarily have proved very significant. Never in the history of a republic, probably, has the pendulum swung with such irresistible force from one party to another as during recent years, and during all this time there has been steadily, rapidly,

constantly growing up a spirit of discontent, not the outgrowth of the professional agitators, but being a discontent born of a consciousness on the part of the wealth creators among the more thoughtful of our manufacturers, merchants, farmers, and artisans who appreciated the fact that the steady decrease in prices, the frequent occurrence of panics, and the creeping palsy of business stagnation were in fact a mere fulfilment of the prophecy of Gen. John A. Logan and his compatriots who foresaw the terrible effects bound to follow when the great Republic adopted England's financial policy. Our nation ought to-day to be the leader of the world in prosperity, in wealth, and in independence; a Republic which ought to be growing more and more independent as the years pass by; a Republic which ought to be becoming more and more a creditor nation instead of more and more a debtor nation. Hence, all the gold expended in corrupting legislation, in silencing a supposed free press, and in devious other ways, has proven in a large measure fruitless. The people have become more and more discontented with each successive year. The fact was pointed out that when Mr. Harrison went out of office the treasury was found empty; but the election of Cleveland was due to the tremendous discontent of the people, a discontent which expressed itself shortly after they had given the Democrats the chance for which they had clamored for years, that of controlling all branches of government, an opportunity of giving relief to the nation and adopting a general American policy. Hence, following elections swept the Republicans into power in the House of Representatives by a tremendous majority, almost as great as that which overwhelmed the Republican party after the passage and enactment of the "war tariff" measure known as the McKinley Bill.

It is very evident from all sections, notably from the South and West, that the voters have firmly determined to be deceived no longer. Twenty-five years of bitter experience has at last aroused them as our patriot fathers were aroused when the great Republic was born. They will accept no equivocation in platform or candidate. They will vote for prosperity, happiness, and the true grandeur of the Republic, which can come only by a sound, independent financial American policy.

II.

The Unconditional Battle of the Wealth Creators of the Republic Against the Bank of England's Financial Policy.

It has been the settled policy of the gold monometallists, under the shrewd directions of the usurer class of Britain and the gamblers of Wall Street, to overawe the Eastern press. To compass this policy so ruinous to American prosperity, they have resorted to the continued threat of a panic as well as resorting to devious "by-ways and crooked ways" in order to accomplish the domination of British supremacy, or rather to accomplish supremacy of the Bank of England policy over the prosperity and happiness of American millions, from the manufacturer and merchant to the farmer and artisan.

One of the popular cries made by the special pleaders for the Bank of England, the gold barons, and the gamblers of Wall Street, has been that the silver advocates were merely the silver barons of the mining States; while if any one stops to consider the matter he will readily see that the mining commonwealths as well as the rocky boroughs of Vermont and New Hampshire or any other States in the Republic for that matter are justly entitled to consideration. But I imagine that those men who are hired to sway public opinion are altogether too well acquainted with the facts to suppose for a moment that the silver-producing States are anything more than secondary in their influence, directly or indirectly, on the great mass of America's millions and wealth creators who are to-day resolutely demanding the free coinage of silver. I am fully aware of the persistent endeavor of the gold press and also of the influence exerted by the British and American Tories to mislead the public in regard to this fact; yet I do not believe that any thoughtful and disinterested man who has investigated the facts involved will for a moment imagine that more than one in a hundred of the voters who are to-day resolutely demanding that the next President shall be an out-and-out free-silver champion elected on a platform of sixteen to to one, have any interest directly or indirectly in silver mines, but they know that gold monometallism is wrecking and ruining the homes of the wealth creators no less than national prosperity. They recognize the fact that they have been systematically betrayed by parties and men, and they know that from the day our nation bowed her neck to England's yoke and demonetized silver, the real wealth of our Republic has declined in price, and to-day our nation, which but for this iniquitous course would have been the most opulent country on the globe, is growing more and more a debtor nation; they know that prosperity has not only fled from the wealth creators during successive administrations of the two great parties for the last score of years and that times have been growing harder for a quarter of a century, but they further know that the nation's treasury, which was full to overflowing when Cleveland went out of office the first time, was practically emptied in the four years the Republicans ruled, and instead of bettering matters the present administration has followed the Republican policy on the vital issue of finance, even resorting to an extreme war measure and issuing bonds in a time of profound peace at the demand of the wreckers of the wealth creators of America.

It is idle to accuse men like Senators Morgan and Pugh of Alabama, Butler of North Carolina, Vest of Missouri, Jones of Arkansas, Allen of Nebraska, Harris of Tennessee, and a number of other thoughtful and truly representative members of the Senate of the United States as being silver barons; and what is true of the Upper House is equally true of Congress. All the power of the administration and Wall Street has failed to induce the true representatives of a large portion of our nation to betray the sacred trust imposed upon them by their electors. But this is not all. Among far-sighted financiers in the East, such men as Jay Cooke, for example, the ruinous policy of gold monometallism is not

only perfectly apparent, but they are speaking out in order to check the ruin of the nation which a few multi-millionnaires are rapidly bringing about by endeavoring to establish a plutocracy on the ashes of the Republic. The agrarian population of the South and West, a vast majority of the artisans outside of the Eastern centres, and a large proportion of the manufacturers and merchants are determined that the next President shall not be a gold man nor a man who would deceive by evading the open issue, nor yet that the platform upon which the candidate is elected shall be equivocal or susceptible of any misinterpretation. They at last realize the tremendous duty devolving upon them. They feel and know that the present battle is between *British gold and American ballots*, and as in seventy-six so in ninety-six, *they have determined that this land shall be free*. The next President must be an American in fact as well as in word, and no coward or trimmer will be accepted in the coming contest.

III.

Some Much-Talked-of Americans who are Fighting the Gold Ring.

In the following pages we give the portraits of United States Senator H. M. Teller of Colorado, Senator Benjamin F. Tillman of South Carolina, George Wilson, Esq., of Lexington, Missouri, president of the oldest bank in that State, and Mr. George P. Keeney.

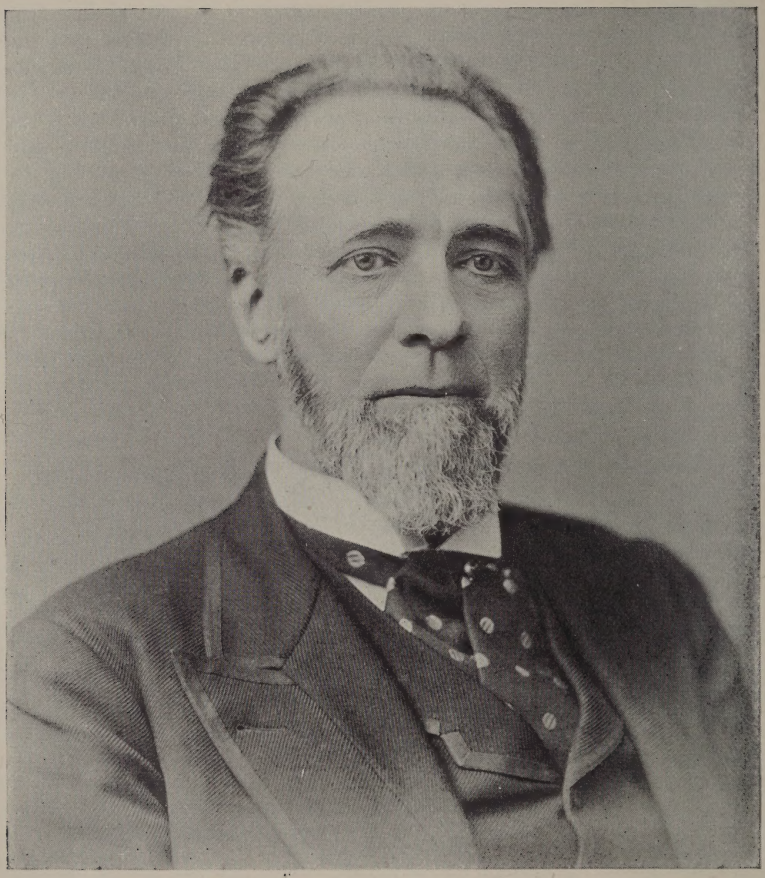
Mr. Teller has recently created a great sensation in the United States Senate by his bold and brave stand in behalf of the people and his merciless exposure of the shams of the party to which he had been allied for over forty years. In the course of this memorable address Senator Teller observed:

In all these discussions the senator has sought to make the public believe that the most objectionable feature of this administration, the issue of bonds in time of peace, has grown out of the necessity for more revenue. I find in the public press of the country a very general disposition to attribute the issue of these bonds, amounting to $262,000,000, to a lack of revenue. Particularly is this true of the party to which I am attached. All their public statements, and as a rule the statements of the Eastern press, have approved of the issue of bonds, and have excused it on the ground that it was necessary because there was not sufficient revenue; and of course they come back to the charge against the Democratic party, that it is responsible because the revenue is deficient.

Mr. President, before I go into the question whether these bonds have been issued because of a lack of revenue, I want to go back to 1890, when the Democratic party was not responsible for legislation and the Republican party was. We passed then what has been known as the McKinley law, a law which seems just now to be in great favor and very popular, although I believe it cost us the following election.

The McKinley law did not provide a sufficiency of revenue; everybody knows that it did not, and I think it but fair and honest to say that if there had been no change of administration there would still have been a deficiency of revenue under that law. I am of opinion myself, and I believe it can be thoroughly demonstrated, that the present tariff law will produce as much revenue as will be needed *whenever prosperity comes to this country*.

No revenue law, no collection of imports, which is fairly levied,



UNITED STATES SENATOR H. M. TELLER OF COLORADO.

fairly laid, and fairly collected, will bring to this country a sufficient income until conditions change and the people are ready to buy and consume. This is the first subject to which the statesmen of this country should direct their attention; that is the first thing which is absolutely necessary and essential. We must bring back to this country the prosperity which formerly existed and ought still to exist in this country.

I know, Mr. President, that as a Republican it may be considered to be my duty from a partisan standpoint to insist that the lack of prosperity is the result of a Democratic administration. I do not so believe.

How does the senator from Ohio expect, by increasing the duties upon imports and thus keeping them out of the country, to increase the revenues of the country? The trouble is that not enough imports are coming in to keep up the revenues. The senator from Ohio says the way to get more revenue is to put on additional taxes and have less imports come in. I agree with him as to the wisdom of fewer imports. I do not wish to see this country flooded with foreign imports. I should

be glad myself to see some other method of raising revenue adopted. There are many ways in which we could get the revenue. We could get it by a tax upon beer. We could get it by a number of methods that would not have brought into this chamber a conflict between the two parties, which are divided upon the question of protection and non-protection.

There is nobody in this chamber, there is nobody in this country who knows better than the senator from Ohio that the sale of not a dollar of bonds was necessitated by lack of revenue. We have not sold bonds when anybody could pretend that we were in danger of not being able to meet our obligations. We have sold bonds with a full treasury. We have sold bonds with more than any other nation in the world can show to its credit. There has been no time, so says the President, that it was necessary to sell bonds. I will read what the President of the United States has said upon this subject. In the President's annual message he said:

> In the present stage of our difficulty, it is not easy to understand how the amount of our revenue receipts directly affects it.

Speaking of the financial condition:

> The important question is not the quantity of money received in revenue payments, but the kind of money we maintain, and our ability to continue in sound financial condition. We are considering the government's holdings of gold as related to the soundness of our money and as affecting our national credit and monetary strength.

I need not read it all. He says further on:

> It cannot, therefore, be safe to rely upon increased revenues as a cure for our present troubles.
>
> It is possible that the suggestion of increased revenue as a remedy for the difficulties we are considering may have originated in an intimation or distinct allegation that the bonds which have been used ostensibly to replenish our gold reserve were really issued to supply insufficient revenue. Nothing can be further from the truth.
>
> Bonds were issued to obtain gold for the maintenance of our national credit. As has been shown, the gold thus obtained has been drawn again from the treasury upon United States notes and treasury notes.

Skipping — I need not read it all —

> At no time when bonds have been issued has there been any consideration of paying the expenses of the government with their proceeds.

Here is the declaration of the President of the United States that at no time when bonds have been issued have they been necessitated by the lack of money.

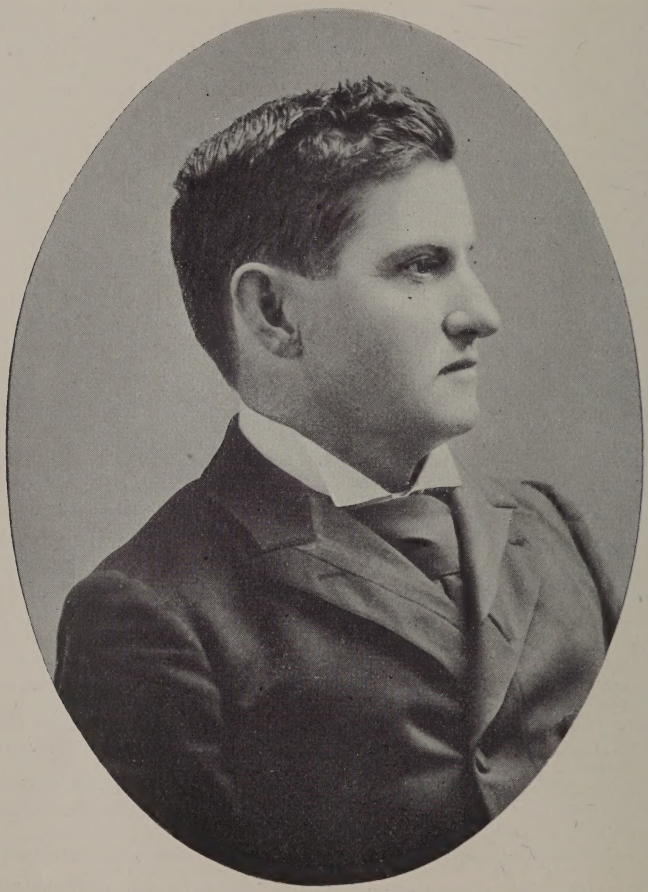
The Secretary of the Treasury comes with his report and makes the same statement. In February, the Government of the United States issued $100,000,000 of bonds.

> The cash balance in the treasury on the first day of December, 1895, was $177,406,386.62, being $98,072,420.30 in excess of actual gold reserve on that day.
>
> While the situation does not require any legislation for raising additional revenue for taxation at this time, it is such as to require the strictest economy in appropriations and public expenditures.

Mr. President, that is a condition that must always exist in this country. I think that is a condition that always has existed. That is an obligation that has always rested upon every man connected with this body and the other — "strict economy in appropriations and public expenditures."

And so on.

I do not know what the deficiency is going to be this year, but I do know that the deficiencies on the twenty-eighth day of April for the year were $24,247,517.83. On that day we had $273,522,338 in the treasury. I repeat, there is not a nation on the face of the earth that holds $273,000,000 in its treasury for ordinary purposes. If there is such a nation at all it is Russia, that is stated to have accumulated a large amount, nobody knows how much, for war purposes — not to be used except in case of an emergency for war. There is more money in the treasury than the people of the United States are willing should be put there and there tied up. Every dollar of money that is put into the treasury comes out of the



SENATOR BENJAMIN F. TILLMAN OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

circulation that is necessary in this country to maintain even the present bad conditions of commerce and trade. Inside of twenty-seven months you have put into the treasury $200,000,000 that had been in circulation. You drew out of the circulation of this country $200,000,000 and put it where it is of no more value to commerce and trade than it would be if it were in the depths of the sea.

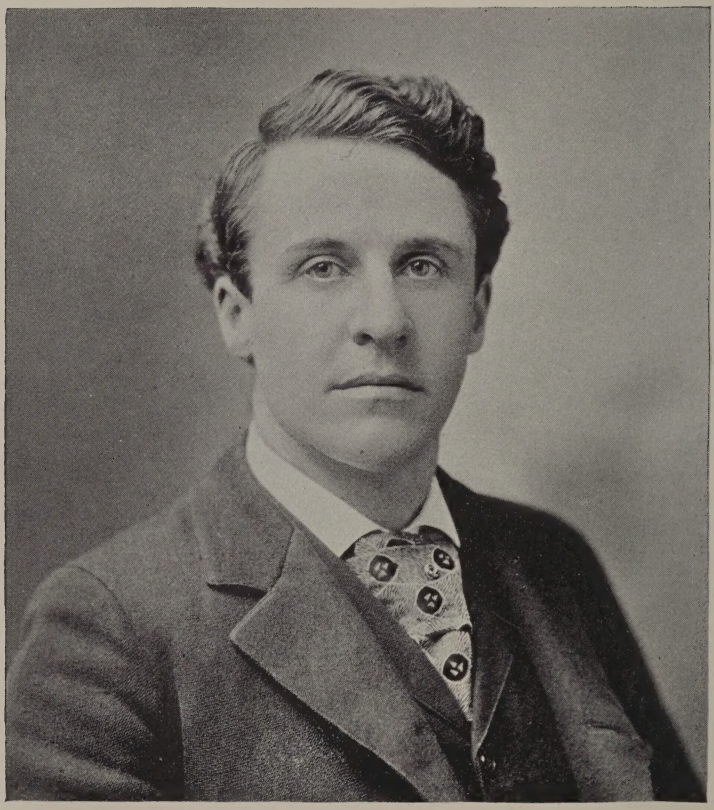
And yet, Mr. President, senators rise here and wonder why it is that business does not revive, why it is that prosperity does not come to us. We have had contraction at the rate of $100,000,000 a year, contraction since the 1st of February this year of $100,000,000, apparently in ignorance of a well-known and well-settled principle of political economy, that when you decrease the circulation of the money you destroy prices and you discourage enterprise and retard all movements toward production.

Mr. President, if there ever was a nation in the world that seems to be governed by imbeciles and men without thought or men without rea-

GEORGE WILSON, PRESIDENT OF THE OLDEST BANK OF MISSOURI.

son, it is fair to say we are now in the hands of that class of people. *The history of the world does not show such contraction as we have voluntarily and deliberately and willingly taken it upon ourselves to create for the simple purpose of maintaininy the gold standard, and nothing else.*

The senator from Ohio (Mr. Sherman) knows, and every man in this chamber knows, that the $262,000,000 is a debt put upon this country to maintain the gold standard. And he knows, as I know,



GEORGE P. KEENEY

that the $262,000,000 is but the beginning of a debt that is to be put upon us if the gold standard is to be maintained. It will not do for the senator to tell me or any one else in this chamber that revenue is what you want. What you want, Mr. President, is some system of finance that shall bring confidence to the people who create and produce, that shall encourage them in the belief that when they manufacture an article they want to sell they can sell it for as much at least as it cost. The absolute certainty exists to-day in every productive circle in the United States, and pretty nearly in the world, that he who produces to-day must sell to-morrow at a loss.

Mr. President, the financial question is at the bottom of this trouble, not a lack of revenues. I do not intend myself to allow either the senator from Ohio or anybody else to fool the people of this country with the idea that all you need is to pass the McKinley Bill again and that then prosperity will come. You will never see the McKinley Bill re-enacted, and if you did, you would not see prosperity come from it. We have been promised all these years that if we would do this and if we would do the other thing, prosperity would be at our door. Every promise made has failed.

I know that there is traversing the country and shouting a band of men who have labelled their candidate "the advance agent of prosperity." Mr. President, the people who look to him as the saviour will find that they have been deluded and deceived. The agent of prosperity will not come into sight until this system of finance of ours is changed.

These extracts, coming from one of the ablest senators of the Republican party, are no less memorable than the position taken by United States Senator Benjamin F. Tillman in his address in the Senate some time since, which so alarmed the gold ring of America that he instantly came into a greater share of calumny, slander, misrepresentation, and abuse than has been meted out to any man since the days of Andrew Jackson. I have quoted extensively from Senator Teller's speech from the fact that the abridged and garbled reports which appeared, where notice of this memorable speech was permitted to appear at all, so thoroughly inadequately described the masterly statements and the position taken by the senator from Colorado, that I felt our readers would be interested in noting the facts with which he confronted Senator Sherman and the present discredited administration.

Of Senator Tillman I would merely say that many people have judged him and his alleged utterances from the scurrilous editorials of the gold press, but the great, and I might say almost unprecedented, ovations tendered him in his recent tours through the West and South by the masses have shown how thoroughly the people are aroused and how futile have been the calumnies and abuses of the gold press of the United States in its studied effort to discredit him, — an effort which strikingly reminds one of the attack of the defenders of the national bank on Andrew Jackson.

Mr. George Wilson, president of the oldest bank in the State of Missouri, is another much-talked-of patriot at the present time. He has for years been a close student of finance, was a life-long Democrat until a few years since, when, after becoming thoroughly satisfied that his party had gone over to the principles of Hamilton and were vying with the Republican party in subserviency to the gold power in its attempt to enslave the wealth creators of the United States, he became convinced, as are the majority of *disinterested* statesmen, economists, and students who have carefully investigated our monetary system, that our yielding to England's financial domination has resulted in not only hard times, but a continuous lowering of prices of our wealth products and a succession of panics; hence he left the party of his lifetime because he could not conscientiously longer be a party to an organization which was fostering trusts, monopolies, and industrial serfdom.

On May 19 J. Edward Simmons, Esq., president of the Fourth National Bank of New York, said in discussing the political situation, "Panic! We have been so deep in a hole for three years that things cannot get any lower." * This fact was realized by Mr. Wilson, although he was a banker, some time ago. None knew better than he that anything that brought about the stagnation in business which has been com-

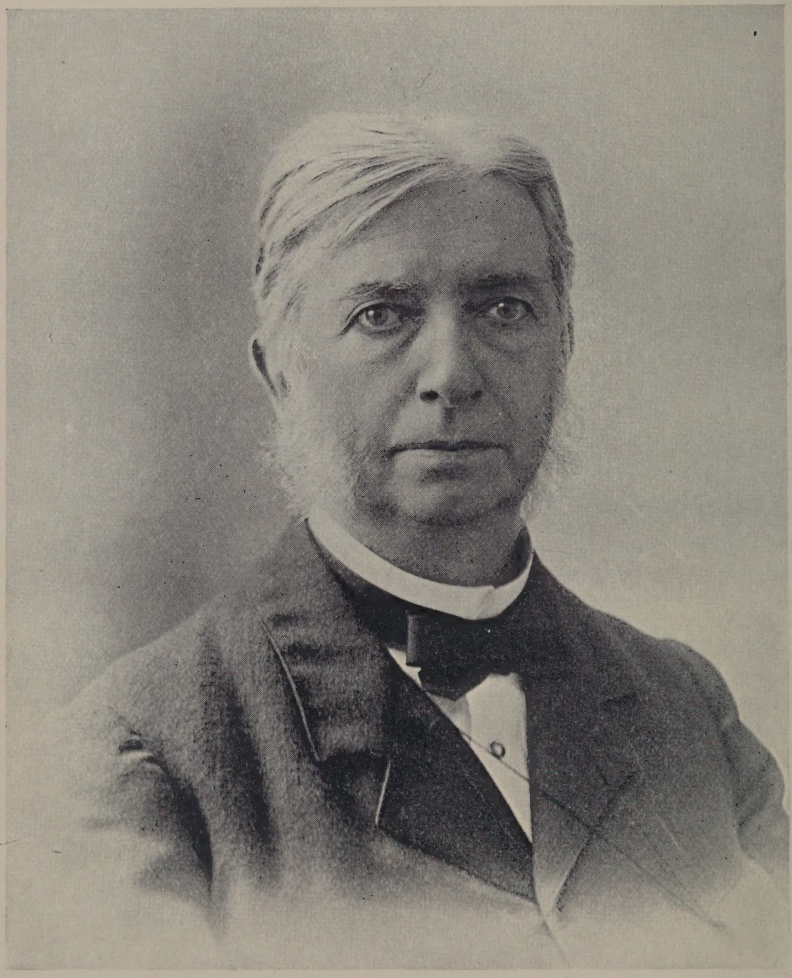
* Boston *Daily Herald*, May 20, 1896.

ing upon us like creeping paralysis ever since the retirement of the greenbacks and demonetization of silver, would ultimately affect the bankers, merchants, and manufacturers, as well as the farmers and artisans. Hence he had the patriotism and manhood and the spirit of true democracy to refuse to further worship the shell from which the soul had fled. Mr. Wilson is a ripe scholar and profound student, even outside of finance, — something rather rare at the present time among men who are engaged in special pursuits.

Another man of exceptional ability as an organizer, who has made himself greatly feared by the plutocracy of the East and has accomplished very marked results in unifying the patriotic forces of the North Atlantic region, is Mr. George P. Keeney, national organizer of the American silver forces. As I have before observed, he is one of those rare men who know how to organize and carry victory with them. His work has been marked by rare sagacity, a broad, comprehensive grasp of complex situations, and that peculiar power of a general who quickly sees the strong and weak points of the opposing forces, and also understands how to meet obstacles, and when to speak and when to be quiet. The complete overthrow of the Southern Pacific's choice of mayor for San Francisco was very largely due to the splendid generalship, excellent tact, and indefatigable efforts of this natural born organizer. He impresses me as a man raised up for an important work in this important crisis in our history.

But Senator Teller, the Western Republican, Senator Tillman, the Southern Democrat, and Mr. Wilson, the Missouri banker, who belongs to the People's party, and Mr. Keeney, the national organizer of the silver forces, are only types of millions of thoughtful men and determined patriots throughout the South and West who are firm in their convictions that the people at last *shall be free; that the domination of the gold power and the servitude of America to England shall cease.* These are representative men among millions of voters who propose to place country above party in the great struggle of the present, which may be aptly termed the second Valley Forge of the American struggle for independence; realizing as they do that we are in the midst of a conflict involving the very life of republican institutions; and what has been accomplished in the past in the way of betrayals and equivocations will prove absolutely futile in the great contest which is now pending. These men are the representatives of the democracy of Jefferson, the republicanism of Lincoln, or, in other words, the best element of three great parties who are thoroughly determined that the next President of the United States shall be an *American in fact as well as in word.*

BROOKLINE PUBLIC LIBRARY



George Cumings Gill

BROOKLINE PUBLIC LIBRARY.

THE ARENA.

No. LXXXI.

AUGUST, 1896.

THE TELEGRAPH MONOPOLY.

BY PROF. FRANK PARSONS.

VIII.

EVILS OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM (*continued*).

Our present telegraph system is a menace to the national strength in time of war. The telegraph is one of the most important instruments of war, and the nation ought to own the system on military grounds even if there were no other reason. This argument was presented by the Committee on Ways and Means in 1845 (House Rep. 187, 28–2), was urged upon Congress by Postmaster-Generals Cave Johnson and Creswell (whose views were approved by John Wanamaker in 1890),[1] and doubtless had something to do with Gen. Grant's advocacy of national ownership of the telegraph. The telegraph is the nervous system of the nation. What sort of a nation is it that does not own its own nervous system? Imagine A in a fight with B having to ask a third man C to send a message to his (A's) foot to kick B. C might not be much interested in A's success, or he might even be friendly with B, and the message would be apt to be delayed and the kick come off too late to do A any good. C might even give B a hint of the message before it was sent to A's foot, or he might send a message that would make the foot kick some other part of A's anatomy. We have seen as an actual fact that during the Rebellion the Government's messages to the troops were not safe in the hands of the private telegraph. To a large extent during the war and since, the Government has found it necessary to build its own military lines, thus establishing two systems where one federal plant

1 Wanamaker's Arg. pp. 150, 154.

would be amply sufficient to do the whole business military and civil. It is true that in time of war the Government has the right to impress the telegraph into its service, but this is a very expensive and inefficient plan. The servant of C is not as good a medium for A's business as A's own servant. Men selected and paid by Jay Gould cannot be relied on to serve the Government as well as men selected and paid by the Government. If so, why not let the king of the Western Union choose the soldiers and pay and discharge them as well as the operators? No general would care to fight the nation's battles with regiments selected and paid by Gould and subject to his discharge. And a private telegraph impressed by the Government would be as inferior to a consolidated system owned by the Government and manned by its servants, as armies hired, paid, disciplined, and discharged by Gould, Vanderbilt and company would be inferior to the Grand Army of the Republic.

A private telegraph system is not merely a weakness in war time, it constitutes even in time of peace a very serious breach of the law of coherence, which is a most important element in social strength and evolution. What cohesion is to a bar of iron, social coherence is to a nation, — wherever antagonisms or repellent forces are at work among the molecules there is a weakness that may in case of strain produce a break. Unity of interest is the cement, the cohesive force that binds the molecules of society together and makes the whole compact and strong. If there's a place in the iron where cohesion is weak, we call it a flaw. The antagonism of interest between the public and a giant corporation constitutes a similar weakness, — a dangerous flaw in the structure of society. The antagonism between the corporation and its employees is another flaw. Every great combination of capital or labor that exists for a selfish purpose is like a big knot in a board,— it may be very solid and strong in itself, but it weakens the board, — the lines between itself and the rest of the structure are lines of cleavage.

The case is even worse than these analogies would indicate. The areas of antagonism above referred to are not merely flaws, they are areas of corrosion as well — they constitute not only a weakness, but a scene of destructive warfare among the molecules and groups of molecules. For fifty years the line between the Western Union and

the public has been a line of battle. Investigation after investigation has been made, clouds of witnesses have been called, enormous expense has been entailed. In Congress after Congress the war has been waged. Miles of petitions have been circulated, tons of matter printed, years of speeches delivered, hundreds of thousands of dollars and incalculable energies wasted.[2] Capital, too, has fought the great monopoly to conquer the right to share its enormous gains. Millions of dollars have been spent to build entirely useless competing lines for the sole purpose of worrying the monopolists into buying up the said lines and admitting their projectors to membership in the Western Union. Labor also has added the wastes of its own rebellions to all the rest. Twice the joint between the company and its employees has broken open clear across the continent, and it has cost a deal of money to pay the damages and get the breaks patched up. All the physical wastes and the spiritual neglects, retardations, and debasements that have resulted from these various antagonisms would have been avoided had the Federal Government followed Henry Clay's advice and established a national telegraph in 1844. Weakness, waste, and demoralization result from antagonism of interest. Strength,

---

2 The very separation of the work of transmitting intelligence into two distinct branches necessitates waste and conflict. The post office and the telegraph belong together as being parts of the same business. To sever the carrying of intelligence by wire from the carrying of intelligence by mail, and establish a separate plant for each part of the work, is about as sensible as it would be to sever the carrying of passengers and the carrying of freight, and establish a separate plant for each part of the railroad business, — no, it is not quite so sensible, for the post office and the telegraph subtract from each other, and so add direct aggression to the indirect aggression of economic waste — in the hands of a progressive management the already great subtraction might easily go so far that the telegraph would rob the post office of the larger part of its most profitable business, the letter mail between large cities, and leave it only the inferior letter mail and the book and paper carriage on which it makes a heavy loss. Postmaster-General Cave Johnson clearly understood the aggression which the telegraph in private hands has made upon the postal business, and the further aggression which it has power to make by lowering rates and adopting more rapid methods between the centres of population. He said in 1845-6: "The department created under the Constitution and designed to exercise exclusive power for the transmission of intelligence, must necessarily be superseded in much of its most important business if the telegraph be permitted to remain under the control of individuals. . . . It becomes, then, a question of great importance how far the Government will allow individuals to divide with it the business of transmitting intelligence — an important duty confided to it by the Constitution necessarily and properly exclusive. Experience teaches that if individual enterprise is allowed to perform such portions of the business of the Government as it may find for its advantage, the Government will soon be left to perform unprofitable portions of it only, and must be driven to abandon it entirely, or carry it on at a heavy tax upon the treasury."

economy, and development come from unity of interest, partnership, co-operation, public ownership.[3]

The root of nearly all our difficulties with the telegraph is the simple fact that the business is owned by *a great selfish monopoly in private control.*[4] No one of these elements alone would cause the mischiefs we have complained of, but all combined are capable of any conceivable demonism. In the open field of competition, the battle between a given individual or corporation, C, and others in the same business produces in some degree a unity of interest between C and the public he serves, — the public interest requires good service at low cost, and C's interest requires that he shall give good service at low cost, because, under real competition, that is the only way he can outstrip his rivals — it is a unity dearly bought, being purchased by endless wastes and demoralizations incident to the struggles between employer and employer and employee and employer, and it is not a complete, hearty, spontaneous, reliable unity, but a partial, reluctant, compulsory, rebellious unity — yet it is a unity of real advantage to the public and vastly preferable to the antago-

[3] Unify the interests of men in such a way that they can know and feel the unity, and they will work together in the common interest. Through unity of interest a lasting coherence and harmonious co-operation is gained. Society is built on such unities and co-operations, and civilization is measured by the proportion they bear to the total of human interests and activities. Unity of interest in respect to a property or business requires common ownership; for if one owns and another does not, the interests of the two will be diverse, — the former desiring income from the property, the latter desiring good service at as low a cost as possible. In the case of a property or business affecting a city, State, or nation, the common ownership requisite to unity of interest is ownership by the city, State, or nation affected, *i. e.*, public ownership.

[4] It would probably be enough to say "a great monopoly in private control." In the present state of civilization, the chance that a private monopoly of the telegraph would be managed in an unselfish and philanthropic spirit is hardly one in a billion. Men who think first of the service they can render their fellow-men and second of personal profit do not accumulate sufficient wealth to buy the control of the telegraph. Men who do acquire vast property do not regard it as a public trust, — we have not got that far yet — our youth are not trained that way, — they are taught that it is right to get all they can out of private property — they would not take a man by the throat and compel him to hand over his earnings, they would call that highway robbery, but they will use the mighty power of accumulated wealth in the presence of needy labor to compel multitudes of men to hand over their earnings and do it with a clear conscience — and therein appears one great advantage of public property — the code of morals we teach those same young men impresses upon them the truth that public property is to be administered for the public good and that it is a fraud to use public property and position for individual aggrandizement, — the very same man that will administer private wealth with sole regard to private profit will conscientiously administer public wealth with sole regard to service, — with him the rule is private wealth for private profit and public wealth for public profit, profit in the latter case being identical with service, — the true rule is, both private wealth and public for the service of humanity.

nism that results when C and his rivals combine into a great monopoly and turn all their guns on the public and the employees, who have no longer any competing concern to resort to in case of high rates or bad service on the part of C. The antagonism between C and his rivals affords a certain protection to the public. Unifying the interests of C and his rivals in a private monopoly opens the gap between them and the public, — transfers the scene of hostilities. Instead of C *vs.* C_1, in a race to please the public, and trip each other up, the case becomes C + C_1 *vs.* the public. The public says, "That won't do, you rascals; stop that union business and go to racing and fighting again; I've got no chance if you join against me." Anti-trust laws are passed and ringing decisions are rendered against monopoly, but every day new combinations are formed, in obedience to the great law of industrial gravitation — a higher law than any that Congress can make — a law which expresses the irresistible attraction between rival concerns arising from a clear understanding of the enormous saving of industrial force and the vast increase of profits to be derived from union and co-operation. When men became intelligent enough to understand the advantages of working together in groups of tens, hundreds, or thousands, great factories were built and large corporations were organized. Now that men are becoming intelligent enough to understand the advantages of more extensive combinations, colossal trusts and monopolies are being constructed. A little further along the road mankind will know enough to make the union all inclusive and thus secure to the fullest extent the benefits of combination and co-operation without the disadvantage of any outstanding antagonism or residual conflict to be intensified by the growth of union on either side of the line.

The public is pinched by private monopoly; it got along better with free competition; but the remedy is not to go backward to competition, but forward to fuller co-operation, — keep the monopoly, for it means internal economy, but make it a public monopoly instead of a private one, so that it may mean justice as well as economy. Stopping the war between C and his rivals with all its wastes and debasements is an admirable thing — but the advantages of the union ought not to be monopolized by a few individuals, nor its strength become a means of extortion in their hands, — the benefits of these unions should be justly distributed over the whole com-

munity, which can only be done satisfactorily and certainly by putting the ownership of the union in the community.

It may be thought that justice and the public good could be attained by careful legislation controlling the telegraph,[5] but that is a mistake — it is easier for the telegraph to control the law than for the law to control the telegraph in the hands of private monopolists. Usually their influence with our legislatures is sufficient to enable them to have the law made as they wish. If not, they can almost always defy it with impunity,— refuse compliance entirely, ignore the statute, or render half-hearted, inefficient, worthless obedience, worse than open defiance, — and if suit is brought to enforce the law they resort to all possible delays, technicalities, and annoyances, escape through the disagreement of a jury or a quibble in the judge's charge, or if at last the case is decided against them, they pay the fine or damages, and keep right on breaking the law, quite ready to have the litigation all over again as many times as may be necessary to tire out their enemies. Two laws only are strong enough to grapple with corporate monopoly — the law that forfeits the franchise for unlawful conduct, and the law that takes the franchise for public use, — those are the laws we must get enforced, for they alone can do the work with certainty and completeness. Regulation is a clumsy, costly failure. You pay one man to do the work and another man to watch him. You hire a horse to draw your load and then engage another horse to run alongside and kick the first one if he balks or bites his mate or throws mud over the dasher. You don't get rid of the antagonism of interest between the monopoly and the

---

[5] National legislation forbidding the consolidation of telegraph lines and the watering of stock is suggested by some who recognize a portion of the evils of the present *régime*, but do not wish to change the system entirely. In regard to this suggestion the New Haven *Palladium* says: "The ineffectiveness of legislation to prevent the consolidation of competing railways has too often been illustrated to leave any ground for expecting lasting relief from that source. As in the past so in the future will corporations find a way to circumvent the law. The only hope is in a competition that can neither be bought off nor consolidated out of existence. The Government alone can secure such competition by constructing a postal telegraph." We may add that the law of 1866 expressly forbade consolidation of telegraph companies, but it has not had the slightest effect, — the companies have consolidated regardless of the law. For statements by Mr. Hubbard, Mr. McCabe, and others showing the impossibility of stopping discrimination by regulative measures, see I. T. U. Hearings, 29, 33, and 46. The Hon. Marion Butler hit the nail on the head as usual when he said that regulation was "merely attempting to palliate something without removing the cause that is hostile to good government." *Id.* 46. As for the absolute economies that would be effected by union with the post office, no one dreams that they could be achieved by regulation.

public, you only give the monopoly a new motive to corrupt your officials, and add a few names to the salary list you have to pay. Even without corruption the monopoly can often evade the law. It can keep its books in such a way as to give an appearance of value to stock that is really water. Once issued and sold in part to *bona fide* purchasers for value, and the courts will refuse to sustain a law that cuts off reasonable dividends from the stock, water or no water. It is a mere matter of book-keeping to defeat in the courts any law reducing the telegraph tariff to anything like the just level, and as for provisions relating to service or treatment of employees, it would probably cost four times as much to enforce them against an unwilling management as all obtainable results would be worth. The only way that regulative measures could be successful would be to make them so stringent that the directors of the company would become practically the agents of the people, bound to manage the business in the interest of the public. Such measures would amount to confiscation to public use — a sort of public ownership without compensation, for control is the essence of ownership — an unjust public ownership and unstable and inefficient because the trustee would be out of accord with the *cestui*, would serve him unwillingly and take advantage of every opportunity to beat him. As we have before remarked, one D elected and paid by W to serve W, and compelled by G to serve G, will not be as reliable a servant of G as one elected and paid by G. Regulation cannot transform the telegraph into a service of the people carried on for the public benefit instead of the benefit of the magnates, unless the regulation is pushed to practical confiscation, and even then it will be the lame, reluctant, insecure, half-way service of a conquered province. The Interstate Commerce Act and the Anti-Trust law are good examples of the fate awaiting efforts to regulate or control monopolies — dead failures both of them in respect to the main purposes of enactment, — a heavy drain on the public purse, with almost no benefit except the aid the experience gives in teaching our people that regulation will not accomplish the good they desire.

The owner of a business is going to control the business in his own interest, not in your interest. The owner of the drug store down at the corner is not going to sell you goods at cost, he is going to make all he can out of you. You

must go into partnership with him or open a store of your own if you want to get goods at cost and be sure of their quality. It is a good deal better for you to own a flourishing business yourself than to have some one else own it all. And these simple facts are as true of Uncle Sam and the telegraph as they are of you and the drug store. If the people want the telegraph run in their interest they must own the telegraph. If you had a chance to vote yourself into partnership in a business the profits of which were six or eight millions a year, and could do it without injustice to any one since a partnership right at your option was reserved to you in the deed that granted the franchise, wouldn't you cast the vote? I guess you would. Isn't it queer Uncle Sam doesn't do the same thing?

The fact that *private monopoly* is a potent factor in the causation of telegraphic evils is fully recognized in the reports and discussions of the subject. The Committee on Railroads said:

> In order to intelligently conclude as to the proper remedy for the evils sought to be cured, to wit, the great existing monopoly of the business of transmitting telegraph despatches, etc.[6]

Postmaster-General John Wanamaker told the Bingham committee that the Western Union "practically controls the business of telegraphing in this country and between the United States and foreign countries."[7] And in his printed argument he quotes approvingly the words of Isidor Rayner, chairman of the Committee on Commerce:

> The great question that underlies the discussion of this measure [the Glover telegraph bill] is whether we are not in the hands of a monopoly that not only has the right to fix its charges arbitrarily, but can crush opposition whenever it encounters it. Of these monopolies I submit that the telegraph system of this country, substantially owned and controlled by one man, is the worst and most dangerous of them all. . . . It is no longer safe or expedient to intrust into the hands of one overpowering monopoly the telegraphic business of this country. It is a power that not only can be used, but has been perverted for purposes hostile to the best interests of the people. The markets of the country, its finances, and its commercial interests to so large an extent depend upon the honest and honorable administration of the management of the business of this company that the people are in no mood to repose a trust of this character any longer without competition in the hands of a stock-jobbing corporation, whose managers, in the nature of things, have not the slightest

---

6 Sen. Rep. 805, 45–3, p. 1.

7 Bingham Hearings, p. 2.

interest for the public good, but are alone concerned in the aggrandizement of their own fortunes.[8]

It is true that the Western Union is not the only company in operation — there are little companies here and there that do a small local business, and there is the Mackay concern, delusively called the Postal Telegraph Company, which is the only outstanding system capable of substantial competition with the Western Union, and with it the Western Union has an agreement that prevents competition. Wanamaker says:

> Many telegraph companies have been established from time to time, but to-day there are but two independent companies. All but one have been in some form identified with the one corporation, and the one to be excepted, that is not yet known to have surrendered, is admittedly operated in concert with the other by joint traffic agreement.[9]

The Western Union has also "a compact with the Bell Telephone Company by which the Bell Company is restricted in the use of the telephone so that it will not come into competition with the telegraph."[10] The Western Union has contracts with the railways excluding other telegraph companies from the privileges enjoyed by the Western Union in respect to right of way, freight rates on poles, wire, etc.[11] We have already seen how the understanding between the telegraph monopoly and the news monopoly works to sustain both and

---

[8] House Rep. 955, 50–1, p. 2; Wanamaker's Arg. p. 5; I. T. U. Hearings, p. 34; *The Voice*, Aug. 8, 1895, p. 1.

[9] Postmaster-General's Rep., Dec. 5, 1892, p. 24. The admission of the existence of such an agreement between the two companies was made by Dr. Norvin Green, president of the Western Union, in his second testimony before the Bingham committee, p. 2. See also I. T. U. Hearings, p. 39, statement of Congressman Maguire: "The Western Union Telegraph Company and the Postal Telegraph Company, having completed their systems, and finding that there was still a very large margin which they could divide between them above interest on the actual cost of the plants of both companies, *formed a sort of pool*, and proceeded to charge the old prices, rendering practically no better service than was rendered originally by the old company, and not at all benefiting the people."

[10] Victor Rosewater, in *The Voice*, Aug. 29, 1895, p. 1. See *Elec. Eng.*, Aug. 28, 1895.

[11] Testimony of Dr. Green before the Hill committee. See Sen. Rep. 577, or the quotation in *The Voice*, June 6, 1895, p. 8. Railway men tell me that the interlocking of railway and Western Union interests would of itself render successful competition with the Western Union an impossibility in respect to the greater part of the country. In many cases the Western Union builds lines and supplies machinery, railway employees run the offices, transact railway and commercial business, turn over fifty per cent of the receipts to the Western Union, and carry all Western Union material and employees free. On the other hand, the Western Union contracts to forward railway messages free. The managers of the Western Union have great railway interests, — the managers of railways are largely interested in the Western Union and its profits. As against the people, the railroads and the telegraph constitute substantially one corporation.

"make them," as the Hill committee says, "practically, as against the general public, a single corporation." [12]

Mr. McKinley said to the Bingham committee:

> The Western Union Telegraph Company have appeared here against this bill [the Wanamaker bill, merely asking that the Post Office might have the right to rent wires from a private company, — from the Western Union if they would supply the lines]. We are not surprised at the attitude of this company in relation to the proposed legislation. They know the profits on the business and hence will do their utmost to keep competition out of the field. They desire the monopoly of the telegraph business of the future as they have had it in the past. They therefore will, as a matter of business, place every obstruction in the way of this contemplated legislation.[13]

Such are a few of the many striking passages dealing with the monopolistic character of our telegraph system.

It is this fact of a virtual monopoly in private hands that has enabled the Western Union to continue its exorbitant charges, its poor service, its suppression of inventions,[14] its tyranny over the press, and its enormous power and profit. Competition among private companies is out of the question — it has been tried scores of times and has always failed because the companies find it more profitable to combine than to fight — the Kilkenny cat performance may be very amusing to the public, but is not so satisfactory to the cats. With private competition wasteful and impossible, and private monopoly fraught with danger and pregnant with evil, there is nothing left but public ownership.

---

[12] Sen. Rep. 577. *The Voice*, May 30, 1895, p. 8. I. T. U. Hearings, p. 6. "The moment this bill [establishing a postal telegraph] becomes a law, that moment will the news monopoly be broken."

[13] Bingham Hearings, McKinley's testimony, p. 29.

[14] Postmaster-General Wanamaker, in his argument, pp. 11, 143–5, gives a list of sixteen inventions practically suppressed in one way or another by the Western Union. They are of little value to the country at present, because they are shelved and refused admittance to their proper place in active service. Some of them are potentially of vital importance, and if given their true place as part of the active telegraph plant of the country, would cheapen and quicken and improve the transmission of intelligence to an astonishing degree (as will appear hereafter); but the people cannot have the benefit of them in any substantial degree until the Western Union has got the wear out of its old plant. Mr. Wanamaker says: "I have had enumerated perhaps a score of devices already patented for the purpose of cheapening and quickening the telegraph service, which find no use and no profit under the present conditions. I am sure that many of these inventions are good, but they cannot be got into operation with the field monopolized. The public cannot have the benefit of this rare class of brains, nor can the inventors find a deserved remuneration for their work. The Western Union Company having control of the telegraph business has no use for devices which cheapen and quicken the telegraph service and warrant a claim for reduction of rates (at least if the adoption of the invention would throw the present lines and machinery out of use to a large extent, and so cut

The last point to which the plaintiffs invite the attention of the honorable court upon this branch of the subject is the fact that *private monopoly means taxation without representation.* The monopolist is able to charge more than his service would be worth in a fair competitive market.[15] The difference is not given in exchange for value received, but is a tribute to power, — a tax levied by a privileged class, industrial kings and aristocrats, and collected from the people by compulsion of their necessities — a tax that is levied and collected by a power in which the people have no representation and in sums so great that the tax in resistance to which the patriots of '76 took arms was but a trifle in comparison, — a tax for private purposes without even the pretence of being levied for the public good. Ponder well this startling fact, that private monopoly involves the power of taxation *without representation* and for *private purposes*, — a power which the legislature cannot lawfully confer upon any man or set of men, because it does not possess any such power itself. It can tax or authorize taxation for *public* purposes

a slice out of the company's investment, making considerable expenditure necessary for a new plant in harmony with the improved methods of transmission). The public, not knowing what it misses, cannot become aroused to the defects in methods now in vogue. If once a break is made in this rampart of telegraph monopoly, not only will the men and women who build and use the telegraph find a better market for their skill, but inventors, knowing that their cases are to be tried before an impartial court, will also find a spur to better efforts." (Wan. Arg. p. 11.) The Western Union did adopt the quadruplex twenty-five years ago, because it greatly increased the capacity of their wires with scarcely any additional expense, but since that it has made no advance, except to import the Wheatstone system from England and use it to a small extent.

Among the inventions kept out of use are multiplex systems by which eight, twelve, or even twenty messages can be sent on a single wire; simultaneous systems by which the same wire may be used at the same time for telegraphic and telephonic communications; autographic systems by which the message is reproduced in the handwriting of the sender, and a diagram or picture may be sent by telegraph; printing systems which transmit the message in Roman characters instead of dots and dashes; automatic systems which send thousands of words a minute without any operator at all, the messages being written on typewriters in the telegraph office (or the office of the merchant, lawyer, etc., who sends them), put into a machine (just as a roll of music is put into an orchestrion), and reproduced at the other end in Morse characters or Roman letters corresponding with the original, a whole sheet full in a few seconds at a cost not exceeding 5 cents per 100 words, a fact established after ample experiment and attested by authorities of the highest character, as will be shown hereafter. No wonder Congressman Charles Sumner told the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, March 25, 1884, that "The Western Union has suppressed inventions," adding, "It has done so systematically."

[15] Under real competition consumers pay the actual cost of the service plus a moderate profit; under monopoly they pay the actual cost plus all the traffic will bear. Competition tends toward the lowest price that will allow capital any interest sufficient to induce it to work. Monopoly tends toward the highest price the people will pay rather than go without the monopolist's service.

only,[16] and taxation for the benefit of an enterprise in *private control* is not for a public but for a private purpose, and is beyond the sphere of legislative power.[17] It follows that every grant of a franchise or special privilege is a breach of trust, an act in excess of the authority possessed by the agents of the people, a violation of the fundamental principles of free government, because it tends to establish a monopoly, which, as we have seen, involves taxation without representation and for private purposes, a double infringement of freedom. For centuries the courts have recognized the inherent injustice of monopolies and have declared them void.[18] Even the sovereign power of Queen Elizabeth was held incompetent to create monopolies, because they were detrimental to the interests of the people. By what authority, then, can it be done by the agents of the people elected to conserve their interests? It is fundamental law that an agent must be loyal to the interests of his principal.

The fact is that those who have obtained turnpike, canal, railroad, telegraph, telephone, etc., privileges were cunning enough to call them "franchises," obscure by specious argu-

---

16 United States Supreme Court in 20 Wallace, at 664, 106 U. S. 487. See also 58 Me. 590, 2 Dill. 353; Cooley on Taxation, p. 116, and cases there cited.

17 Judge Dillon in 27 Ia. 51. See also 58 Me. 590.

18 11 Coke, 84 *b*; 79 Ill. 346, at 350; 35 Oh. St. 666; 50 N. J. Eq. 52, and 68 Pa. St. 173, on the coal combine; State *vs.* Standard Oil Co., 30 N. E. Rep. 279, 290, Oh. March, 1892; Gibbs *vs.* Consolidated Gas Co. of Baltimore, 130 U. S. 396; People *vs.* Chicago Gas Trust, 22 N. E. Rep. 279, Ill. Nov. 26, 1889; see also 121 Ill. 530; Richardson *vs.* Buhl, 77 Mich. 632, The Diamond Match Trust case; The Sugar Trust cases, 7 N. Y. Sup. 406, and 156 U. S. 1, 11, and 29 Neb. 700 (May 28, 1890), The Whiskey Trust case; all affirming that trusts, pools, combinations, and contracts of all kinds that tend to create or maintain a monopoly are void as against public policy. It is established law that the grant of a franchise to a private corporation is a contract (Dartmouth College case, 4 Wheat. 518), so that not merely the principle but the letter of these decisions covers such grants and declares them void. Yet strange as it may appear these very courts that affirm the legislative grant of a franchise to be a contract and also affirm that all contracts creating monopolies are void, nevertheless sustain monopolies created by the aforesaid grants, — the courts didn't think about their monopoly decisions when they called these grants contracts, they didn't mean to make them subject to that part of the law of contracts, but only to the part that holds the grantor bound. The very same sort of a grant if made to a town or a city is not a contract at all and does not bind the legislature, — for example, the grant of a right to establish a ferry if made to a private corporation is binding and cannot be repealed or altered unless power to do so was expressly reserved, but if made to a town or city the grant may be repealed or altered at the pleasure of the legislature (10 How., U. S. 511; 31 N. Y. 164, 202–3; 16 Conn. 149; 13 Ill. 30, etc. See Dillon on Municipal Corporations, §§ 52, 54, 68). In other words a grant to ten or a dozen individuals incorporated into a company is a sacred obligation, but a grant to a million individuals incorporated into a great city is no obligation at all, — the grant of a telegraph franchise to the Western Union or Gold and Stock Company is an unchangeable contract, but the grant of a telegraph franchise to the city of New York would be changeable and repealable at the pleasure of the State. Grants to private corporations are contracts

ment their real effect, and back them up in court and legislature with powerful influences until the habit of making such grants became established and the weight of precedent came to their aid. The consequence is that we have the curious spectacle of a government creating monopolies with one hand and trying to choke them with the other, — declaring absolutely void all monopolies formed by agreement among men because monopoly is in its nature contrary to public policy, and sustaining exactly similar, in some cases identical, monopolies established by the agents of the people without an atom of authority to do it, but through a flagrant breach of their trust, and in violation of the fundamental principles of free institutions which, as the highest courts are unanimous in declaring, cannot be set aside even by a direct vote of a majority of the people.[19]

The clearest principles of constitutional jurisprudence inherent in the very nature of republican government require its power to be used for public and not for private interests and purposes, — monopoly is against public interest (as appears from its power of limiting freedom of commerce, of exacting more than an equivalent for service rendered, of transferring to B the property of A without consideration, of taxation without representation and for private purposes, — its antagonism to public policy on these and other grounds being fully illustrated and established by the cogent reasoning and strong justice of a long line of decisions from the days of Elizabeth to the present time), therefore the fundamental principles of republican government are broken every time a franchise is granted and every moment a private monopoly is allowed to exist. Equal rights to all, special privileges to none, is the only rule consistent with liberty and justice. It is one of the fundamental axioms of governmental philosophy,

when the court is considering the application of the constitutional provision against impairing contract obligations, and not contracts when the court is considering the principle that contracts tending to create monopolies are against public policy, — contracts so far as necessary to enable the corporations to use the Constitution as a protection against the public, not contracts when it comes to principles intended to protect the public, — contracts when the interests of the private corporation possessing the franchises require them to be, and not contracts when those interests point the other way, — to one not thoroughly familiar with our jurisprudence it might almost seem as though the monopolists had made the law, it favors them so much.

[19] It must be remembered, however, that long acquiescence by practically the whole people and the multitudinous interweaving of the rights of innocent persons has made it impossible now to declare these grants void without great injustice. The people having so long permitted these legislative franchises and monopolies, ought not to confiscate the rights and properties that in good faith have clustered about them or grown out of them.

and was recognized by the most eminent jurists long before the Omaha convention made it the battle-cry of a new crusade. For example, Judge Cooley, whose name yields to none among living jurists, says on page 485 of his great work on Constitutional Limitations:

> Equality of rights, privileges, and capacities unquestionably should be the aim of the law; special privileges are always obnoxious.

Government is a union of all for the benefit of all. It is a co-operative effort to which all classes of the people contribute, and its powers should be used impartially.

If a group of farmers and artisans A, B, C, D, etc., should elect M to direct the affairs of the group, and M should grant X the exclusive privilege of growing wheat, or of grinding it into flour and baking it into bread, it would be equivalent to granting X the right to rob the community each year of an amount equal to what they would pay above cost in preference to living in wheatlessness.[20] It is the same thing in principle for a Congress or a legislature to grant an exclusive telegraph franchise. On the other hand it is wasteful to grant two or more telegraph franchises over the same routes, and ultimately the two or more will unite and establish a substantial monopoly by virtue of their power of crushing opposition. Monopoly there must be; it is wrong for it to be in private hands; therefore it must be in public hands. The people must keep their franchises, or regain them if they have passed into private control. Monopoly involves the power of taxation, which can justly be exercised only by the public for the benefit of the public. Therefore monopoly must belong to the public. The public ownership of the telegraph franchise is demanded by the inexorable logic of justice and liberty, and is an essential corollary from the clearest and most axiomatic principles of constitutional law set forth and expounded century after century by the great jurists of Europe and America.

---

[20] It may be said that the community would still retain the right to regulate the prices that X should charge. That is true, but the right of regulation has to be exercised through M, and X owns M by making M a sharer of his booty; and even if the farmers were fortunate enough to elect an incorruptible man, or wise enough to take into their own hands the right to decide on the question of fair rates, X would still have the courts behind him, and by means of stock-watering, flexible book-keeping, influence, and a "judicious" use of money, he would be pretty safe in the time-honored privilege of monopolistic extortion. If the farmers should by any possibility succeed in fixing the rates to suit themselves, they would simply substitute the injustice of a contract in which the price is fixed by the buyer without competition, in place of the injustice of a contract in which the price is fixed by the seller without competition.

(*To be continued.*)

A REPLY TO "A FINANCIAL SEER."*

BY C. S. THOMAS.

The anonymous correspondent is, generally speaking, an unknown quantity. He loves to attack or to criticise from a hiding-place, whose obscurity gives him confidence and guarantees him impunity. He dreads nothing like responsibility, and loves nothing like the license which its absence imparts. His motives are generally ignoble and frequently tincture his communications with personal reflections and unworthy innuendo. He sometimes makes of himself a passing annoyance, but seldom provokes or deserves a reply to his witticisms, his charges, his assertions, or his arguments.

My impulse on reading your communication was to ignore it. That impulse I should have respected but for one or two considerations which are obvious from slight reflection. Your "uncopyrighted assertions" (I cannot call them arguments) are made with evident sincerity. You also display good judgment in declining to recognize them as

---

* A FINANCIAL SEER'S VIEWS.

Let us suppose that the Congress which convenes in December, 1897, together with the newly elected President, should favor "free silver." They assemble and pass an act for unlimited coinage at the ratio of 16 to 1, to take effect say Jan. 1, 1898. This is just what the advocates of unlimited silver mistakenly think would inaugurate general prosperity. Let us see what would be the *real result*.

The moment that such an enactment became even probable there would be such a deluge of American securities and stocks, corporate, municipal, State, and national, returned from the Old World, that prices would rapidly approximate toward one half of present values. Besides, all stocks and bonds that are more exclusively held in this country would sympathetically decline with them in about the same proportion.

The $650,000,000 of gold coin (more or less) now in the country would at once lose its function as money, and command a high premium. It would rapidly leave the country, and for the time being there would be a contraction of the monetary medium to that amount. No matter how much subsequent inflation might come after a few years of free coinage, the *immediate* effect would be a general collapse and universal paralysis. The panic of 1893 was puny and infantile when compared with the one that would come in 1898. There would be an immediate and tremendous shrinkage of all values, and of labor the most of all. Few who were in debt could pay, but when things really got to the worst, the opportunity for the wealthy to purchase at great bargains would be immense. Thus the already rich would become vastly richer, and the present inequality be greatly increased. There would be general bankruptcy, and for a few years labor would be a drug. Severe as was the panic of 1893, it was comparatively but a mere step (and then arrested) in the direction indicated. After weary months and years, business would slowly emerge from the wreck and chaos.

But in the mean time another current would have started. The silver of the world would be dumped upon the United States, and with greatly increased mint service, in perhaps three or four years an inflation would begin to make itself felt. But even

your offspring. They are not intended for myself particularly, but are to be sown broadcast, to take root in the public mind, and supplant the tares now rioting luxuriantly in that fecund but poorly cultivated soil. Above all, they concisely embody the prevailing objections to a restoration of silver to its legitimate place in the currency of the country, and contain in a nutshell the "case against bimetallism," as stated by Mr. Carlisle and repeated *ad nauseam* by the "sound-money" periodicals of the day. You are therefore not only anonymous, but many-headed and many-mouthed. Hence if I can answer you successfully, I refute not merely one "financial seer," but the multitude who are feeding on the husks of a false economy and starving for the manna of the truth.

You have doubtless observed, my friend, that the monometallic argument *a priori* has failed utterly; that historical precedents do not sustain it; that in practice the single standard is productive of widespread suffering and stagnation. You know that statesmen like Webster and Blaine have denied to Congress the constitutional power to take from either of the money metals its legal-tender, debt-paying function. You also know that when silver was demonetized by the act of Feb. 12, 1873, the silver dollar was worth one hundred and three cents in gold, and that in January, 1878, Congress by joint resolution and by an overwhelming majority in both houses solemnly declared that by their express terms all government obligations were payable at its option in the gold and silver coin of the standard values of July 14, 1870. Knowing these things, you

---

then the increase in values would only be seeming and nominal, for the basis would be silver. Foreign exchange would be about one hundred per cent premium, and all the rise would be only apparent and deceptive.

The final effect of this inflation would be still again to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. All kinds of commodities would *nominally* rise, but what of the man who had no commodities? The property of the millionnaire would be doubled (nominally), and the man who before had nothing would have twice nothing.

Wages, in time, would *apparently* double like everything else, but they are always the last of the procession. Long before that time, every commodity that the laboring man needs would have doubled, and therefore he would be not only relatively but positively worse off than before.

Both by the panic and by the subsequent inflation, therefore, the present inequality would be terribly intensified. The unscrupulous financier, the wrecker, and the shrewd operator would fatten, for they always can take advantage of violent fluctuations, whether upward or downward.

All wage-earners, people on salaries, and every producer, as well as all legitimate business, would suffer, both during the great depression and the final inflation. Unsettled conditions, of whatever nature, always lodge more of the fixed wealth of the country in the hands of those who already have the advantage.

We already have a practical bimetallism, if that be construed as meaning the two metals in liberal supply. This is only possible when the dearer metal is made the standard, and then a certain amount of the inferior metal can be floated at a parity. A FINANCIAL SEER.

have retired from the field of argument, and in reverent imitation of Silas Wegg you have dropped into prophecy. It may pain you to be told that your prophecies are neither modern nor original. I cannot inform you how old they are, because they and others of their kith and kin are always drawn from their kennels and groomed and curried for use whenever the overthrow of a grievous public abuse is demanded in the interest of a suffering humanity. "Rather bear those ills we have than fly to others that we know not of," has long been an illuminated text in the homes of the beneficiaries of oppression. In times of social upheaval and popular discontent there is nothing better for general use than doleful predictions of terrible disaster to the poor and the heavy-laden should their protest against wrong and their cry for relief be heeded. And so it was not strange that in 1878 the opponents of the Bland Bill, and again in 1890 the opponents of free coinage, with doleful visage should have pictured as the consequences of a limited silver-coinage law the very things which you so kindly tell me must occur in 1897 should the money of the Constitution be once more secured to the people. Were these dark omens of disaster verified by the logic of events, or were they intended to "split the ears of the groundlings"?

Before answering these queries, let me ask you why the probability of the enactment of a free-coinage measure would deluge us with those of our securities which the Old World holds. Does it not hold as well securities against silver-using peoples? Are not Argentina and Chili and China bonded to Britain? Did not China float her recent loan in London, with Germany and France clamoring to obtain it? And is not Japanese credit good in Frankfort-on-the-Main? Have not the manipulators of exchange inserted a gold proviso in all our time contracts, and construed one into all Federal obligations? And if the deluge came, would our securities be unloaded at a sacrifice? If they were, would we be economic losers? If they were not, would they be transferred to us at all?

The vast sum of $650,000,000 of gold coin, of which we hear so much, is not in this country. If the reports of the comptroller of the currency are reliable, the half of it cannot be located. But assuming that we had it, and that it would "rapidly leave the country," kindly tell us where it would go.

You surely will not contend that like some sentient thing it will retire from the world and disappear. It will not "soar to yon distant and cloud-mantled skies," nor will it return to the bosom of the hills. If it goes, it will seek some country where its exchangeability for debt or for property is greater than with us. Its migratory flight will be prompted wholly by the fact that it can perform a greater monetary duty elsewhere. Its owners will not lock it up and lose interest, nor pay storage upon the inert mass. "The precious metals," says Edward Tuck, "have never yet flowed in large volume from one country to another, except to fulfil the mission of legal tender for debt, the highest, noblest, and most valuable function that metal can perform." Avalanche $650,000,000 of our gold upon Europe, and it must find employment there. It will quicken the energies of the Old World into renewed life; prices will rise; labor will become active; prosperity will reappear, and the marvels of the sixth decade will be re-enacted, to bless and reward the energies and the efforts of mankind. These conditions will create a demand for corn, for wheat, for wool, for cotton, for all the comforts of life; and that demand will set the wheels of all our stagnant industries in motion once more, to the confusion of hard times and the destruction of discontent. Would that, in the opinion of a "financial seer," be a blessing or a curse?

But, my dear sir, let me ask whether since 1892 gold has not been going rather rapidly. Has it not indeed been disappearing with somewhat startling rapidity ever since the prevalence of those conditions which you have for years declared to be necessary for its retention among us? Have you never reflected that we have had no gold in circulation for years? that even the greenback has been practically withdrawn for gold purchases by those patriots who, clamoring for the maintenance of public credit, are the only ones who have ever sought to impair it? that the despised silver dollar and certificate, together with the national bank-note, are doing the monetary work of the nation? Wake up, my dear sir, and look around you. Gold is at a premium *now*. It has been for three or four years. Our smelters sell their gold bullion direct to dealers at a premium over its mint value. The borrower who is required to pay in that metal does not get it from the lender. Paper currency, redeemable in silver or its equivalent, is good enough for him. And strange to say, these things are the legitimate offspring of your gold monometallism.

Heretofore we have been told that free coinage meant a debasement of the currency. You tell us it would result in immediate contraction, with a consequent panic compared with which that of 1893 would be "puny and infantile." I note with pleasure that this cheerful prophecy involves the admission that contraction must result in panic and paralysis. Heretofore the assertion of this fact has been regarded as an evidence of silver lunacy. You correctly outline the consequences of contraction, with all of which I quite agree; but your leader, the Secretary of the Treasury, is, I think, entitled to the doubtful credit of originating the proposition that an increased coinage of metallic money will diminish its volume; that with free coinage a slender supply of debased currency would constitute our circulation; and that unparalleled misery and suffering would ensue. "If," said Senator Blackburn, "he can prove that money can be both scarce and cheap, I will acknowledge that I am laboring under some strange delusion."

In 1861 both gold and silver crossed the ocean. That which remained was locked in the vaults of the preservers of our national credit. The greenback came to the front, fed the armies, equipped the navies, upheld the flag, and crushed the Rebellion. I do not recall that the ignoble flight of gold and silver was then attended or followed by the frightful consequences which you now seem to think inevitable under such conditions.

You have assured us many times during the past three years that we were in no need of an increasing metallic circulation, because checks, bills of exchange, etc., had superseded the actual use of money in the affairs of men. I have seen it frequently stated of late that less than three per cent of our business exchanges is effected by the payment of money. Hence its use and actual possession is declared by your school to be unnecessary. This being true, what boots it that our gold will migrate under the contingencies you suppose? Will we not retain our drafts and check-books, and can we not use them as of yore, whether gold shall abide in democratic America or shall seek the society of the Queen?

But "another current" would dump the silver of the world upon the United States. What a calamity! The silver of the world would, if compressed in single bulk, constitute a cube of sixty-six feet. You could easily store it in

the basement of one of Boston's modern buildings. Our mints could not coin it in ninety years; but if they could do it in five, we should only have a per capita silver coinage of about fifty dollars. "Nations have perished," said Col. Ingersoll, "but not because they possessed an overabundance of silver."

A "financial seer" should be the last of all men to "dump the silver of the world upon the United States." It has been done by demagogues and alarmists with great frequency during recent years, but the average monometallist has long since ceased the practice. Three fourths of the inhabitants of this planet use silver money only, but they never have had and never will have a monopoly of the metal; neither will they part with their holdings by way of dumpage or otherwise. To deprive them of it would be to deprive them of their medium of exchange, without leaving them that solace of draft and check-book to which we can always resort. Besides, their ratio is higher than ours, and they cannot afford, if they were otherwise inclined, to bring it over and coin it at a loss, to say nothing of the cost of transportation. There are about $1,100,000,000 of coined silver in Europe. It is in active circulation. Its ratio to gold is 15½ to 1. You cannot buy a farthing of it below its coin value. To transport it and recoin it here at 16 to 1 would entail a loss of not less than $33,000,000. Your financial friends would not undertake the job, however much they may desire to see your predictions verified. But if they should, how would you fill the vacuum caused by its deportation? Your $650,000,000 of gold, which you propose to take from us, cannot do it. You cannot procure silver elsewhere with which to do it, unless you rob your dump; and if you do that you relieve us of its unwelcome presence. What then becomes of your prophecy?

Our nearest neighbor, Mexico, is a monometallic silver country. The United States produces about forty per cent of the world's annual silver product. Instead of "dumping it upon Mexico," we permit Great Britain to put her own price on it, and then sell it to her for the benefit of her trade with silver countries. Surely, if your assumption is correct, it would go to Mexico, "where inflation would begin to make itself felt."

To this proposition I have caught your answer. I hear you say that the Mexican dollar is worth but fifty cents in our

money, and therefore our silver bullion, when coined in Mexico, will give its owner no profit. Very well. When you say that in the event of free coinage prevailing in America, the world's silver will be attracted hitherward, *you concede the contention of the bimetallist, that free coinage will restore to silver its mint value of $1.29 per ounce.* What then becomes of your false and foolish cry of cheap silver money?

Your assertion that in times of panic and currency famine the rich become richer and the poor poorer is true. The fact that 35,000 citizens of this Republic own half its wealth, and are rapidly absorbing the remainder, furnishes sufficient proof of it. If other evidence were necessary, it is easily supplied by the reflection that the same process of absorption is active in Germany, in Italy, in Belgium, in Great Britain. These are "sound-money," that is to say, gold-standard, countries. There are 72,000,000 acres of land in Great Britain. Under its "sound-money" *régime*, 1,000 men have acquired 30,000,000 of these acres; 14,000 men own 20,000,000 of them. The remaining 22,000,000 acres are at present divided among 38,485,000 inhabitants of the islands; but if existing confidence and credit continue a few years longer, the latter will be relieved by the former of their present holdings. Like causes produce like effects. Landlordism is becoming "quite a fad" in America, and the small freeholder is too un-English to be popular much longer. If any conditions can be produced or imagined whereby "the unscrupulous financier, the wrecker, and the shrewd operator would fatten" more prodigiously than he has under those which have prevailed during the past twenty years, may the Almighty in His infinite mercy blast and destroy them in the germ.

That inflation tends to make the rich richer and the poor poorer, I flatly deny. That the free coinage of gold and silver as before 1873 would unduly or injuriously inflate the currency, I also deny. Undue or unnecessary inflation is an unquestionable evil. Its effect on material prosperity is pernicious. But its curses are blessings compared to the awful paralysis of contraction. Syndicates may deplore, but they cannot corner an abundant circulation. Money when plenteous is ever the handmaid, not the object, of commerce. History has written many indictments against an unlimited currency, but absorption, through its medium of the property, the industries, the administration, and the control of a nation, is not one of them.

But inflation, if by that term you mean a superabundant circulation, is impossible to a system of currency based on the coinage of gold and silver. The world's supply of both metals is not too great for the world's industrial needs. The annual product of both is restricted by natural laws which can neither be ignored nor obviated. The demand for both is insatiable, not only for use as money, but in the arts as well. All countries supplement their monetary use with a system of paper issues, and in many of them both gold and silver are strangers to the channels of active circulation.

You close your forecast of events consequent upon the triumph of free coinage with the assurance that "we already have a practical bimetallism, if that be construed as meaning the two metals in liberal supply." But this you say "is only possible when the dearer metal is made the standard, and then a certain amount of the inferior metal can be floated at a parity."

I cannot at this time discuss with you the question of standards. Indeed I do not comprehend what is really meant by the term when applied to values, unless all money in circulation at a given time is taken into consideration. The Supreme Court of the United States declares value to be an idea, and that there can be no standard for an idea. The term "unit of account" as used in our first coinage act, is easily understood, and that is what you must mean when you speak of a standard, whether you intend it or not. But your assertion that bimetallism is only possible when the dearer metal is made the standard — in which event a certain amount of the inferior metal can be floated at a parity — is the most remarkable proposition, seriously made, that has been advanced in finance for many days. That sort of bimetallism would satisfy the kaleidoscopic notions of our voluble and garrulous Secretary of Agriculture. Prior to 1873 the silver dollar was our unit of account. Its value was slightly in excess of the gold dollar of 25.8 grains. If then we had made silver the "standard," we might have floated a little gold at a parity; but instead of doing so, we made the cheaper metal the standard. Yet, if you are correct, we thereby became enabled to float a certain amount of silver at a parity! I know of but one parallel to this absurdity. It was furnished by the *Century Magazine* when in 1893 it gravely informed an anxious inquirer that the silver dollar was worth a hundred cents in gold because it could be

taken to the treasury at Washington and there exchanged for a gold dollar.

The "practical bimetallism" which you insist we now have is this: Under the limited coinage acts of 1878 and 1890, $547,777,049 in silver coin and bullion have been placed in circulation, either in specie or certificates. Every dollar of this sum is worth a hundred cents in gold. This is so, not because the dearer metal is the standard, but because it is issued by the Government as money, is exchangeable at par for property and for debt, and is absolutely essential to the prosecution of our commercial and industrial affairs. But if your assumption of the effect of silver coinage upon prosperity be correct, it ought to be a debased currency and responsible for all the ills which now afflict the land; for, as I have once intimated, your dismal prophecies attended the purchase of every ounce and the coinage of every silver dollar since 1878. Permit me to convince you that our limited silver-coinage acts, compulsory, unscientific, and clumsy as they were, have been of incalculable benefit to the nation, and although administered by unfriendly hands, have vindicated the wisdom of their framers and given conclusive assurance of the absolute necessity of bimetallism to the permanent progress and welfare of our people.

In 1878 Secretary Sherman gravely assured a congressional committee that 50,000,000 of silver dollars would drive our gold across the sea. Yet it is a curious fact that with the exception of the years 1847 and 1849 our exports had always exceeded our imports of gold until the Bland Act became effective. Under its provisions our actual coinage of silver was greater than at any former period of our history. Despite the secretary's warning, our imports of gold from 1878 to 1892 were nearly 100 per cent greater than our exports. We had free coinage down to 1873. Yet from 1849 to 1861 we exported $425,620,549 of gold in excess of our imports, and we imported $8,218,755 of silver in excess of our exports. From the commencement of the Rebellion down to 1878 nearly all of our gold and silver specie was exported. But the tide turned with the Bland Bill in 1878. At that time the total of gold coin and bullion in the Union as reported to the Treasury Department was $245,741,837. In 1892 the same authority reported the sum at $664,275,335. How in the face of facts like these it can be asserted that the coinage of silver will drive out gold I leave it for a "financial seer" to determine.

In 1889 the excess of gold exports over gold imports was nearly $50,000,000. This was accounted for at the time by the immense efflux of tourists to the Paris Exposition; an explanation justified by the fact that the deficit fell to $4,000,000 for the succeeding year. During all this time the Government paid its obligations in lawful money without discrimination. But in 1891 Messrs. Heidelbach, Ichelheimer & Co., a firm then and now engaged in the maintenance of the public credit, presented $1,000,000 in greenbacks at the sub-treasury, and demanded their redemption in gold. The demand was complied with by an obsequious administration calling itself Republican, and the precedent thus established has been sedulously observed by an obsequious administration calling itself Democratic. On July 1, 1891, silver coinage was suspended by the Secretary of the Treasury under the Act of 1890. Since then we have coined of our silver in round numbers of $42,000,000; but we have exported of our gold $231,431,368 in excess of what we have imported. Nay more, we have increased our bonded indebtedness by $262,500,000, and added an annual interest charge of more than $11,000,000 to the burdens of the people, payable in gold; the contract and the statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

Although the Government made large purchases of silver during the operation of these laws, the last of which was designed to absorb the domestic product of the metal, we nevertheless exported $183,357,570 of silver coin and bullion in excess of our imports. We were neither flooded nor threatened with a flood of silver, although you and other financial seers were as certain then as now that we would be.

From 1878 to 1892 inclusive we paid more than 67 per cent of our national interest-bearing debt. The principal of that debt in 1873, when the gold unit was adopted, was $1,710,483,950. During the five years between that date and the passage of the Bland Act, while gold alone was standard money, it was increased by $84,251,700, so that in 1878 the total interest-bearing debt was $1,794,735,650. At the close of the fiscal year of 1892 we had reduced this amount to $585,020,330, having paid thereon in fourteen years under a limited bimetallism the vast sum of $1,209,715,320, to say nothing of $793,720,541.55 by way of interest. We had reduced the annual interest charge from $94,654,472.50 in 1878 to $22,893,883.20 in 1892. Under

the operation of these despised laws we had a large surplus in the treasury as early as 1884; and in 1887, when it exceeded $100,000,000, President Cleveland cried out against our excessive taxation and begged Congress to reduce the revenue, that the people might retain in their own hands an enormous sum, which under existing laws was a useless accumulation in the national treasury, dangerous to the moral and material welfare of the people, and a continuing menace to legislative integrity.

So rapidly did our bonded debt disappear that Senator Sherman proclaimed the doom of the national banking system, and urged upon Congress the necessity of making early provision for a new basis for a bank-note circulation. Whether succeeding events, culminating in fresh issues of Government bonds, are in any wise associated with these conditions, I leave for financial seers to determine.

Gold commanded a premium in the United States from 1861 until the late summer of 1878. By that time the provisions of the Bland Act were in full effect. Before the commencement of 1879 it fell to par, and so remained until silver coinage practically ceased with the repeal of the Act of 1890, when it again rose above the level of the other forms of currency. It is true that the act of resumption took effect on Jan. 1, 1879; but that law would have failed of its purpose without the aid of the compulsory silver coinage of the Bland Bill and the act prohibiting the retirement of the existing volume of greenbacks. With specie restricted to gold, with no addition to our currency circulation except the coinage of that metal, and with our foreign annual interest charge of $250,000,000 payable in gold or its equivalent, to say nothing of the volume needed at home for similar payments, how long will it remain even nominally at par?

During the period under consideration the increase of our material wealth and the expansive development of our resources were prodigious. Ninety-six thousand one hundred and sixteen miles of railroad, or considerably more than fifty per cent of our total mileage, were constructed. Our numerical increase of population was greater than during any similar period. Deposits in the savings banks swelled from $879,897,425 to $1,712,769,026, and in national banks from $199,900,000 to $519,300,000. Our foreign trade grew from $1,202,708,609 to $1,857,680,610, and our domestic commerce increased in like proportion. Although coining silver

dollars at the rate of $24,000,000 a year, our public and private credit was matchless. The amount of foreign capital invested in our varied enterprises was unprecedented. Then as now investors were less concerned about our financial policy than about the probable prospect of speedy profit. They fell over each other in their ardent desire for American securities and American properties, without regard to whether we were or were not drifting toward "silver monometallism." Our credit was in fact too good; for we borrowed, all unaware that even then the scheme was brewing whereby our silver money was to be destroyed in the interest of "honest" finance, and our debts were to be collected in gold.

I know that a "financial seer" will remind me that the collapse of 1893 was but the culmination of a storm which had been gathering through all these years of sunshine, and that had we adhered to the *régime* of 1873 we should have had the same fair weather and would have it now. I reply that from 1880 to 1892 British capitalists poured their surplus money into Australian enterprises, and gave to the development of its resources the same impetus they gave to ours. That great colony, — a continent in itself, — peopled with the best and the bravest of the English race, was a "sound-money" country. The crash which shook this Republic to its foundations prostrated everything in Australia. Our failures for 1893 were less than $100,000,000; but those of the Melbourne banks alone amounted to $300,000,000 — "a sum almost equal to the total deposits in the sixty-four banks forming the clearing-house of New York City." Will not the investor who placed his money and his faith in America be at least as sure of its return as he who preferred to risk Australia?

I trust I have said enough to convince the impartial reader that the fourteen years in which our silver coinage was greatest forms a cheerful chapter in the history of our country, and that every forecast of the consequences of our limited coinage acts was utterly dissipated by the logic of events. I am vain enough to assert that if a limited and compulsory coinage of silver with gold can accomplish so much, a free and equal coinage of the two metals under the old conditions would surely accomplish much more. The false prophets of the past should not declare themselves the inspired prophets of the future. In the olden time they were set upon by the people and stoned to death. In these days, though their punishments are milder, the public judgment of their character is equally inflexible.

Your dismal forebodings, my prophetic friend, are only the morbid offspring of a diseased imagination. You cannot shake public confidence in the statesmanship of those who forced from unwilling hands the beneficent compromises of 1878 and 1890. The enmity of a powerful class intrenched behind the bulwarks of legislation, the assaults of the press, the midnight cry of the alarmist, the warnings of so-called financial seers, can neither stay the efforts of the reformer, nor deprive him of the trust, the love, the confidence of his countrymen. Your ridicule, your abuse, your threats, and your prophecies are alike unavailing. The movement for free coinage, like the impetus of the avalanche, is irresistible. "It is the shadow on the dial, never still, though not seen to move; it is the tide of ocean, gaining on the proudest and strongest bulwarks that human art or strength can build." You may cry out against it, but the sound of your voice shall perish on your lips; for the truth is mighty, and sooner or later it must prevail.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LITERATURE DEALING WITH VITAL SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.

No. I. Land and the Land Question.

COMPILED BY THOMAS E. WILL, A. M.

Professor of Political Economy in Kansas State Agricultural College.

I. Current Literature.

Land, Allotments of. (Lady Verney) *Nineteenth Century*, 9:902.

— — Peasant Proprietors and Coöperative Farming. *Spectator*, 59:1204.

— and its Owners in Past Times. (A. Jessopp) *Nineteenth Century*, 27:284. Same article, *Littell's Living Age*, 184:611.

— and its Rent. (H. White) *Nation*, 38:237.

— and Labor. (W. C. Blackley) *Contemporary Review*, 41:486.—*Once a Week*, 28:9.—(M. Ronayne) *American Catholic Quarterly*, 12:233.

— — Reform in. *Democratic Review*, 27:291.

— and Laborers. *Edinburgh Review*, 152:139.

— and the Laborers. *London Quarterly Review*, 66:91.—*British Quarterly Review*, 83:257.

— and Landlordism in America and England. (F. Tufferd) *To-Day*, 5:89.

— and Pauperism. (F. B. Zincke) *Fortnightly Review*, 31:807.

— and Political Economy. (J. E. Cairnes) *Fortnightly Review*, 13:41.

— and Politics. (E. L. Godkin) *Nation*, 14:164.

— and Property; Why Have I None? *Democratic Review*, 16:17.

— and Taxation. (D. D. Field and H. George) *North American Review*, 141:1.

— and Tithes. (Lord Brabourne) *Murray's Magazine*, 3:453.

— as Property. (Lord Lymington) *Nineteenth Century*, 14:854.

—Capital and Improvement of. (Duke of Argyll) *Nineteenth Century*, 18:1003.

Land, Communism in. *Saturday Review*, 59:71, 75.

— Community of, in New England. (W. F. Allen) *Nation*, 26:22.

— Double Property in. *Spectator*, 58:1427.

— English Commons and Forests. *Spectator*, 72:303 (Mr 3).

— Entails in. *Quarterly Review*, 83:178.

— Farmer, The, and the. (W. D. McCrackan) ARENA, 9:625 (Ap).

— Folk-. (P. Vinogradoff) *English Historical Review*, 8:1 (Ja).

— Free. (H. R. Brand) *Fortnightly Review*, 22:623.

— — and Peasant Proprietorship. (A. Arnold) *Nineteenth Century*, 7:297.

— Free. (Lord Hobhouse) *Contemporary Review*, 49:194, 355.

— Free Grant Lands of Canada. (C. Marshall) *Fraser's Magazine*, 83:46.

— Free Trade in. (A. Arnold) *Contemporary Review*, 20:880.—(F. W.

Newman) *Fraser's Magazine*, 96:736.
— Freedom of. (T. H. Farrer) *Fortnightly Review*, 33:76.
— Fyffe on. *Spectator*, 58:105.
— Has it a Value? (J. L. Rice) *North American Review*, 134:617.
— Held Out of Use. (J. W. Bengough) *North American Review*, 158:512 (Ap).
— Henry George and. (G. M. Grant) *Presbyterian Review*, 9:177.
— How to Attract Capital to. (Lord Vernon) *Nineteenth Century*, 33:1028 (Je).
— in England, Laborer and. (J. Shortrede) *New Review*, 6:362 (Mr).—(Lord Thring; W. E. Bear; Mrs. S. Batson) *Nineteenth Century*, 31:150 (Ja).
— — Bill on. (W. E. Bear) *Fortnightly Review*, 38:496.
— — Lord Hartington and. *Spectator*, 58:1156.
— — Occupying Ownership. (J. Collings) *Fortnightly Review*, 41:256.
— — Ownership of, and American Competition. (A. G. Bradley) *Lippincott's Magazine*, 32:37.
— — Purchase Bill, 1885. *Saturday Review*, 60:100.
— — Question of. (F. B. Zincke) *Fortnightly Review*, 37:1.—(H. D. Traill) *Nineteenth Century*, 11:966.—(C. M. Gaskell) *Nineteenth Century*, 12:460.—(H. White) *Nation*, 41:188.—*Blackwood's Magazine*, 138:535.—(G. S. Lefevre) *Nineteenth Century*, 18:513.
— — Radical Theorists on. (Lord Stanley of Alderley) *Fortnightly Review*, 43:297.—(C. A. Fyffe) *Fortnightly Review*, 43:557.
— — Rural Enclosures and Allotments. (Lord E. Fitzmaurice and H. H. Smith) *Nineteenth Century*, 20:844.
— — Settlements of. (H. M. Humphrey) *National Review*, 4:238.
— — Small Holdings and Coöperative Farming. *Spectator*, 59:1108.
— — Tenure of, Reform in. (E. L. Pemberton) *National Review*, 6:537.—(W. E. Bear) *Contemporary Review*, 48:647.
— — Agricultural Holdings, Size and Distribution of, in England and Abroad. (P. G. Cragie) *Journal of Statistical Society*, 50:86.
— — and Society. (E. L. Godkin) *Nation*, 49:106.
— — Bill for Transfer of, 1887. (Arthur Arnold) *Fortnightly Review*, 48:113.
— — How Every Tenant Farmer May Become His Own Landlord. (E. Atkinson) *Westminster Review*, 131:298.
— — National Administration of. (F. L. Soper) *Westminster Review*, 132:362.
— — Purchase Bill, 1891. *Saturday Review*, 71:706. 72:10, 71.
— — — Effect of. *Spectator*, 66:848.
— — Small Holdings. *Chambers's Journal*, 68:353.
— — — State Aid for Farmers Provided in the Small Holdings Bill. (W. E. Bear) *Nineteenth Century*, 29:583.
— — Settlement of Landed Property. (Lord Vernon) *Nineteenth Century*, 31:352 (Mr).
— — Tenure of: Organization of Real Credit. (H. de F. Montgomery) *National Review*, 20:241 (O).
— — — The Words *Solinum* and *Solanda*. (J. H. Round) *English Historical Review*, 7:708 (O).
— — Breaking up of the Land Monopoly. (Marquis of Blandford) *Nineteenth Century*, 9:249.
— — Chamberlain on Compulsory Expropriation. *Spectator*, 59:73.
— — Coming Land Bill, 1885. (C. A. Fyffe) *Fortnightly Review*, 43:285.
— — Good of Enfranchising the Soil. *Spectator*, 58:1221.
— — Division of. *Bankers' Magazine* (N. Y.), 30:941.

— — Ethics of Urban Leaseholds. *British Quarterly Review*, 69:301.
— — Feudal Tenures. (F. Seebohm) *Fortnightly Review*, 13:89.
— — Freehold Land Movement in 1849. *Eclectic Review*, 90:176; 91:95.
— — Future Value of. *Nation*, 29:156.
— — Laws of. (G. W. Norman) *Journal of the Statistical Society*. 39:211.—(J. S. Blackie) *Contemporary Review*, 37:31.—(A. St. J. Clarke) *Dublin Review*, 86:134.—(W. S. Jevons) *Fortnightly Review*, 35:385.—(R. Torrens) *Fortnightly Review*, 88:98.—*British Quarterly Review*, 12:529.
— — — Anti-Land-Law League, 1847. (I. J. Varian) *Howitt's Journal*, 1:206.
— — — Reform in. (G. O. Morgan) *Fortnightly Review*, 32:803.—*Nation*, 29:270.
— — Nationalization of. (H. Fawcett) *Fortnightly Review*, 18:627.—(A. R. Wallace) *Contemporary Review*, 38:716.
— — Ownership of, Froude on. (G. S. Lefevre) *Fortnightly Review*, 27:32.
— — Panic of Landowners. (J. McCarthy) *Nineteenth Century*, 3:305.
— — Prospects of Landowners. (W. S. Aldis) *Contemporary Review*, 38:791.
— — Question of. (F. Seebohm) *Fortnightly Review*, 15:130.—(C. W. Hoskyns) *Fortnightly Review*, 15:459.—(E. Fitzmaurice) *Contemporary Review*, 19:419.
— — — and Mr. Cobden. (R. A. Arnold) *Fraser's Magazine*, 76:79.
— — — and Southern Regeneration. *Nation*, 29:323.
— — — The Coming. (J. B. Kinnear) *Fortnightly Review*, 32:305.
— — — A Dishomed Nation. (F. B. Zincke) *Contemporary Review*, 38:177.
— — — Historical Aspect of. (C. Elton) *Fortnightly Review*, 17:288.
— — in 1879. (E. L. Godkin) *Nation*, 29:106, 187.
— — — Leslie on. (J. S. Mill) *Fortnightly Review*, 13:641.
— — — New Aspects of. (J. Macdonnell) *Fortnightly Review*, 17:533.
— — — Peasant Proprietorship. (W. Fowler) *Contemporary Review*, 15:590.
— — Reform of Feudal Laws. (Marquis of Blandford) *Nineteenth Century*, 9:644.
— — Revolution in. (E. L. Godkin) *Nation*, 33:5.
— — — Settled Land Bill. (F. Wentworth) *Fortnightly Review*, 33:696.
— — Severance of English People from the Land. (F. Seebohm) *Fortnightly Review*, 13:217.
— — Small Farmers their own Landlords. (J. Mackay) *Macmillan's Magazine*, 41:408.
— — System of, a Reason for a Reform of Parliament. (T. E. C. Leslie) *Fraser's Magazine*, 75:143. Same article, *Eclectic Magazine*, 68:536.
— — Tenancy and Culture of, in England. *Edinburgh Review*, 59:387.
— — Tenure of. (E. L. Godkin) *Nation*, 27.222.—*All the Year Round*, 45:392.—*Republic*, 6:81.—*Penn Monthly*, 11:960.
— — — and Tenancy. *Westminster Review*, 94:233.
— — — England's Weak Point. *Prospective Review*, 3:326.
— in England and in Ireland. *London Quarterly Review*, 55:364.—*Westminster Review*, 116:273.—(E. L. Godkin) *Nation*, 29:237.
— in England and the Farmers. (A. Jessopp) *Nineteenth Century*, 19:66. Same article, *Littell's Living Age*, 168:345.
— in English Cities, Enfranchisement of Urban Leaseholders. (H. Broadhurst) *Fortnightly Review*, 41:344.

— in Europe, Question of. (R. Blennerhassett) *Fortnightly Review*, 36:238.
— in France and Belgium, Tenure of, Early, Brutails and Errera on. (F. W. Maitland) *English Historical Review*, 7:748 (O).
— in France, Division of. (F. B. Zincke) *Fortnightly Review*, 34:16.
— — Peasant Proprietors. (M. Betham-Edwards) *Fortnightly Review*, 48:223.
— in Germany. *Literary World* (Boston), 14:270.
— in Great Britain, Reform in. (R. M. Ferguson) *Contemporary Review*, 64:509 (O).
— in India, Tenure and Cultivation of. (Sir G. Campbell) *Journal of the Society of Arts*, 29:422.
— in Ireland.*
— — and other Countries. (M. F. Sullivan) *American Catholic Quarterly*, 6:51.—(V. B. Denslow) *Dial* (Ch), 2:9.
— in Maryland, System of. (L. W. Wilhelm) *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, 3:7.
— in Russia. (A. Vesselovsky) *Journal of the Statistical Society*, 44:50.
— — Peasant Proprietors. *Quarterly Review*, 151:428.
— in Scotland. (Sir B. Frere) *Nineteenth Century*, 10:794.—(J. Murdoch) *Penn Monthly*, 11:125, 213.
— in Scotland, Tenure of. *Edinburgh Review*, 161:299.
— in Virginia, Deed of, 1667. *New England Register*, 39:260.
— in Wales. *Saturday Review*, 78:317 (S 22).
— in Wales, Question of. *Spectator*, 71:539 (O 21).
— — Royal Commission on. (Lord Stanley of Alderley) *National Review*, 21:827 (Ag).
— Incidents of, and Pleas for Reform. (J. C. Flower) *British Quarterly Review*, 76:311.
— Instability of. (W. Downes) 39:148.
— Labor, and Trade, Prospects of, 1882. (F. B. Thurber) *Nineteenth Century*, 11:184.
— Laborers' Allotment Grounds. (R. G. Kingsley) *Nation*, 44:72.
— Laborers and Association. (A. H. D. Acland) *Contemporary Review*, 50:112.
— Law of. (W. A. McClean) *Green Bag*, 6:288 (Je), 449 (O).
— Law, and Labor in England. *Edinburgh Review*, 165:1.
—Laws of. *Blackwood's Magazine*, 64:1.—*All the Year Round*, 44:539, 558.
— — Canadian Land Bill. (G. S. Holmsted) *Canadian Monthly*, 14:78.
— — of the Hebrews. (T. B. Thayer) *Universalist Quarterly*, 29:220.
— — Reform in. (G. S. Holmsted) *Canadian Monthly*, 9:322.
— Letting of, English and Irish. *Blackwood's Magazine*, 17:684.
— — Metayer System. *Foreign Quarterly Review*, 4:484.
— Management of. (G. Cadell) *Macmillan's Magazine*, 62:461.
— Monopoly of. (G. Fitzhugh) *Lippincott's Magazine*, 4:286.
— Mosaic System for Massachusetts. (G. A. Jackson) *New England Magazine*, n. s., 3:113.
—Nationalization of. (C. M. Bailhache) *Westminster Review*, 137:513. — (F. L. Soper) *Westminster Review*, 132:270. — Reply. (R. Simon) *Westminster Review*, 133:70.—Rejoinder. (F. L. Soper) *Westminster Review*, 133:298.—(A. R. Wallace and others) *Westminster Review*, 133:541.—*Edinburgh Review*, 157:263.—(S. Smith) *Contemporary Review*, 44:850.—(A. R. Wallace) *Macmillan's Magazine*, 48:485.

* The literature on this subject is so extensive as to demand a separate bibliography.

——as First Presented. (J. R. Buchanan) ARENA, 3:401, 586.
——The Why and How of. (A. R. Wallace) *Macmillan's Magazine*, 48:357.
—Occupation of. (L. Courtney) *Contemporary Review*, 53:625.
—Owners of, and Those who Till It. (E. Girdlestone) *Fraser's Magazine*, 78:728.
——*versus* the Nation. *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, n. s., 6:205.
—Ownership of, Attractiveness of. *Spectator*, 69:708 (N 19).
—Ownership of. (D. W. Dike) *Andover Review*, 6:426.—(C. S. Devas) *Dublin Review*, 99:243.
——and National Prosperity. (H. W. Lucas) *Month*, 50:535.
——as a Business. (W. B. Jones) *Nineteenth Century*, 11:555.
—Ownership of, Principles of. (H. H. L. Bellot) *Westminster Review*, 141:10 (Ja).
——Private. (J. M. Sturtevant) *Princeton Review*, New Series, 9:125.
————What is Meant by. (P. G. Tiedman) *American Law Review*, 19:878.
——Origin of. (D. E. Wing) *Popular Science Monthly*, 36:644.
—Owning of. (W. Chambers) *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, 57:497.
——and Copyright. (G. Allen) *Fraser's Magazine*, 102:343.
—Portable Property in. *All the Year Round*, 6:114.
—Problem of, and the Bible. (A. J. Brown) *Lutheran Quarterly Review*, 19:303.
—Property in. (Sir G. Campbell) *Westminster Review*, 133:181.—(W. T. Harris) *American Journal of Social Science*, 22:116.
—Property in. (D. W. Johnson) *Universalist Quarterly*, 42:145.
—Property in, Origin and Evolution of. (H. H. L. Bellot) *Westminster Review*, 140:644 (D).
—Question of. (E. B. Brokaw and others) ARENA, 10:622 (O).—(F. S. Corrance) *Fortnightly Review*, 23:360.—(G. Odger) *Contemporary Review*, 18:23.—(E. L. Godkin) *Nation*, 13:20.—(W. Hayden) *Month*, 61:82.
——and Labor Question. (J. T. Smith) *Catholic World*, 47:51.
——American View of. (J. Swann) *National Review*, 1:693.
——and the Single Tax. (S. B. Riggen) ARENA, 10:332 (Ag).
——First Principles of. (L. F. Post) ARENA, 9:758 (My).
——Immigration and. (C. J. Buell) ARENA, 10:807 (N).
——in America. (E. J. Shriver) *Westminster Review*, 128:975.
——in Tuscany. *St. Paul's Magazine*, 5:519.
——in Victoria; Squatters and Peasant Proprietors. (R. Niven) *Fraser's Magazine*, 99:511.
——in the United States. (A. J. Desmond) *North American Review*, 142:153.
————History of. (S. Sato) *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, 4:259.
——Letters on. (H. Spencer, F. Greenwood, and others) *Popular Science Monthly*, 36:344, 507.
——Peasant Proprietors. *All the Year Round*, 57:462.
——Policy of Thorough. (W. T. Thomson) *Westminster Review*, 142:381 (O).
——Pseudo Individualism. (A. Withy) *Westminster Review*, 142:485 (N).
——Sociology and. (C. Frederick Adams) *International Review*, 12:253.
——Some Elements of. *Fraser's Magazine*, 88:494.
——Some Points on. (O. B. Bunce) *Popular Science Monthly*, 30:507.

——Statement of. (A. G. Ellis) *Overland Monthly*, New Series, 7:365.
— Reform in, Rationale of. (L. A. Hine) *Democratic Review*, 26:124.
— Reformers in. (Duke of Argyll) *Contemporary Review*, 48:470.
— Right of Property in. *New Englander*, 8:220.
— Small Holdings in, and the Present Proprietors of the Continent. (Lady Verney) *Contemporary Review*, 47:675.
— State and. *Catholic World*, 46:94.
— State Confiscation of Unearned Rents from. *New Englander*, 47:295.
— State Ownership of *vs.* Taxes. (F. P. Powers) *Lippincott's Magazine*, 39:486.
— Story of. *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, 62:689.
— Succession in, Canadian Law of. (G. S. Holmsted) *Canadian Monthly*, 12:475.
— Systematic Division of. (H. Paul) *Eclectic Engineering Magazine*, 31:156.
— Tax on. *Westminster Review*, 41:129.
——Heavy. *Good Words*, 5:396.
— Tax on, Single. (E. Atkinson and H. George) *Century*, 18:385.
— Taxation of. (J. H. Durst) *Overland Monthly*, new series 7:372.
— Tenant Right. (F. S. Corrance) *Fortnightly Review*, 23:552.
— Tenure of. *Edinburgh Review*, 134:449.—(Sir G. Campbell) *Fortnightly Review*, 23:27.—*Westminster Review*, 82:105.—*London Quarterly, Review*, 34:414.
——and Political Economy. (T. E. C. Leslie) *Fortnightly Review*, 5:220.
— Tenure of, among the Tribes in South Africa. (H. B. Frere) *Anthropological Journal*, 12:267.
——and Transfer of. (E. S. Roscoe) *British Quarterly Review*, 74:370.
——Egyptian. (R. Reid) *Catholic Presbyterian*, 9:430.
——Ethics of. (J. B. Clark) *International Journal of Ethics*, 1:62. —(S. N. Patten) *International Journal of Ethics*, 1:354.
——for Building. *Saturday Review*, 59:103.
——Hebrew. (R. Reid) *Catholic Presbyterian*, 10:109.
——in Domesday. (J. H. Round) *Antiquary*, n. s., 5:105.
——in England. (D. Mac G. Means) *Chautauquan*, 12:19, 162, 307.
——in England, Archaic. *Antiquary*, n. s., 8:204.
——in Europe. *Fraser's Magazine*, 83:675. Same article, *Littell's Living Age*, 110:195.
——in Fiji. (L. Fison) *Anthropological Journal*, 10:332.
——in Madagascar. *Anthropological Journal*, 12:277.
——in France. (R. E. Prothero) *Nineteenth Century*, 28:778.
——in Polynesia, Ancient System of. (N. D. Alexander) *American Law Review*, 22:371.
——in the Channel Islands. (F. B. Zincke) *Fortnightly Review*, 25:1.
——in the United States. (H. Strong and D. B. King) *North American Review*, 142:244.
——in Virginia. (E. Ingle) *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, 3:121.
——Mackenzie's History of Highland Clearances. *Athenaeum*, 83, 1:275.
——Patriarchal. (R. Reid) *Catholic Presbyterian*, 9:260; 10:273.
——in Scotland. *Westminster Review*, 90:277.
——in Various Countries; Cobden Club Essays. (W. F. Allen) *Nation*, 14:89.

——Lord Dufferin on. (T. C. E. Leslie) *Macmillan's Magazine*, 16:225.
——Fixity of. *Dublin University Magazine*, 23:605.
——The Gracchi. *Fraser's Magazine*, 75:448.
——Guernsey System of. *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, n. s., 6:432.
——in British India. *Westminster Review*, 89:197.
——How to Multiply Small Holdings. (H. E. Moore) *Nineteenth Century*, 36:947 (D).
——Legal Execution and. (E. Jenks) *English Historical Review*, 8:417 (Jl).
——Question of. *Fraser's Magazine*, 69:357.
——Landlord's Preferential Position. (R. C. Richards) *Fortnightly Review*, 53:881.
——Northumbrian. (F. W. Maitland) *English Historical Review*, 5:625.
——Reform of. (E. P. Cheney) *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 3:309.
——Short, Influence of. (William Thomas Thornton) *Journal of Agriculture*, 1847–49.
——Torrens System. (W. D. Turner) *American Law Review*, 25:755.
—Tenures of, Consequences of. *Westminster Review*, 93:37.
—Territorialism, Fruits of. (F. B. Zincke) *Fortnightly Review*, 33:525.
——Good Word for. (R. Ramsden) *Fortnightly Review*, 33:743.—Rejoinder. (F. B. Zincke) *Fortnightly Review*, 33:756.
—Title to, Registration of. *Westminster Review*, 126:76.
—Titles to, and Their Transfer. (A. Arnold) *Fraser's Magazine*, 99:314; 100:634.
——Power of the Legislature to Confirm. *Western Law Journal*, 3:289.
—Transfer of. *Bankers' Magazine* (London), 49:270.—(Duke of Marlborough) *Fortnightly Review*, 43:544.—*Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, 47:89; 56:561.—(A. Arnold) *Fraser's Magazine*, 87:265.
——Reform in. (H. B. Hurd) *American Law Review*, 25:367.—(J. W. Jenks) *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 2:48.—(C. F. Libby) *American Law Review*, 28:196 (Mr, Ap).
——The Law Society on. *Spectator*, 59:478.
——Torrens on. *Spectator*, 55:1024.
——Simplification of. (G. S. Holmsted) *Canadian Monthly*, 11:76.
—Trevelyan on. *Spectator*, 58:208.
—Unequal Distribution of, and Remedies. (E. G. Waite) *Overland Monthly*, 15:447.
—Value of, London and New York, *Bankers' Magazine* (N. Y.), 10:603.
—Welsh. *Saturday Review*, 61:250.
—A Word on. (W. Chambers) *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, 7:113.
Land Act, Welsh. *Saturday Review*, 61:2.
Land Cessions to the United States, Maryland's Influence Upon. (H. B. Adams) *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, 3:3.
Land Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period, Earle on. *Athenaeum*, 89, 1:690. Same article, *Littell's Living Age*, 182:570.
Land Customs in Scotland, Archaic. (G. L. Gomme) *Antiquary*, n. s., 4:99.
Landed Estates and Landed Incomes. *Quarterly Review*, 166:210.
Landed Gentlemen in the United States. (G. E. Ellis) *Magazine of American History*, 9:340.

Landed Gentry, Burke's, New Edition of. *Athenæum*, 94, 1:735 (Je 9).
— — Abuses of. (A. Arnold) *Nineteenth Century*, 1:458.
— — Cost of. (A. Arnold) *Princeton Review*, new series, 2:578.
— — Uses of. (J. A. Froude) *Fraser's Magazine*, 94:671.
Landed Interest, English History of. (Cathcart) *Journal Royal Agricultural Society*, Vol. II.
— and Supply of Food. *Fraser's Magazine*, 99:709.
— Causes of Distress of. *Westminster Review*, 18:108.
— Improvement of. *Westminster Review*, 48:1.
— Lytton's Letters to John Bull. *Edinburgh Review*, 94:140.
— Registration of. *Westminster Review*, 45:107.
Landed Property, Settlement of. *Leisure Hour*, 14:90, 101, 304.
— — Taxation of. (C. H. Sargent) *Contemporary Review*, 57:282.—(J. F. Moulton) *Contemporary Review*, 57:412.
Landed Proprietor, A; a Poem. (C. Burke) *Argosy*, 58:288 (O).
Landholding, Early Forms of. (C. I. Elton) *English Historical Review*, 1:427.
— Early, and Land-Transfer, Modern. (F. Pollock) *Macmillan's Magazine*, 61:414.
—Early Teutonic. *Saturday Review*, 57:84.
— in England, History of. (J. Fisher) *Royal Historical Society Transactions*, 4:97; 5:228.
Land Law, a Model. (A. Williams) *Fortnightly Review*, 47:558.—Reply. (Duke of Argyll) *Fortnightly Review*, 47:764.
— — of Mining Districts. (C. H. Shinn) *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, 2:549.
Land Laws. (J. F. Stephen) *National Review*, 6:729. Same article, *Littell's Living Age*, 168:707.
— — English. (C. I. Elton) *Academy*, 25:195.—*Spectator*, 57:444.
— — — History of. (F. Pollock) *Macmillan's Magazine*, 46:356.
— — Revolution in. *Spectator*, 62:393.
Land Law Reform in the Highlands. *Scottish Review*, 4:137.
Landless Farmer. (S. O. Jewett) *Atlantic Monthly*, 51:759.
Landless, Last Resort of the. (H. J. Desmond) *Forum*, 6:319.
Land League, McCarthy's Apology for. (E. L. Godkin) *Nation*, 34:536.
— — Meeting of. *Tinsley's Magazine*, 30:341.
Land Legislation; a Plain Tale and a Warning. (F. T. Burroughs) *National Review*, 105:381.
Landlord and Tenant. *Leisure Hour*, 14:356, 378.
— — Law of, in India. (W. G. Pedder) *Journal of the Society of Arts*, 32:579.
— — Rights of. *Journal of Agriculture*, 1853–55.
— — Relations Between. *Lend a Hand*, 7:371.
Landlords, Plea for. (J. Martineau) *Blackwood's Magazine*, 143:193.
Landlords and Tenants. (O. Hill) *Macmillan's Magazine*, 24:456.—*Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, 1:484.
Landlords and Allotments. *Saturday Review*, 61:369.
—and the National Income. (W. H. Mallock) *National Review*, 2:889.
— Highland. *Quarterly Review*, 159:113.
Landlords, New. (E. O. Fordham) *Westminster Review*, 141:396 (Ap).
— and Monopoly. (G. Fitzhugh) *De Bow's Review*, n. s., 4:437.
Land Movement and Labor Movement in the United States. *New Princeton Review*, 3:259.
Land-Owner and Farmer in England. (D. B. King) *Princeton Review*, n. s., 13:262.

Land-Owners, Mammoth. *Spectator*, 61:1286.
— — Are They Idle? (J. Manners) *National Review*, 10:836.
Land Purchase; a Profitable State Investment. *Westminster Review*, 131:467.
Land Revenue in Madras. (G. S. Goodrich) *Economic Journal*, 1:449.
Land Shark. *Household Words*, 12:563.
Land System, Early German. *Spectator*, 57:21.
— — in the New England Colonies. (M. Ogleston) *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, 4:545.
— — of Homer. (W. Ridgeway) *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 6:319.
— — of India, Baden-Powell on. *Athenaeum*, 92, 2:770 (D 3).
— — of Russia: Cause of the Famine. (W. C. Edgar) *Forum*, 13:575 (Jl).
— — of the United States Government. *Nation*, 41:237.
— — of the New England Colonies, The. (M. Egleston) *Johns Hopkins University Studies*.
— — of British India, Baden-Powell on. *Saturday Review*, 74:256.
Land Tax. *Blackwood's Magazine*, 156:118 (Jl).—*Saturday Review*, 78:297 (S 15).
Land Tenures, Curiosities of. *Leisure Hour*, 9:397.
Land Titles in Australia, Registry of. (E. Atkinson) *Century*, 21:586 (F).
Land Troubles in Scotland. (J. Murdoch) *American*, 5:73.
Land Valuing. (P. D. Tuckett) *Journal Royal Agricultural Society*, Vol. 24.
Lands, Effects of Railroads on the Value of. (W. S. Rosecrans) *Engineering Magazine*, Vol. 1, 8.
— Public: Alienation in Colonies. (E. de Laveleye) *Fortnightly Review*, 21:742.
— — Disposition of. (A. B. Hart) *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 1:169.
— — of the United States and the Railroads. (G. W. Julian) *North American Review*, 136:237.
— — of the United States; Examination of Land Office, 1822. *Niles's Register*, 22:102.
— — — Grants of. (R. T. Colburn) *International Review*, 3:351.
— — — — Truth About. (J. B. Hodgskin) *Nation*, 11:417.
— — — Jackson's Veto of Land Bill. *Niles's Register*, 45:285.
— — — Policy of the Government with. (G. W. Julian) *Atlantic Monthly*, 43:325.—(G. M. Weston) *Bankers' Magazine* (N. Y.), 31:453.
— — — — Educational. *American Journal of Education*, 17:65.
— — — Unavailable. (G. Mallory) *Nation*, 26:288.
— — Evils of our Policy. (E. S. Peters) *Century*, 3:599.
— — Land-Grant Railways in Congress. (G. W. Julian) *International Review*, 14:198.
— Waste. (F. A. Maxse) *Fortnightly Review*, 14:198.
— — Planting. (Sir W. Scott) *Quarterly Review*, 36:558.
— — Why Not Improved? *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, 1:82.
Tax, Land. *Westminster Review*, 41:67.
— The Single. (C. B. Spahr) *Political Science Quarterly*, 6:625.—(E. Atkinson and H. George) *Century*, 18:385.—(J. H. Allen) *Unitarian Review*, 34:540.
— — and the *impot unique*. (S. B. Clarke) *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 5:357.—(C. Gide) *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 5:494.
— — Discussion of at Saratoga, 1890. (H. George and others) *American Journal of Social Science*, 27:1.

——Movement for. *Public Opinion*, 9:523.
——Ethics of. (J. Lee) *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 7:433 (Jl).
——and Transportation. (W. E. Brokaw) *American Journal of Politics*, 4:369 (Ap).
——in Actual Operation. (H. Garland) ARENA, 10:52 (Je).
——Land Question and. (S. B. Riggen) ARENA, 10:332 (Ag).
——Theory of, Critique of. (H. W. B. Mackay) *American Journal of Politics*, 4:302 (Mr).
Taxation, Common Sense of. (H. George) *North American Review*, 133:65.
—Crooked. (T. G. Shearman) ARENA, 3:525.
—Henry George's Scheme of Taxation. (E. W. Bemis) *Andover Review*, 8:592.
—Just. (J. Whidden Graham) *New England Magazine*, n. s., 6:706 (Ag).
—of Land Values. (H. George) *Appleton's Journal*, 25:552.
—of Ground-Rents. *Saturday Review*, 61:388.
—Rating of Ground-Rents. *Spectator*, 59:776.
Taxes, on Land. (R. Giffen) *Fortnightly Review*, 15:771.
See also
The St. Louis *Courier*.
The Chicago *Voice*.
Tax Reform, Chestertown, Md., and other papers published by the Single Tax Syndicate; also
The *New Earth*, New York; and files of
The *Standard*, New York (defunct).
George, Henry. (Duke of Argyll) *Nineteenth Century*, 15:537.—*Literary World*, (Boston), 14:77.
—A Demurrer to his Complaint. (R. J. Mahon) *Catholic World*, 46:588.
—Dogma of, a Delusion. (D. N. Johnson) *Universalist Quarterly*, 45:343.
—Economic Heresies of. (G. Gunton) *Forum*, 3:15.
—and the Encyclical of Leo XIII. (C. A. Ramm) *Catholic World*, 54:555 (Ja).
—Georgeism Making the Rich Richer. (B. Adams) *North American Review*, 146:226.
—W. T. Harris's Reply to. (Mary E. Beedy) *Education*, 8:111.
—History and Fact *vs.* (J. L. Galvin) *Magazine of Western History*, 7:195.
—Is he a Safe Leader? (E. W. Bemis) *Our Day*, 6:262.
—Land Doctrine of. *Dublin Review*, 97:325.—*Spectator*, 57:44.—*Saturday Review*, 57:39, 97.
—Land-Tax, Proposition of. (E. G. Clark) *North American Review*, 144:107.
—and his Land Theories. (H. A. Brann) *Catholic World*, 44:810.
—His Mistake about Land. (W. T. Harris) *Forum*, 3:433.
—Mistakes of. (T. G. Shearman) *Forum*, 8:40.
—His New Declaration of Rights. (H. Garland) ARENA, 3:157.
—The New Party of. (H. George) *North American Review*, 145:1.
—Progress and Poverty. *Quarterly Review*, 155:35.—*Nineteenth Century*, 16:134.—*Critic*, 1:90.—(G. M. Grant) *Presbyterian Review*, 9:177.
——Its Teaching on Capital. (T. H. Huxley) *Nineteenth Century*, 27:449.
—and Property. (W. H. Babcock) *Lippincott's Magazine*, 39:133.
—and Revolutionary Socialism. (R. T. Ely) *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, 3:246.

— Scheme of Taxation. (E. W. Bemis) *Andover Review*, 8:592.
— on Socialism. *Saturday Review*, 57:465.
— Social Problems. (G. Sarson) *Modern Review*, 5:345.—*Spectator*, 57:923.—(T. Kirkup) *Academy*, 25:87.
— Tax Theory of, Criticism of. (A. Kitson) *American Journal of Politics*, 5:350 (O).
— Theories of. (D. N. Johnson) *Universalist Quarterly*, 42:145.
— Where he Stumbled. (J. T. Smith) *Catholic World*, 45:116.
Rent-Appropriation and Socialism. (H. George and H. Hyndman) *Nineteenth Century*, 17:369.
Rent: its Essence and its Place in the Distribution of Wealth. (Thomas L. Brown) ARENA, Dec., 1893.
— Ground- Not a Debt. *Bankers' Magazine*, (N. Y.), 19:17.
Rents, Ground-, Taxation of. (J. F. Moulton) *Contemporary Review*, 57:412.
— Taxation of. (I. P. Williams) *Nineteenth Century*, 33:293 (F).—(C. F. Bastable) *Economic Journal*, 3:255 (Je).
Ground-values, Taxation of. (C. H. Sargent) *Contemporary Review*, 57:282.
— Law of the Three Rents. (J. A. Hobson) *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 5:263.
— Proper Function of. (C. Frederick Adams) *International Review*, 13:207.
— and Taxes. (F. P. Powers) *Lippincott's Magazine*, 39:486.

II. Books, Pamphlets, Reports, etc.

Allen, W. Land, Landed Property. Ways and Means to Raise the Value of Land; the Landlord's Companion (London, 1736).
Anon. The Irish Peasant. Swan Sonnenschein.
Arnold, Arthur. Free Land. Paul.
Barrows, W. Landholding in the United States of Yesterday and To-morrow.
Bateman, J. Great Land Owners of Great Britain and Ireland. Harrison.
Birkbeck, W. L. The Distribution of Land in England. Macmillan.
Blackie, Prof. J. Stuart. The Scottish Highlands and the Land Laws. Chapman.
Blount, T. Ancient Tenures of Land and Custom of Manors. Reeves & Turner.
Bourdin, M. A. An Exposition of the Land Tax.
Broderick, G. C. English Land and Landlords. Cassell.
Caird, Prof. J. Landed Interest and the Supply of Food. Cassell.
Collet, H. On the Laws of England Concerning Estates in Land, Advowsons, etc.
Copland, S. Land, the History of the Appropriation of. Agriculture, Ancient and Modern. Lands at Different Periods.
De Coulanges, Fustel. Origin of Property in Land. Swan Sonnenschein.
Cox, Harold. Land Nationalization. Methuen.
Cox, S. S. Free Land and Free Trade. New York.
Dawson, W. H. Unearned Increment, The. Swan Sonnenschein.
Devyr, T. Ainge. Our Natural Rights.
English Land Restoration League, publications; No. 8 Duke Street, Adelphi, London, W. C., Moulton, J. Fletcher, Q. C.: The Taxation of Ground Values.—Percy, C. M. Mine Rents and Mineral Royalties.—Spicer, Albert, M. P. Christian Economics with Reference to the

Land Question.—Social and Labour Problems in England, and the First Step to their Solution.—The Land and its Relation to National Prosperity.—"Red Vans," Special Report of Work of during 1893.—Sullivan, J. F. Queer Side of Landlordism.

Epps, William. Land Systems of Australia. Swan Sonnenschein.

Escott, T. H. S. Landlords and Estate Management, Great. England.

Evans, Howard. Our Old Nobility. Vickers.

Field, C. D. Land Holding and Landlord and Tenant in Various Countries. Thacker.

Fisher, Joseph. The History of Land-holding in England; in Ireland. Longman.

Fluerscheim, M. Rent, Interest, and Wages. W. Reeves.

Ford, W. C. Lands, Public, of the United States. Cyclopedia of Political Science, etc., vol. 3.

Froude, J. A. Landed Gentry, The Uses of. Short Studies on Great Subjects, vol. 2.

Hubbard, J. M. Land, The Ownership of. Connecticut Board of Agriculture, Report, 1884.

George, Henry. Works. C. L. Webster, New York: Progress and Poverty.—Social Problems.—Protection or Free Trade.—The Land Question.—The Condition of Labor.—A Perplexed Philosopher.—Property in Land.

Gould, Rev. S. Baring-. Germany, Past and Present. Paul.

Hill, F., and others. What Ought to be the Principles Regulating the Ownership and Occupation of Land? (In Nat. Assoc. Prom. Soc. Sci.)

Kay, Joseph. Free Trade in Land. Longman.

Kinnear, J. B. The Principles of Property in Land. Smith & Elder.

Land Grants, Speeches on. Appendix, Cong. Record, 16, part 3.

Landlord and Tenant. Manual of Farm Law.

——Relation of. European Agriculture, vol. 1.

Land Offices, Government. Kansas State Board of Agriculture, vol. 4.

Land Ownership and Tenure. Highland and Agricultural Report, Scotland, 1878.

Land, Rights Pertaining to Residence. Manual of Farm Law.

Lands, Sale and Purchase of. Law of Real Property.

Lands, Value of. Department of Agriculture Report, 1879.

De Laveleye, E. Primitive Property. Macmillan.

Lefevre, G. Shaw. Agrarian Tenures. Cassell.—Freedom of Land. Macmillan.

Leslie, Prof. T. E. C. Land Systems and Industrial Economy of Ireland, England, and Continental Countries. Macmillan.

Loudon, John C. Landed Properties, Management of. Encyclopædia of Agriculture.

Macdonnell, J. The Land Question. Macmillan.

Maine, Sir H. S. Village Communities in the East and West. Murray.

Mill, J. Stuart. Chapters and Speeches on the Irish Land Question. Longman.

Montgomery, W. E. History of Land Tenure in Ireland. Cambridge Press.

Moody, W. G. Land and Labor in the United States. Scribners.

Morris, W. O'Connor. The Land System of Ireland. Simpkin.

Nassé, E. The Agricultural Community of the Middle Ages. Macmillan.

Newman, W. L. The Land Laws.
Ogilvie, William. Birthright in Land. Kegan Paul.
Ouvry, H. A. Stein, and His Reforms in Prussia. Kerby.
Pagliardini, T. On the Land Laws of Europe. (In Nat. Assoc. Prom. Soc. Sci.)
Phear, Sir J. B. The Aryan Village in India and Ceylon.
Political Economy: General Works on.
Pollock, Sir F. The Land Laws. Macmillan.
Probyn, J. W. Systems of Land Tenure in Various Countries. Cassell.
Protherow, R. E. Land Laws.—Pioneers and Progress of English Farming.
Reports from H. M.'s Representatives Respecting the Tenure of Land in the Several Countries of Europe, 1869. Great Britain, Foreign Office.
Richey, A. G. The Irish Land Laws. Macmillan.
Ross, D. W. Early History of Landholding among the Germans. Trübner.
Roth, H. L. The Agriculture and Peasantry of Russia. Low.
Rouse, W. Remarks on the Value of Freehold and Copyhold Land. Pamphleteer, 1816.
Scrutton, Prof. T. E. Land in Fetters. Cambridge Press.
Seebohm, Frederick. English Village Community Examined. Longman.
Sparks, W. A. J. Land Entries, Fraudulent. Report Sec. of Interior, 1885, vol. 1.
Sparks, W. A. J. Land Preëmption System. Report Sec. of Interior, 1885, vol. 1.
Spence, Thomas. Nationalization of the Land. S. D. F., 337 Strand, London.
Stepniak. The Russian Peasantry. Sonnenschein.
Stubbs, G. W., Dean of Ely. — Land, the, and Labourers, the. Swan Sonnenschein.
Sullivan, J. History of Land Titles in Massachusetts. Boston, 1801.
Symposium on the Land Question. Unwin.
Systems of Land Tenure in Various Countries. Published by Cobden Club.
Thackeray, S. W. The Land and the Community. Kegan Paul.
Thornton, W. T. Plea for Peasant Proprietors. Longman.
Twitchell, Eliza Stowe. Economic Principles.
The Value of. Agriculture, Ancient and Modern, vol. 1.
Verney, Lady. How the Peasant Owner Lives. Macmillan.
Vinogradoff, Prof. Early English Land Tenures. Clarendon Press.
Walker, Pres. F. A. Land and its Rent. Clarendon Press.
Wallace, Dr. Alfred Russel. Land Nationalization. Swan Sonnenschein.
Wicksteed, Charles. The Land for the People. W. Reeves.
Young, Arthur. Travels in France in 1787, 1788 and 1789. London.

IS THE WEST DISCONTENTED? IS A REVOLUTION AT HAND?

BY JOHN E. BENNETT.

The readers of a conservative magazine in its issue of November, 1894, were treated to an article entitled "Is the West Discontented? A Study of Local Facts." The author of this article was J. H. Canfield, the present chancellor of the University of Nebraska. The editor of the magazine in question, in his addenda to that issue, introduces us to the writer as being for three years chancellor of the University of Nebraska, at Lincoln. "He is the author of 'Taxation: Plain talk for Plain People,' and he is not only at the head of an important educational institution, but by reason of his public activity in other ways, one of the most influential and useful men in the Northwest." Such being the case, and the subject being of such widespread interest to the country, I have thought the treatment given the theme by the professor would allow of some extension, in order that it may be ascertained whether or not he has reached correct conclusions, and if not, whether or not this is due to his premises or to his deductions.

The learned writer comes to the conclusion that the West is not discontented. What he means by "The West" is not very clear from his treatment of the subject; for he has concentrated his gaze upon the town of Lincoln in the state of Nebraska, and evidently within a stone's throw of the university buildings. There he proceeds to make a "study of local facts" by which he measures the condition of feeling of the population of the entire West—a term which is still taken to mean all that area of the United States beyond the Mississippi River.

Nor is the honored chancellor more clear in the definition of the term which he has undertaken to prove is not applicable, in any important degree, to the West. What he means by "discontent" he does not make plain to us. Discontent with one's self? with one's family or kin? with one's environment? with one's occupation or with the benefits yielded thereby? or with the laws and governmental conditions under which one exists? In none of these respects does the writer admit us to an understanding of the premises he is seeking to refute.

Declaring himself to be familiar with the lives and habits of a large number of people on "an average street" in Lincoln, which familiarity he has acquired through the various means by which a university professor may come in contact with the public, he proceeds to determine from the external appearances of their daily lives whether or not they are discontented.

In addition to this he has sent out a circular letter to "a hundred gentlemen of his personal acquaintance who are fair representatives of the different sections, of the different political parties, and of the different material interests of the state," and from the replies he receives to these letters he ascertains that only "from three to five per cent of the entire population of the state are really and seriously discontented." That discontent, however, he leaves us to believe is due to the fact that

> in a new state, and especially in a rich state like our own, *where all natural resources seem to be within easy grasp of each and all* [the italics are mine] there have been great opportunities for acquiring a competence and even wealth. . . . In the pursuit of wealth, some by reason of extraordinary diligence, extraordinary shrewdness or good fortune, have been more successful than others. With the unsuccessful, even though they have done more than fairly well, the sense of not being as far along in the race as those with whom they made the start is irritating. The rapid rise in values has unquestionably unsettled many men and made them discontented with conditions which we all know to be more nearly normal. . . . Our people do not always wait to be deprived of necessaries before they complain, but are apt to speak, and speak sharply, if what may be termed the lavishness of supply is lessened. Men here, as elsewhere, are in haste to get rich ; not simply to secure a competence. . . . Suffering, deprivation, and discontent are, much like the ague, 'over in the next township' ; and it is not at all unusual to find an audience applauding a speaker who tells them they are pauperized, when very few in the audience would part with their possessions short of a sum represented by a big unit and three ciphers.

Such is the view taken of the existing state of feeling among the people of Nebraska, on the score of their conditions, by an official who has prosecuted his explorations over the territory of his observations, he says, to the extent of 10,000 miles per year.

That he is not competent nor in a position to judge on such a subject, and that he dare not express his judgment if he were, will, on reflection, be perfectly clear to him, and if not to him, then, I hope, to those who may read these pages.

The subject is one of burning importance. "Is the West Discontented?" I quote from an article printed in the same magazine of the issue of the succeeding month (January,

1895) from the pen of a writer who was discussing the Strike Commissioners' Report.* The strike exerted its force particularly in the West, extending to California and having one of its centres in Omaha, the leading city in the state of which Professor Canfield is writing. Mr. Robinson, in that article, says:

> There have been strikes before, involving vast interests and bitterly contested, but none fraught with such sinister significance as those of last July. What caused the most profound alarm in all thinking minds was not any individual incident of the uprising, so much as the fact that the spirit of discontent and despair should have so far saturated large masses of the people of our country as to make such things possible — not anything which was done, so much as the method of its doing and the narrow escape from what was undone.

These two writers in the same periodical seem to take widely diverse views of the discontent existing in the West; perhaps if we look at the relative positions of the men we may find why such should be; particularly will our understanding increase when we learn that one is a pedagogue, largely aside from the current of affairs, while the other is a trade paper editor, with his eyes fixed on conditions which he must understand.

I shall assume, however, that by "discontent" Professor Canfield means a dissatisfaction arising from lack of adequate returns in the individual enterprises of the people and this failure in adequacy being general to large numbers, the cause being due directly to laws operating against the interests of the masses. This must be, in effect, the definition of Professor Canfield's word "discontent," else the word has no relevancy to his article.

Such, then, being the fact, let us inquire by what evidences the professor has undertaken to establish that the West is not discontented. I will assume that Nebraska is a specimen state of the West and that Lincoln is a sample town; nay, even that the people whom the professer has beheld going to and fro, through the plate-glass pane of his library window in the university building, are types of men and women common to the entire West. Such being the postulation how has the professor used these facts to draw his conclusions?

The wealthy residential section of Capitol Hill he passes over with the remark that "It is hardly likely that there will be much discontent here." A statement doubtless correct, but which is valuable to us mainly in that it goes as proof to our hypothesis that dissatisfaction resulting from inade-

* "The Humiliating Report of the Strike Commission," by H. P. Robinson.

quacy of returns from expended effort is the real meaning of the professor's word "discontent."

Passing Capitol Hill he descends at once to his "average street." Here he finds living in one house, German parents with six sons; one is an accountant at the University, one practises law, one is studying medicine, another does this and another that. He finds they are "intelligent, industrious, frugal, temperate, and reasonably successful," and from their moving in these occupations, from their industry, frugality, etc., he concludes that none of them are discontented within his meaning of the word.

In another house the professor locates "an old gentleman and his wife and one or two younger children. They live in a very quiet way, and have a few rooms which they rent to students and others." He has an occasional conversation with them, and from these occasionals and from the fact that they are living as he describes, he adjudges them not discontented.

In another house resides an old lady "who is partially, if not entirely, supported by her son. She may be seen quite frequently out in the garden among her flowers, chiefly noted for their old-fashioned names and colors," etc. From this observation of the old lady the professor finds she is not discontented. Working on a house adjacent are two carpenters; "one rides home with his wife who comes for him every evening with a neat little pony and phaeton, and is often accompanied by a bright-faced boy evidently their son. . . . He and his wife read together evenings, and he is reasonably well informed on public affairs." From these facts the professor determines that the carpenter is not discontented.

The other carpenter *is* discontented: he is a foreigner and a Swede. "He thinks the lot of the laboring man harder here than in the old country; and if he could get away he would certainly go back." This, then, is the reason of the Swede's discontent; another cause is that "at first he received large wages and thought he could soon own a home; he finally purchased it, but was somewhat in debt; he disliked the continual paying of interest, and now he did not get enough work to pay off what he owed." As an offset to the justifiableness of these grounds of dissatisfaction, the professor mentions that the Swede stated "with much apparent pride" that in the old country he could not run in debt, he would have no credit, and he would be expected to rent and to remain a tenant.

Thus far, then, in the inquiry, the professor has found

only one discontented man and he is an alien, and his discontent is really without foundation in fact, since he is doing far better amidst his new surroundings than he did in the country whence he came.

So on, through the various examples which the professor puts forward to show the pacific state of the western laboring population. His conclusions are based on just such observation. The young husband and wife who are building a small apartment house as a business venture, he being a thrifty shipping clerk and she, before marriage, a professional nurse, he finds busy and successful people, "such as are rarely discontented".

"The evening paper thrown upon the porches," the presence of a hammock and flowers in the yard, he takes as a certificate of an absence of discontent. The "old lady comfortably supported by a daughter who is a stenographer" is, from that fact, to his mind, contented; as also are the two daughters in the adjoining house who are clerks in one of the retail drygoods stores. Their appearance being neat and their habits busy, the professor cannot imagine they are discontented with that grim necessity which forces each to slave for a living, or that they are concerned in the vast disparity between their condition and that of those women whose incomes, from whatever sources, are sufficient to secure them from daily labor.

It is perfectly clear that the professor has adduced no facts upon which he could base an opinion. It would be, indeed, interesting to know what exterior phase should be presented to the eyes of the professor, in order to attain his idea of a discontented person. What must a person do, how must he act, that the professor might find he is discontented? What must be the state, environment, situation, of that "from three to five per cent of the entire population who are really and seriously 'discontented' "?

As I have said, the professor is neither a fit man to judge of the feeling of these people, nor would it be safe for him to express his judgment if he were.

The professor is evidently a contented man. With a snug salary of $4,000 or $5,000 a year, with comfortable quarters at the university buildings provided him by the state, to him the world is a smoothly rolling ball with greased axles. His office carries with it public respect and esteem, the people with whom he comes in contact treat him in a deferential, distinguished way, he has a measure of power and authority sufficient to make an ordinary man feel satisfied in this regard, and his private affairs are, doubtless, well managed.

To such a man, therefore, who pins his political faith to the economic nonsense of the dear old Republican party; whose knowledge of political economy was acquired from the writings of the old school; who knows worse than nothing of the principles of the single tax or the truths of free trade; who observes the vast concentration of wealth to be due to the superior shrewdness and activities of the millionaires; and who accounts for the giant strikes and wide agitation of the laboring masses as resulting from the harangues of foreign anarchists who poison their minds as to their surroundings, and, where really no just grounds exist, incite them to contests with their employers; to such a man there is nothing wrong; there is no discontent within the scope of our definition. If a few people are dissatisfied at the way things go with them, it is their own fault.

For such a man to respond to the question "Is the West Discontented?" and present himself as a judge thereof, appears to my mind the sheerest folly. The value of his views is simply that there is one man in the West who is comfortably situated and to whom it does not seem that there is anything wrong. There are hundreds, perhaps thousands like him; the "representative men" of whom he speaks are of his own kin. They are leading men in business and politics, they hold offices, have comfortable incomes, and are unconscious of the forces fermenting at the bottom. Carlyle tells us that, in Paris, in the height of the terrors of the French Revolution, "Theatres to the number of twenty-three were open every night; while right arms here grew weary with slaying, right arms there were twiddle-deeing on melodious catgut; at the very instant Abbé Sicard was clambering up his second pair of shoulders three men high (in the violon of the Abbayé following the massacre of the priests), 500,000 human individuals were lying horizontal as if nothing were amiss."

I have said that supposing that the professor *were* equipped for clear discernment, he dare not express his honest views. He is the holder of a position under the state government. This is necessarily a political position; that is, it is influenced by politics; its incumbency is secured through a political "pull." Let the professor publish in the same magazine an article describing conditions in Nebraska as they really are. Let him explain why the Populist party—the party of discontent—polled 83,134 votes in Nebraska in 1892 while in 1888 it polled but 9,429. Does this show contentment? Let him deplore that foul system* which has forced thousands of farmers

*That is, the feudal system of land ownership, which is in as full force in the United States to-day as when introduced into England by William the Conqueror.

and their families to the tilling of arid lands where certain starvation awaits them, if they remain long enough, while millions of God's best acres elsewhere lie fallow. Were the thousands in Nebraska lately fed from relief cars contented? Or did they resignedly attribute their famine to causes abiding solely with God?

The expressions of feeling in Omaha and elsewhere in Nebraska during the great strike and the sympathy extended by thousands to the Commonweal army movement, do not argue well for unbroken contentment there.

Suppose the professor should draw obvious deductions from these facts and write an article along the lines they lead, what would be the result? Refinements of mental torture for the writer! Such an article might be written of things and conditions in New York, or any other large eastern centre, and no one would take it sufficiently to heart to conceive umbrage at it. But the case is different in a western town. There everybody is seeking at all times to "boom" the town. They wish to draw trade to it, to increase the land value in it—at least a part of them wish to do so—to make it excel rival towns. The individual who shall narrate, any statements, whether true or not, which are likely to impair any of these ends, is a sort of public enemy.

So it would be with the professor. How the newspapers would "roast" the learned pedagogue! especially the newspapers of the political party opposite to that through which the professor had secured his chair. How they would, in column editorals, in paragraph squibs, cudgel and skewer the poor chancellor until his existence, for the period, would seem a torment. "The false representations," they would say, "made to the people of the East concerning the condition of the inhabitants of this state, are well likely to exert its influence in staying that desirable character of immigration which all of us have been, all these years, striving to attract. More is the pity that we should have warmed into life a serpent to bite us; that we should have given one of the most profitable positions in the service of the state to a man who, apparently, avails himself of the earliest opportunity to do us an injury."

I can fancy, too, I hear the heavy voice of a well-fed owner of a land addition to the city of Omaha, or to the city of Lincoln, rising in meeting of the chamber of commerce, and there proposing the adoption by that organization of a set of resolutions. These commence with a

"*Whereas*, It has come to the notice of this body that an officer, enjoying a large salary from the state, has so far

forgotten the fealty due from him to the people of the state as to cause to be published in a leading eastern magazine an article of his authorship grossly misrepresenting the contented and happy condition of the people of this state, and

"*Whereas*, Such an article is calculated to produce a false impression of the conditions prevailing in this state in the minds of the readers of the said magazine, now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That the members of the chamber of commerce in meeting assembled, do hereby deny the several statements contained in the said article as being without foundation in fact, and express their regret that a person capable of writing such an article should be found holding so important a position as the chancellorship of the university of this state."

The resolutions would be spoken upon by several brother real estate owners interested in booming the values of their lands and selling to the easterner at their own figures, little triangular blocks of the earth's surface which they had "taken up" years ago and had held idle all this time; these gentlemen talk to the point, and the resolutions are adopted with hardly a dissenting voice. The board of trade, composed of the "representative" class of whom the professor speaks, who see nothing wrong anywhere, and who do not wish to realize that such exists, also adopt like resolutions, which are spread at length in the news columns of the papers, touched up by editorial comment; and as the storm thickens the professor begins to feel that he has built his house on shifting sands; that perhaps, as a result of all this, his occupancy of the chancellorship may become unsettled.

The West *is* discontented. It is a simmering, seething cauldron of discontent. You find it on every hand wherever you go; whether east of the Rockies or beyond them, whether on the coast or on the sound. You find it in business circles, you hear it on street corners, nay, you *see it* there in the hundreds of idle men who are all day, and late into the night, standing about telegraph poles in the business centres, waiting for something to turn up. You will find it in the number of the public meetings held by the idle and laboring men, to talk over the situation; in the services of the New Era churches, which the laboring world has set up for itself because the regulation clergy persistently fail to take cognizance of the causes of the disturbed state of the masses. You can see this discontent in the People's Party papers, teeming with attacks on monopoly and recitals of the hardships of the people. You can see it in

the accumulation of such items as the following, which are daily distributed to the newspapers through the press associations:

San Francisco, February 19, 1895. — The death from starvation of a four-weeks-old child of Mrs. John Harkins, who lives in a miserable shanty on Oregon street, was reported to the coroner. Harkins has been unable to get work, and the family is poverty-stricken. The mother is bedridden through lack of nourishment.

I live in Los Angeles, California. I have lived here about seven years. In that time I have been connected with the press, both daily and weekly, as reporter, editor, special correspondent, special writer, writer for magazines and other periodicals. My duties have at various times drawn me close to civil courts, the police, politics, public bodies and organizations. No important public event has taken place in this southern metropolis of the state during my residence here, that has not been the subject of my study and labor. Los Angeles is regarded as one of the wealthiest and most prosperous cities of the west. It is but a few thousand larger than Lincoln, yet it does about twice the average amount of business, if the Bradstreet's weekly bank clearances may be taken as an index. Its resouces are vast and varied. Saving the imported product, there is an exclusive market for the fruits of its surrounding farms, for the California orange is not in the stores before the Florida orange has left the market. Millions of dollars are spent annually within its area by tourists; other millions by additions to its population in the persons of well-to-do people who come here to reside for the climate's sake.

Los Angeles, under any arrangement or system through which the distribution of opportunities would approximate to equality, ought to be filled with the happiest people on the continent, and a welcome should be ready for every stranger within its gates. Yet is this the case? Three detachments of the Commonweal army, aggregating nearly 2,000 men, got together here in 1893–94 and started to Washington. During the past winter, the "out of work" problem has become so serious that an institution called the "Associated Charities," comprising many of the leading property owners of the city, has been organized to cope with the situation, and it has had more work on hand than it could do.

In order that the pittance of fifty cents, charged as a fee by the professional employment agencies, might not stand between the person looking for work and a possible "job," the city council and county supervisors joined hands in starting a "Free Labor Bureau" through which the people

seeking employment might perhaps find it, and if so, free of cost. The city council has repeatedly ordered work done on the streets, which need not have been done, solely in order to provide employment for idle men. Often the city jail is filled with vagrants and the chain gang numbering disgraceful figures, while the fiat which often goes out from the chief of police, to drive from the city all vagrants, has advanced to shameful repetition.

I live on that "average street" of which Professor Canfield speaks. I have mentioned what I said above concerning myself, in order that the reader may concede my qualifications, at least, for judging of the people in the neighborhood of my residence, with whom I have an acquaintance, with some of whom, indeed, I am on terms of familiarity. I do not think this street will differ greatly in appearance from the one which the professor describes as being the field of his observations in Lincoln. There are neat cottages on it, flowers in some of the yards, and hammocks swinging from trees; the evening paper is flung on some of the porches, and the morning paper on others; in them live neatly dressed girls, pleasant-faced women, and busy men, not to speak of children playing on green lawns. The picture is just such a one as Professor Canfield would enthusiastically pronounce as being peopled by the most comfortable and contented human beings you would meet with anywhere. Yet is this true?

There are but four residents in the neighborhood, comprising a block either side of the street, who own their own homes; the others all rent.

Next door to me lives a watchmaker and jeweller; he has twice failed in business, the last time recently, and he has not been able to get on his feet again; he has a family comprising his wife and four children which is just now being supported by his father-in-law, who is worth about $20,000 in property. The man has been looking for work since his failure, but has found no steady employment. He may not be discontented, but I doubt it.

In the house beyond his, lives a proofreader who came here six months ago from Kansas, where the grasshoppers digested the major portion of his substance. He has been working at his calling on one of the dailies; but a week ago he received a note from the managing editor stating that the paper must retrench expenses, and that his services would be dispensed with. He is a good, faithful, competent man in his line, and there was no complaint on the score of his efficiency. They have a number of little children and their

predicament is distressing; his wife wears a sad face, and her eyes are red through loss of tears. Perhaps *they* are not discontented, but I think they are.

Across the street lives a man who came here five years ago from Iowa, bringing with him about $10,000 which he had "cleaned up" after a number of years spent in the hog business in that state. He invested it in a grocery store, along with several partners; the store was one of the largest in the city, but this fact did not keep it from failing. It is said my neighbor may save $1,000 from the wreck. This will enable him to start life anew, which, at the age of fifty, and in poor health, he cannot expect to do under very favorable conditions. I can anticipate the reply one would receive from him to an inquiry as to whether or not he is discontented!

Farther down the street live a man and his wife, both past middle life. They came here from Texas, bought a lot, and went into debt to build a little house upon it. He is in poor health, being afflicted with some sort of an abdominal tumor. Recently he called on me and asked me if I could not exert enough influence somewhere to procure him employment, reciting the number of things he could do. He said he had walked the streets until he was footsore and heartsick, and all his inquiries had found no offer of labor he could perform. I wonder if *he* is contented?

Next door, on the other side of my house, live an elderly man and his old wife; they have a family of grown children, several of whom live with them; the boys are doing what they can find to do, none of them I believe, regularly employed, and the girls are working for dressmakers. He lately conducted a small coal and wood yard, but finding the business would not return him laboring wages, he embraced an opportunity of selling it out for a few dollars, and has since been picking up a day's work here and there with his team. He is a rabid populist, and I *know* he is discontented.

Across the street from the house of this last-mentioned man, live a widow and her maiden sister. They came here together some years ago, with a little money, and began speculating in city lots. They have accumulated, by this means, about $12,000 which they chiefly loan out at the extortionately high rates of interest peculiar to the class of loans they make in these times. They own their home, and would doubtless be, in Professor Canfield's eyes, ideals of contented people; yet they are the most miserable, unhappy, discontented persons I know, and they admit it. Their money is to them a constant source of anxiety and

worry; whether they will lose this loan, whether the security for that is good, why Jones has defaulted his interest, and will Smith pay up, and so on through the whole nerve-wrecking gamut.

And so on through the whole neighborhood; there are a few men who are working on steady wages, but they are constantly oppressed by nervous fears lest they may lose their "jobs." Discontent, uncertainty, from one cause or another, is rampant up and down the whole street; yet Nature smiles, the clouds are gray against a deep blue sky, and flowers blossom into fragrance and wondrous colors; the neighborhood appears pleasant, the people are agreeable when you meet them, every man and woman carrying locked in their own hearts the burden of their own distress.

But let us leave this street and look elsewhere for contentment. Shall we go down to the Southern Pacific Railroad yards and ask that hundred or more locomotive engineers who stayed with the company through the strike last summer and who have just been rewarded for their fidelity by a cut in wages? Shall we ask them if they are discontented? Or shall we inquire of those twenty compositors who have just been let off of their cases on a leading daily through the introduction of typesetting machines?

There is a great deal of building going on at present in the city; let us inquire among the architects. None of them are busy, yet almost every man has one or more jobs in his office through which he manages to keep the establishment afloat. We remark to him that there is plenty of building going on in town just now, and he replies, "That's so, but the architects get very little of it." Ask him why, and he tells you that the contractors do most of it, furnishing their own plans, enabling the owners to avoid the services of an architect. The business, too, is cut up, he tells us. It is impossible any longer to get a living remuneration for the services of an architect. The fees of five per cent on the cost of the building, fixed by the Architects' Association, are lived up to solely by the members of that Association, and if suspicion is correct many of these default in the observance of this rule. Outside of the association, no one pretends he will let a job go because he will not take less than five per cent. "You can get an architect to design you a $10,000 building for $50. You will have to look sharp, though, that he does not make it up on you through collusion with the contractor, for he will do it if he can."

If the contractors are doing the bulk of the work, we

reason that these, at least, must be well employed, and with excellent returns. Yet when we move among them, what do we find? The number so great, and the competiton so intense, that a $1,500 building will be figured on by twenty-two contractors!* Ask them if they are discontented, and if so why? They will say there are too many men in the business; too many contractors for the work; that half of them ought to be doing something else; that a contractor can't get a job unless he finds an owner who wants to build, or he can become the favorite of an architect.

But the building trades are not alone in their discontent; it is in all trades, in all professions. A few are doing well; the many are struggling, barely keeping down expenses. If I should send out one hundred letters among the "representative," etc., men of this city and close by, as the professor has done at Lincoln, I should get about the same replies as did he. If I should base my opinion on these, I would come to the same conclusions as reached by him. The discontent does not exist among the "representative" men. To find it you must move among the men who are not "representative." A leading and "representative" hotel man of this city, a year ago, paid $21,000 for the title to a vacant lot on Broadway. He did nothing to the lot meanwhile, and a few days ago he sold it for $35,000, making $14,000 in a year through the parting, for that period, with the use of $21,000. Our letter to him would, doubtless, come back fulsome with emphasis that there is no discontent; that everything is prosperous and money is plentiful.

The verdict, however, of the laboring man, the proprietors of small business, and of small people generally, would be different. From them the answer would be much like the language of the Salvation Army General Booth, as stated in a recent interview, that these conditions cannot last; the strain is too great; a revolution is going on, and you have only to look around you to see it.

* An experience of Architect Charles W. Davis, Workman Building, Los Angeles, in 1894.

WHITTIER — THE MAN.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

In the habit as he lived.

— *Shakespeare.*

Like warp and woof all destinies
Are woven fast,
Linked in sympathy like the keys
Of an organ vast.

All which is real now remaineth,
And fadeth never:
The hand which upholds it now sustaineth
The soul forever.

— *Whittier.*

The life of Whittier, like that of Emerson, was beautiful in its simplicity and naturalness. Aside from the conspicuous absence of the spectacular or dramatic element in his make-up there was a marked freedom from that pernicious artificiality which permeates modern life and exalts the letter while it ignores the spirit. The sincerity and transparency of his life adds greatly to the positive inspiration from which posterity for ages to come will imbibe high, fine truths as from a mighty limpid reservoir, — truths, which, like the teachings of the great Galilean, are so simply clad that they appeal to the unlettered no less than to the spiritually minded among scholars.

It is good to draw very near to such a life, in the same way as it is helpful to journey forth into the country in springtime when Nature is awaking and on every hand one feels an indefinable uplift born of the glory of new life and its promised fruition.

Mrs. Mary B. Claflin, one of the poet's most intimate friends, in writing of Whittier, says: *

> With him duty was commanding, and he always kept before him and acted upon the idea that "beyond the poet's sweet dream lies the eternal epic of the man."

It is necessary to note here, however, that after the war of the Rebellion the poet ceased to be, in a marked degree, an aggressive reformer. True, his instincts were ever on the side of justice, freedom, and progress; but after the emancipa-

* "Personal Recollections of Whittier." T. Y. Crowell & Co.

tion of the slaves he laid aside the warrior's coat of mail for the quiet Quaker garb, if I may use these objective terms to illustrate mental conditions. This has been to me a source of deep regret; yet who shall judge when it is merely conviction of what is right at issue? Moreover, I can well understand the poet's feelings, and it is but just that we examine the poet from his own point of view when discussing this change, which so boldly contrasted with the after life of such a heroic soul as Wendell Phillips.

Whittier had made a noble sacrifice when he cheerfully surrendered his cherished dream of political preferment and literary success, and cast his lot in with the little despised band of Abolitionists, in conformity with what he conceived to be duty's august demand. At the time of this great renunciation no epithets were too abusive, no ridicule too cutting, no slander or calumny too gross to be meted out by easy-going conventionalists to the little band who seemed to be in a hopeless minority, but who bravely stood "on duty's vantage ground." After his decision had been deliberately made he had fought valiantly nor faltered once, until the great cause to which he had consecrated his best energies was won and the despised and persecuted minority had become luminous spirits in the eyes of the majority.

Then, and not till then, the strong desire for peace, rest, and an intense longing to be able to ascend the mountain beyond the range of the fierce tumult below overmastered the aggressive spirit which was peculiarly prominent in the early years of his life. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that he was at once reformer and Quaker; the traditions of his people and a strong inward desire led him to seek that repose which aids in the development of spirituality. If Whittier had in him much of the crusader, he also possessed in a large way the soul which has ever dominated the oriental mystics and sages; indeed, the blending of these two elements in him was very marked. From his soul could flash that divine indignation which must have lit up Jesus' eyes when he overturned the tables of the money-changers who had taken possession of his Father's temple; and yet few natures so yearned for peace and harmony, found only on the sunlit mountain peaks of love. From his luminous heart flowed the spirit of divine gentleness, compassion, and love of humanity, which was voiced in such a characteristic expression as his dying message, no

less than in such typical lines as the following, taken from his poem entitled "Worship:"

O brother man! fold to thy heart thy brother;
Where pity dwells, the peace of God is there;
To worship rightly is to love each other,
Each smile a hymn, each kindly deed a prayer.

* * * *

Love shall tread out the baleful fire of anger,
And in its ashes plant the tree of peace!

and these typical stanzas from a poem written to be read at the levee given by the president of Brown University, June 29, 1870:

I touched the garment-hem of truth,
Yet saw not all its splendor.

* * * *

And slowly learns the world the truth
That makes us all thy debtor,
That holy life is more than writ,
And spirit more than letter.

* * * *

For truth's worst foe is he who claims
To act as God's avenger,
And deems, beyond his sentry beat,
The crystal walls in danger.

There is another fact which should be remembered when considering the change which marks Whittier as the prophet of freedom on the one hand and the poet of the *Inner Light* on the other, and that was the almost incessant invalidism of the poet, — insomnia and neuralgia were his familiar companions. After a sleepless night he was often heard to say to his intimate friends in his quaint and semi-humorous way, "It is of no use; the sleep of the innocent is denied me; perhaps I do not deserve it." *

But it is not my present purpose to notice Whittier psychologically so much as to view him "in the habit he lived," and therefore, passing over this profoundly interesting study, we come to view him in his home life.

Few men have ever so thoroughly enjoyed the companionship of their friends as did our Quaker poet, and had his

---

*One who has suffered as did Whittier can readily see how a soul constituted like his would yearn for peace and rest.

This chronic invalidism, while it frequently rendered it impossible for him to enjoy intercourse with kindred souls, and prevented him from attending public gatherings in which he felt a deep interest, failed to mar his sweet disposition, or ruffle the calm of a soul at once so profoundly spiritual and yet so thoroughly human as was his. What would have embittered most persons only seemed to add to the serenity of his spirit.

health permitted he doubtless would have found much pleasure from social intercourse which was denied him.

Ralph Waldo Emerson was a great favorite of Whittier, although their visits were necessarily infrequent. On one occasion, described by Mrs. Claflin, when the poet and philosopher were out riding, Emerson pointed out a small unpainted house by the roadside and said, "There lives an old Calvinist in that house, and she prays for me every day. I am glad she does. I pray for myself." "Does thee?" said Whittier. "What does thee pray for, friend Emerson?" "Well," replied Emerson, "when I first open my eyes upon the beautiful world, I thank God that I am alive and that I live so near Boston." On another occasion Whittier was telling Emerson of an original and somewhat remarkable farmer whom he knew. The great transcendentalist became much interested and remarked, "That man would enjoy Plato." At a later date Emerson sent the poet a copy of Plato to be loaned to his friend. On returning it the farmer expressed the satisfaction he had derived from the volume, adding that "that Mr. Plato has a good many of my idees."

Longfellow, Lowell, and Nathaniel Hawthorne were among other distinguished literary contemporaries whose friendship Mr. Whittier much prized. About the latter, who it will be remembered was a man of moods, Whittier related to Mrs. Claflin the following personal experience, which, though humorous to the reader, must have been exceedingly embarrassing to the poet at the time. "Thee knows," said Whittier, "I am not versed in small talk; but I wanted to make a friendly call on Hawthorne, and one morning (it chanced to be an ill-fated morning for this purpose) I sallied forth, and on reaching the house was ushered into a lugubrious-looking room, where Hawthorne met me, evidently in a lugubrious state of mind. In a rather sepulchral tone of voice he bade me good morning, and asked me to be seated opposite him, and we looked at each other and remarked upon the weather. Then came an appalling silence, and the cold chills crept down my back. After a few moments I said, 'I think I will take a short walk.' I took my walk, and returned and bade him good morning, much to my relief and I have no doubt to his."

Whittier was a man of strong soul-friendships. Many of his dearest friends (such as John Bright, for example) he loved through spiritual kinship, although not enjoying personal acquaintance, and it is safe to say that all over the

world the humble and unpretentious singer of New England was loved as a brother, counsellor, and friend. In this connection Mrs. Claflin has recorded a delightful episode relating to the meeting of Dom Pedro and Whittier in the following words:

When Dom Pedro, the Emperor of Brazil, was visiting Boston, he was invited one morning to a private parlor to meet some of the men who have made this city famous in the world of letters. As one after another was presented to him, he received each one graciously, but without enthusiasm. But when Mr. Whittier's name was announced his face suddenly lighted up, and, grasping the poet's hand, he made a gesture as though he would embrace him, but seeing that to be contrary to the custom of the Friends, he passed his arm through that of Mr. Whittier, and drew him gently to a corner, where he remained with him, absorbed in conversation until the time came to leave. The Emperor, taking the poet's hand in both his own again, bade him a reluctant farewell, and turned to leave the room, but, still unsatisfied, was heard to say, "Come with me," and they passed slowly down the staircase, his arm around Mr. Whittier.

Numerous illustrations might be cited to show how profoundly the poet cherished these soul-friendships even when in the flesh he never saw those he had learned to love. One of the most interesting illustrations of this character is set forth in an account given to Mr. Packard by Jessie Benton Fremont, which, aside from giving us a glimpse of Whittier, is a delightful bit of history. After describing their visit to Whittier Mrs. Fremont continues: *

I began by telling him he had strongly influenced my young life, that I was but twenty-two when I cut from a newspaper and pasted in my prayer-book his "Angel of Patience," that the lines

> The throbs of wounded pride to still,
> And make our own our Father's will,

were the hardest to get *by heart* I had ever tried, for patience and submission were not natural growths in my part of the country.

"Thy speech *is* southern; what is thy name?"

"Not yet," I said. "I am southern, but let me tell you more first. I want to tell you of your last, your greatest help to us both — to me and greatest to my husband."

And then I told him as briefly as I could how over thirty thousand men were next day to break camp for active pursuit of the enemy, — the enemies of the Union, Mr. Whittier. It was Sunday evening; the setting sun lit up the October colors of the trees, and picked out the white of tents covering the many hills; the men were hushed into reverent stillness, for the bands played the air, and then voices, swelling to thousands on thousands took up the familiar words:

> Before Jehovah's awful throne.

Before that awful throne who could know how soon he must appear? And why? What good attained for which a man should lay down his life?

* John Greenleaf Whittier; Life and Letters, by S. T. Packard, vol. ii, pp. 461, 462, 463.

The day's mail was brought into the general's tent. He had no heart to open it, for his highest, dearest, purest hopes had been flung back on him and himself disapproved. But I, who was always the secretary and other-self, went on with the things of every day, "taking the burden of life again," and thinking of my reward, when in the New York *Evening Post* there met my eye your inspired, prophetic words.

Uplifted beyond the time of trial, I went out with the paper to where, standing over the fire — as he so often had stood in lonely times of suffering and dejection — was the general, alone. I read him the whole. He was speechless with increasing, overwhelming, glorified feeling — transfigured. Taking the paper, and bending to read it for himself by the blazing logs, at length he said:

"He speaks for posterity. I *knew* I was right. I want these words on my tombstone:

> "God has spoken through thee,
> *Irrevocable*, the mighty words *Be free*.

"*Now* I can die for what I have done."

Whittier had grasped my arm, and his eyes blazed. "What is thy name?"

"Fremont."

Without a word he swung out of the room, to return, infolding in his helping embrace a frail little woman, tenderly saying to the invalid he was bringing from her seclusion:

"Elizabeth, this is Jessie Fremont, — under our roof. Our mother would have been glad to see this day."

It seems to have been "one of the ironies of fate" that Whittier, the home-lover and a man pre-eminently domestic in his tastes, should have been denied the companionship of a congenial wife. Many have been the romances hinted at and which have been alleged to have entered into his early life. Probably the best authenticated appeared some time after the poet's death in that critically and ably edited daily, the *Republican* of Springfield, Massachusetts; and although I have found it impossible to absolutely verify its authenticity, it is so probable as well as so interesting I give it below as it appeared under the title of "Whittier's Secret."

The residence of eighteen months in Hartford introduced him to a vigorous anti-slavery circle of higher culture and a more delicate refinement than any he had known, and within that circle, incarnated in a most lovely woman, he was to find his fate.

Among the friends the biographer has mentioned Judge Russ, a man well known in that day for brilliant parts and a handsome person. The family was distinguished for beauty and brightness. Of those members whom Whittier knew, Mary, the oldest, married Silas E. Burrowes. Mrs. Burrowes died of consumption in New York in 1841, at the age of thirty-four. There survived only an unmarried daughter, Cornelia, and one son, Charles James Russ, who twenty years later was a prominent lawyer in Hartford.

Cornelia, the youngest child, born in 1814, was but seventeen years old when she parted from Whittier in 1831. He was twenty-four. The strong anti-slavery zeal of the family threw the two young people much together, and the clear brain and tender heart of the poet yielded to very

uncommon charms. One who saw her during the last year of her life describes her in this way:

"At twenty-eight Cornelia was a most beautiful woman. She had dark blue eyes, like pansies, with long, dark lashes, black hair, and the most exquisite color. If she was like the rest of the family, she was a very brilliant woman."

Judge Russ, who was a member of Congress in 1820, had died in 1832. Of this Whittier probably heard through his friend Law, but that he ever heard of the death of Mary Burrowes or Cornelia there is no evidence. When he was writing his letter of sympathy to the friends of Lucy Hooper, Cornelia was lying on her deathbed. She had nursed her sister through her fatal illness, had imbibed the poison, and followed her in the April of 1842.

The poem called "Memories," to which Whittier attributed a special significance, was written during Cornelia's last illness. He thinks of her as still bright and living, and when in 1888 he desired the poem to be placed at the head of his subjective verse, his heart was still true to her, but gave no token that he knew hers had ceased to beat.

After Cornelia's death her papers passed into the hands of the only surviving member of her family, Charles James Russ, who died in 1861. At that time her private letters came into the hands of his widow, who destroyed most of them, but kept, from pure love of the poet, the precious pages in which Whittier had offered himself to her kinswoman. I have not myself read the letter, which is still in existence, but one who has read it, the present possessor, writes me as follows: "The letter was short, simple, and manly, as you would know. He evidently expected to call next day and learn his fate." Another who has seen the letter writes: "It was somewhat stiff — such a letter as a shy Quaker lad would be likely to write, for that he was in spite of his genius. He begged her, if she felt unable to return his affection, to keep his secret, for he said, 'My respect and affection for you are so great that I could not survive the mortification if your refusal were known.'"

Cornelia Russ was sought in marriage by several distinguished persons, but she died unmarried and she kept Whittier's secret. His poem suggests that the stern creed of Calvin held them apart — a thing very likely to happen in Connecticut half a century ago; but if he had known that she had changed her early connections for the more liberal associations of the Church of England he would have seen more distinctly "that shadow of himself in her" of which the poem speaks.

Those who are familiar with "Memories" will recall the "hazel eyes" and "light brown hair" which it commemorates, and fancy perhaps that there is some mistake. It is not likely that Whittier forgot the color of Cornelia's eyes or hair. In some effusive moment he had shown the poem to James T. Fields and Edwin P. Whipple. In 1850, when Cornelia had been dead eight years, they wished to publish it, and he was very reluctant. He had not outgrown his early passion, and before it was printed undoubtedly changed a few descriptive words to screen the truth, it may be from Cornelia herself. She never saw it, but I think he died believing that she had.

Rumors of this story reached me long ago, but I would not print a mere surmise, and by long and devious ways leading through probate offices and town registers, through church records and private papers, in a varied correspondence that has occupied two months, have I followed the story as I tell it.

Although denied a wife, Whittier enjoyed for a long period the very intimate companionship of his best-beloved sister as well as the association of some other members of the

little group who composed the home circle when he was "a barefoot boy." For his sister Elizabeth, however, he ever cherished the deepest affection. She had poetic talent and was a keen as well as sympathetic critic. Early in the autumn of 1864 this sister passed upward, and in a letter to Lucy Larcom dated Sept. 3, 1864,* the poet wrote:

I feel it difficult even now to realize all I have lost. But I sorrow without repining, and with a feeling of calm submission to the will which I am sure is best. If I can help it, I do not intend the old homestead to be gloomy and forbidding through my selfish regrets. *She* would not have it so. She would wish it cheerful with the "old familiar faces" of the friends whom she loved and still loves. I hope thee and other friends will feel the same freedom to visit me as heretofore.

In October of the same year Whittier wrote Grace Greenwood the following letter which brings us very near to the heart of the poet:†

My dear sister's illness was painful and most distressing, yet she was patient, loving, and cheerful even to the last. How much I miss her! how much less I have now to live for! But she is at rest. Surely, few needed it or deserved it more, if it were proper to speak of *desert* in that connection. A pure, generous, loving spirit was hers. I shall love all her friends better for her sake. The autumn woods are exceedingly beautiful at this time. I miss dear Elizabeth to enjoy them with me. I wonder sometimes that I can be cheerful and attend to my daily duties, since life has lost so much of its object. But I have still many blessings — kind friends and books, and the faith that God is good, and good only.

There is a fund of quiet humor running through many of Whittier's letters, an example of which is given by Mr. Packard in the following:

There was a report abroad early in '67 that Whittier was about to marry. He refers to this in a letter to Lucy Larcom of March 16. "Credulity! thy name is woman. So thee believed that report almost? Well, it may be true, but the first intimation of it came to me through the newspapers. *They* ought to know. I can't imagine how the report was started. It vexed me, but of course there was no help for it. It is the cruelest irony to congratulate a hopeless old bachelor, within one year of sixty, on such prospects. I don't know about this 'freedom of the press.'"

To another correspondent who had written him in regard to the same matter, the poet replied:

The idea of offering matrimonial congratulations to a hopeless old bachelor trying to thread a needle to sew on his buttons! As well talk of agility to a cripple or a rise of government stocks to a town pauper. Of course thee did not believe this silly story. I don't care much about it, but I should be sorry to have to read congratulations upon it by every mail. I wish the newspaper scamp who started it nothing worse than to be an old bachelor like myself or to have a wife like Mrs. Caudle.

---

*John Greenleaf Whittier; Life and Letters, by S. T. Packard, vol. ii, p. 480.
†John Greenleaf Whittier; Life and Letters, by S. T. Packard, vol. ii, pp. 481, 482.

Few persons outside the poet's circle of friends knew that he was color-blind. His biographer thus refers to this defect:

Mr. Whittier had the misfortune to be color-blind in respect to the shades of red and green. But he thought he had an unusual appreciation of the yellows which fully compensated him for this defect. He saw no difference in color between a red apple and the leaves of a tree upon which it was growing. It was only the white or yellow rose that had for him any beauty except of form. He thought he enjoyed the splendors of an autumn landscape in a wooded country as much as the ordinary observer, especially if there was a fair admixture of yellow foliage. When he brought home bouquets of leaves it was noticeable that yellow greatly predominated. Perhaps his preference for the goldenrod as the national flower was partly due to its color. His mother discovered this optical defect, when a little boy he was picking wild strawberries. He could see no difference between the color of the berry and the leaf. "I have always thought the rainbow *beautiful*," he once said with an amused smile, "but they tell me I have never seen it. Its only color to me is yellow." A reddish brown book was handed him on the cover of which were lines of bright scarlet, and he was asked to tell the colors as he saw them. He thought the book was a dark yellow, and the scarlet lines stood out to him as bright yellow.

As with other lives, he who studies that of Whittier will constantly come across facts which are perplexing. In his opinions he was what his friends termed "firm," his critics "set," and his enemies (for in the aggressive period of his life he made foes) "stubborn." Then, again, there was present that strange inward struggle between the Puritan and Quaker, the "Peter and the John," the occidental and the oriental. He was by turns a shrewd and somewhat narrow New Englander, and at other times a broad idealist and mystic. Yet, with all this, his life was so pure, transparent, and noble in purpose and permeated with a childlike simplicity, that the outgush of his soul best mirrored the man. Thus in his letters and poems we gain a fine insight into the character of the poet. His remarkable self-control in later years was due to self-mastery. Mr. Packard observes:

It would be a mistake to suppose that gentleness was a necessity of his nature; it was in reality the result of resolute self-control and the *habitual government of a tempestuous spirit. He was quick and nervous in movement, but never otherwise than dignified and graceful. In conversation he spoke slowly and with precision, hesitating occasionally without the slightest nervousness for the word he wanted. This must have been the result of his habit of self-restraint, which became his second nature. He religiously curbed his tongue, and said of himself that he was born without an atom of patience in his composition, but that he had tried to manufacture it as needed.*

Perhaps few men of such fine and lofty impulses have ever felt more keenly their shortcomings than did Whittier. In a

letter to a friend written in 1879 he uses these touchingly frank expressions:

I have been looking over my life, and the survey has not been encouraging. Alas! if I have been a servant at all I have been an unprofitable one, and yet I have loved goodness, and longed to bring my imaginative poetic temperament into true subjection. I stand ashamed and almost despairing before holy and pure ideals.

Other mental states are shadowed forth quite as forcibly in various stanzas of which the following is a fair example:

Better to stem with heart and hand
The roaring tide of life, than lie,
Unmindful, on its flowery strand,
Of God's occasions drifting by;
Better with naked nerve to bear
The needles of this goading air,
Than in the lap of sensual ease forego
The godlike power to do, the godlike aim to know.

And again, the following paraphrase of a Sanscrit maxim, entitled "The Inward Judge," reveals the firm conviction of the poet:

The soul itself its awful witness is.
Say not in evil doing "No one sees,"
And so offend the conscious One within,
Whose ear can hear the silences of sin
Ere they find voice, whose eyes unsleeping see
The secret motions of iniquity.

Nor in thy folly say "I am alone."
For, seated in thy heart, as on a throne,
The ancient Judge and Witness liveth still,
To note thy act and thought: and as thy ill
Or good goes from thee, far beyond thy reach,
The solemn doomsman's seal is set on each.

Another glimpse of the true poet and man is found in these lines from "At Last:"

When on my day of life the night is falling,
And, in the winds from unsunned spaces blown,
I hear far voices out of darkness calling
My feet to paths unknown,

Thou who hast made my home of life so pleasant,
Leave not its tenant when its walls decay;
O Love Divine, O Helper ever present,
Be Thou my strength and stay!

* * * *

Some humble door among Thy many mansions,
Some sheltering shade where sin and striving cease,
And flows forever through heaven's green expansions
The river of Thy peace.

There, from the music round about me stealing,
I fain would learn the new and holy song,
And find at last, beneath Thy trees of healing,
The life for which I long.

His strong faith in God, man, and the future is a very striking characteristic of Whittier. It tinges his poems and lights up his personal letters as the sun lightens the passing cloud with splendor. Thus, in a letter to Lucy Larcom we find this strong conviction:

As we glide down the autumnal slopes of life how the shadows lengthen and deepen, but "in the even-time there shall be light." "Death," said the heathen stoic, "is according to nature, and nothing is evil which is according to nature," and there is deep wisdom and consolation in his saying. But as Christians our trust is not alone in the steady sequence of nature, but in the tender heart of our Father and the infinite love revealed in His human manifestation.

And again this same lofty faith is found in these exquisite stanzas among other pieces:

O golden age, whose light is of the dawn,
And not of sunset, forward, not behind,
Flood the new heavens and earth, and with thee bring
All the old virtues, whatsoever things
Are pure and honest and of good repute,
But add thereto whatever bard has sung
Or seer has told of, when in trance and dream
They saw the happy isles of prophecy!
Let justice hold her scale, and truth divide
Between the right and wrong; but give the heart
The freedom of its fair inheritance.
Let the poor prisoner, cramped and starved so long,
At nature's table feast his ear and eye
With joy and wonder; let all harmonies
Of sound, form, color, motion, wait upon
The princely guest, whether in soft attire
Of leisure clad, or the coarse frock of toil,
And, lending life to the dead form of faith,
Give human nature reverence for the sake
Of One who bore it, making it divine
With the ineffable tenderness of God.
Let common need, the brotherhood of prayer,
The heirship of an unknown destiny,
The unsolved mystery round about us, make
A man more precious than the gold of Ophir,
Sacred, inviolate, unto whom all things
Should minister, as outward types and signs
Of the eternal beauty which fulfils
The one great purpose of creation, love,
The sole necessity of earth and heaven.

It has been observed that every one puts much of himself into his work, and this is peculiarly true of a life so transparent and simple as that of Whittier. Thus, I think that nowhere can we come into closer relationship to the real man

than by a careful perusal of his works. His familiar form has left us. His benign smile is no more seen, even among the small circle of his loved friends and companions, but his fine thoughts, his inspiring words, which reveal his real worth as well as the divine mind, remain to enthuse, strengthen, and ennoble the present and the generations that are to come, while the remembrance that his was a pure life, devoid of the feverish artificiality which so marks our occidental civilization, lends additional lustre to his lofty thoughts. The life and work of one like Whittier are an inestimable blessing to mankind, and his influence will continue for ages to come, for his thought was at once permeated with love and in alignment with freedom, justice, and progress.

CLUB LIFE VERSUS HOME LIFE.

BY G. S. CRAWFORD.

Clubs in some form may be said to be coeval with civilization. Without searching into the remote past for particular instances, we find among the Greeks the *Eranos*, an association which gave to its members the means of enjoying at their joint expense a feast or other kind of entertainment. It also afforded mutual aid to the *Eranistæ*, or, in other words, it provided a form of insurance for the benefit of those who made contributions for this particular purpose. There is reason to believe from certain regulations cited by Lipsius that clubs likewise existed among the Romans. The name itself, among other derivations, has been traced by Dr. Johnson to the Anglo-Saxon word *cleofen*, to cleave, from the division of the reckoning with the host.

"The modern club" of Addison's day as well as of our own is, as he says, "founded upon eating and drinking, which are points wherein most men agree, and in which the learned as well as the illiterate, the dull as well as the airy, the philosopher and the buffoon, can all of them bear a part." The earliest London clubs held their meetings at some tavern or coffee-house which gained distinction from the men who frequented it. English literature abounds with allusions to these associations as well as to the places of public entertainment which they made famous. *The Mermaid Tavern*, *The Thatched House*, and *The Turk's Head*, as well as *The Club*, *The Apollo*, *The Kit-Kat*, *The Mohawks*, *The Beefsteak*, and many others, are almost household words, while the leading spirit of each has been made known to us in the lives of our poets, wits, and philosophers. Macaulay tells us that Johnson's conversation was never so brilliant as when he was surrounded by a few friends at the *Literary Club*. These friends who gathered about the learned doctor were Burke, Goldsmith, Reynolds, Gibbon, Jones (the greatest linguist of the age), James Boswell, the doctor's born "slave and idolater," and Garrick. It is not surprising, therefore, that a club composed of men of such genius and varied accomplishments became, according to the same

author, "a formidable power in the Commonwealth." It was at *Button's* that Addison, if we may believe Pope,

> Like Cato gave his little senate laws
> And sat attentive to his own applause.

Dryden reigned supreme at *Will's*, and Swift drew up the rules for the regulation of *The Brothers*, with whom decency, "the improvement of friendship, and the encouragement of letters" were primary objects, "none of the extravagance of *The Kit-Kat* or the drunkenness of *The Beefsteak* is to be endured," nor, we presume, was the devil expected to be entertained here as with *The Mohawks*, with whom it was the custom to leave a vacant chair at the head of the table for this willing guest, who, whether present in the spirit or in the flesh, could not fail to feel at home where the seductive motto, "*Fay ce que voudrais*," taken from Rabelais, was placed over the door.

The rules for the *Apollo Club* were composed in verse by Ben Jonson. Among other recommendations for fellowship he sets forth the following:

> Let learned civil merry men b' invited
> And modest too, *nor be choice ladies slighted.*

The last clause reminds us that women were not exclusively dependent upon the invitation of men for their enjoyment of club life. Long before Jonson's hospitable intent was made known, they also were in the habit of assembling at the tavern to drink and to gossip. Upon these occasions of reunion each, as became a good housewife, brought her share of provisions in the same manner as at a picnic. An old song of the fifteenth century lets us into the secrets of one of these gossip meetings. From it we infer that the Bavarian of to-day in his matinal search for the choicest cask of beer is not more eager than were those good dames in quest of "wine of the best." After a general discussion upon this subject, one of the gossips, so runs the song, says she knows very well where the best drink of the town is to be had, but she begs that the information may not be imparted to her husband. The place of meeting having been agreed upon, the women proceed thither two and two, in order that they may not attract attention, for, said one, "God might send me a stripe or two if my husband should see me here." "Nay," said another, "she that is afraid had better go home; I dread no man." The dangers by the way having been escaped, the

tavern is finally reached, where, after wine had been called for,

> Ech of them brought forth ther dysch,
> Sum brought flesh, and sum fych.

The conversation that ensues concerns the goodness of wine and the unsatisfactory nature of husbands in general, to say nothing of particular instances of their perversity.

In the old *Mysteries*, Noah's wife is not infrequently taken as the type of the married woman of the middle class. We learn from the *Chester Mysteries* that when Noah came to seek his consort for the purpose of putting her into the ark, he found her at one of the taverns drinking with her gossips: apparently she prefers to perish in their company rather than to survive with her husband; at any rate, she stoutly refuses to go with him unless her gossips shall likewise be saved. From high words, Noah and his wife come to blows, which are finally interrupted by their three sons, who succeed in dragging their reluctant mother into the ark. This arduous rescue having been accomplished, we are not surprised that Noah should exclaim:

> Ha, ha! Marye, this is hotte,
> It is good for to be stille.

It is difficult to say what was the motive that induced women to abandon the tavern so much earlier than men. It may have been "the stripe or two" sent by Heaven, or otherwise administered, which effectually put an end to "gossip meetings" in public places.

The transformation of the social club into the political, or rather the combination of the two, was a natural consequence in England, where State matters have always ranked as the most important of human considerations. In the days of Queen Anne every shade of political opinion was represented by a club, and in later times such organizations served to develop and disseminate political opinions of the most diverse character. *The Carlton*, *The Conservative*, *Brooks's*, *The Reform*, and others are now looked upon by their members as the nurseries of free institutions and the schools wherein many of the manly virtues are learned. Nor do science, literature, and the arts lack for representatives in this field of human association.

In our own country, clubs embody almost as many interests as on the other side of the water. As a social institu-

tion, the club threatens not only to modify old theories of life, but, under the somewhat altered conditions of society, to create new difficulties for the men and women of the present day. The question now is not as hitherto, What will promote the pleasure of men alone? but, What will subserve the best interests of society, what will insure the integrity of the family and afford the largest possible means of expansion for each of its members? Talleyrand, it is said, was in the habit of maintaining that the success of representative institutions in England and the habit of self-government was due to the custom on the part of ladies of leaving the dinner-table before the gentlemen, thus giving them the opportunity for the discussion of political and other serious matters; but when all is conceded to the humanizing effect of good cheer, and to the "after-dinner philosophy," which Horace so warmly praises, there yet remains considerable doubt concerning the amount of wisdom likely to survive the heavy eating and liberal drinking of that day. If the occasional separation of the sexes for social intercourse "has a tendency to brace and stimulate the masculine mind," the club far more than the dinner-table has served, it is claimed, to develop a love for liberal forms of government. The teachings of history, however, reveal the fact that the Anglo-Saxon appreciation of free institutions clearly antedates the foundation of London clubs or even of English after-dinner etiquette.

So long as the interests of women were confined to a narrow range of subjects and the privileges of education were denied, it is easy to believe that conversation with them would naturally assume a frivolous tone, but even under these adverse circumstances the difference in point of wisdom and vivacity between the average talk of the drawing-room and dining-room was not, we fancy, so great in times past as we are sometimes led to suppose. Dean Swift, whom it has never been the custom to regard as the special friend and ally of woman, has said nevertheless: "The degeneracy of conversation, with the pernicious consequence thereof, hath been owing among other causes to the custom arisen, for some time past, of excluding women from any share in our society, further than in parties at play, or dancing or in the pursuit of an *amour*. . . . If there were no other use in the conversation of ladies, it is sufficient that it would lay a restraint upon those odious topics and indecencies into which

the rudeness of our northern genius is so apt to fall." There is reason to believe that as a restraint only this influence upon men is no longer necessary; but the growing interest which intelligent women now take in all branches of learning and in social questions has served undoubtedly to reduce still further any discrepancy of intellectual tone that may formerly have existed.

One of the chief objections to the club is the separation of the sexes which it brings about. It must, however, be admitted that normally constituted women would be quite as much bored as men by constant intercourse with the opposite sex; the renewal of contact being one of the principal sources of the charm and refreshment which men and women get from each other's society. On the other hand, a mother who has the welfare of her family at heart naturally wishes for her sons and daughters the advantages of agreeable and improving associates. She can secure at her fireside the presence of superior women. It is, however, more fitting that the head of the house should introduce its male visitors; but if, instead of bringing his companions to his home, he seeks their society at the club, the family circle loses the beneficial effects of contact with men whose opportunities for knowing life it may be presumed are both varied and instructive. Without this class of influence the home cannot be a true school of manners or accomplishments.

The convenience of the club is so manifest and many of its forms so unobjectionable that it would be not only unreasonable but futile to remonstrate against its existence. The club is here, and undoubtedly it has come to stay; the main question is how it can be kept within the limits of legitimate use, and rendered harmless to the home, which as an institution vastly outranks it in importance. It is the custom for the moralist, the sociologist, and the philosopher to lay great stress upon the sanctity of the home, which they call the foundation of civilization and the safeguard of society. It is well claimed that upon its preservation depends the permanence of the advance that has been made over the primitive animal instincts and the conquest that has been gained over some of the grossest infirmities of human nature. And yet when all has been said we leave this citadel exposed to assaults which are no less insidious than dangerous.

The home should be organized and developed in every possible way in order that it may present counter attractions

greater than any afforded by the club ; it is therefore worth while for women to consider the means by which this enemy of the fireside may be rendered less dangerous. Organization and concerted action are the controlling principles of modern life ; so the success of the club, its comfort and luxury, are due to co-operation. The benefit of this method of dealing with the practical questions of life might well be extended to the household, which thus far has been left to haphazard expedients for the realization both of its material and spiritual welfare.

It is needless to say that the development of the home in accordance with its highest possibilities is attended by difficulties proportionately greater perhaps at the present time than ever before. The wavering allegiance to authority in all of its forms, the loss on the part of parents of prestige which formerly belonged to them by virtue of their position, are both marked features of our social life. To pose for dignity and infallibility without the qualities to maintain the position is fortunately no longer possible or profitable. A greater sincerity has undoubtedly entered into our lives, but we have to pay the penalty for the exercise of the individual judgment which it involves, by larger concessions to individual rights. The household has in consequence lost its solidarity ; parents, in ceasing to be tyrants, as they were too often of old, have not yet learned to be guides in the best sense. Nevertheless, freedom of action and the unrestricted development of the individual on the line of his gifts or aspirations are so thoroughly inherent in our society that it is no longer possible to work out our regeneration on any other basis than that of freedom.

If the family is to be held together and rendered capable of achieving all that lies within its field, it must in a large measure be through the sympathetic co-operation of each of its members ; for however favorable circumstances may be, it is difficult to overestimate the infinite pains and diligence necessary to secure the conditions which go to the making of a cheerful and agreeable home. These conditions cannot be brought about or be maintained single-handed by any one member of the family ; without co-operation the struggle to secure this end is not only too great but too ineffective to be persisted in for any length of time. Hence there come discouragement and the abandonment of principles and ideals which with mutual aid might have become fixed and

fruitful sources of happiness. The atmosphere of the home is too often dull and insipid, not because its inmates are destitute of enlivening qualities, but because they fail to exert themselves for the entertainment of those with whom they are thrown in daily contact. Even where circumstances do not permit of the enjoyment of those pleasures of life which depend upon leisure and wealth for their gratification, the sharing of well-organized labor may be helpful and prolific sources of sympathy and good-fellowship.

Women undoubtedly are often responsible for the existence of comfortless and inharmonious homes, but it is frequently the case that men otherwise conscientious in the discharge of their duties and diligent in the accumulation of wealth and luxuries for their families, are without sympathy and without knowledge of the inner life of those who constitute the household. The children of such men are left almost exclusively to the care of the mother, whose knowledge of the world and whose intellectual attainments are, generally speaking, inferior to those of her husband. She is therefore better fitted to co-operate with his plans than to take the lead in such matters. We believe that the majority of the women thus left to their own resources do the best they can, but they do not succeed in accomplishing the half that might be done if some part of the time which men spend at the club were devoted to solving the problems of the household as well as contributing to its pleasure. It is no part of the expectation of any reasonable person that a man after business hours should hold a Sunday-school class or otherwise labor in a perfunctory fashion for the edification of his family; but a little hearty and unrestrained intercourse with his children would enable him to promote their interests in ways far more vital than by the excessive accumulation of the superfluities of life. It would be well for such men to learn from Plato that it is better "to limit the appetites than to feed them fat."

Many a man learns for the first time the true character of his son when he is called upon to extricate him from what is commonly known as a *scrape*. The sympathy of his friends, to which upon these occasions he would naturally be entitled, is properly diminished in view of the complacent manner with which his responsibilities as a father have too often been put off upon the school and the college. If a man will persist in looking upon his home as a dormitory and a restaurant and

nothing more, if he seeks his pleasure at the club, and is manifestly bored and *distrait* at his own fireside, he cannot expect his sons or daughters to reflect credit upon him or to be sources of comfort in his old age.

The morally healthy man uses his club with the same degree of moderation that he does the other accessories to the pleasures and comforts of life; but there are a large number of men who cannot, strictly speaking, be called healthy or unhealthy, but may be made the one or the other by the influences to which they are subjected. When the club is regarded, as is sometimes the case, not only as a substitute, but even as a compensation for the absence of a home, it cannot be otherwise than detrimental to the best interests of society. Its influence upon unmarried men especially would seem to be unwholesome, if for no other reason than because it accustoms them to a degree of luxury and an exaggerated standard of living difficult to attain, even if it were desirable, in the ordinary household. It furthermore encourages a class of celibates who in the absence of family ties lose the strongest incentives to unselfish and noble exertion. There is no reason to doubt that clubs exercise now the same influence upon character that they did in the days of the keen-witted Theodore Hook. This close observer of his kind, once the light and life of the *Athenæum Club*, gives among others the following instructions in his well-known "Advice to Members of Clubs:"

> When you are reading one newspaper always lean your elbow or sit upon two or three more, so that you may have them at hand when you are ready for them. If you are in the habit of taking a nap morning or evening always take it at the club, especially if you snore. You may look ridiculous with your mouth open and provoke some caustic observations, but that is no matter if you are refreshed. You will sleep better with a newspaper on your knees, or the newest publication open before you. When sitting on one chair, coil up your legs and feet on another, or stretch yourself at length on a sofa with your dirty boots on it. Never mind spoiling the furniture or soiling the small clothes of the member who may come next. Always use the club and live in it as if it was your own home in every respect, without regard to what must happen if every member did the same. . . . If you see three or four friends anxious to dine together at a particular table, occupy it, although alone. You have as good a right to it as they — nay, a better if you order your dinner half an hour earlier. . . . Leave the door open on leaving or entering the room, or, if you shut it, slam it, etc., etc.

The reason which Mrs. Gore urges, by way of apology for clubs, we fear will scarcely be more soothing to the vanity of men than the "Advice" of Theodore Hook. "London

clubs," she says, "after all, are not bad things for family men. They act as conductors to the storms usually hovering in the air. The man forced to remain at home and vent his crossness on his wife and children is a much worse animal to bear with than the man who grumbles his way to Pall Mall and, not daring to swear at the club servants or knock about the club furniture, becomes socialized into decency. Nothing like the subordination exercised in a community of equals for reducing a fiery temper."

In this somewhat caustic delineation, Mrs. Gore has undoubtedly touched the keynote of reform in recognizing the power for good that lies in a "community of equals." Unlike the average English household of her time, there are found in the best American homes of to-day that identity of interests and equal sharing of advantages which her theory demands, and which need only to be more fully appreciated in order to secure still further social advance.

We think we are safe in saying that the domestic virtues exist in inverse ratio to the number of clubs in any given community. The Frenchman is less exemplary as a husband and father than the Englishman, and the latter is more tyrannical than his descendant in America; even in our own country there is, in manner at least, an appreciable difference. In those sections where the club is less of a social element, men are more dependent upon the society of women for their pleasures, and are more gallant and attentive to their wants. Nowhere in this country are women treated with so little courtesy in public places as in some of our Eastern cities, and nowhere do unmarried men more completely absolve themselves from all social responsibilities. The feeling akin to hostility which the fierce competition of the industrial world has brought about between men and women in the Atlantic States, is unfortunately not confined to the world of labor. Elsewhere, whether owing to the derelictions of men or to the aggressions of women, the fact nevertheless remains that there is a tendency not only to be independent of, but in a measure antagonistic to, each other. This is the discordant note in the world of progress and of enlarged opportunities now enjoyed by women. Men no longer seem to consider themselves as formerly the natural guardians and protectors of the weak, nor do women perhaps receive the courtesies that are extended to them with that same degree of graciousness as in times past; many of them, in their eager desire to

establish the claim to equality, virtually ignore the innate differences between the sexes. In consequence of this crude social apprehension, as far removed from "sweet reasonableness" as the exaggerated romanticism of a bygone period, men and women are tempted to lose sight of the delicate consideration which should influence their conduct toward each other.

No one can doubt that the sort of haggling to which we are becoming accustomed, about rights, sentimental privileges and obligations, is unfavorable to the development of the highest virtues of mankind. It is to be hoped, however, that the present is only a temporary phase in the evolution of the perfect society of the future, wherein, let us trust, the masculine and feminine elements will reign in their due proportions, strengthened and ennobled by mutual sympathy and helpfulness. Far be it from our purpose to invoke the elusive spirit of chivalry or to lay undue stress upon gallantry, that parent of vain and empty forms; nevertheless the theory of life which they suggest is far more inspiring and far better calculated to give charm to social intercourse than our present patient endurance of the desiccated and prosaic elements in society.

The drawing-room, under the influence of men's clubs, dinners, and suppers, has ceased in a great measure to be the stronghold of women or the recognized outlet for her social and mental faculties. Even in France the club and the restaurant are superseding the salon, notwithstanding the fact that French women have always shown themselves to be the greatest adepts in the use of its resources. Before the foundation of the *Caveau*, the parent of the modern literary club, scholars and authors in France found their most congenial home and fairest promise of fame in the literary salon, first invented by Malherbe, the "lion *en permanence*" at Madame d'Auchy's receptions, and afterward perpetuated by many brilliant women from Arthenicé to Madame Récamier and Madame Molé. It has, indeed, been suggested that had Shakespeare been a Parisian he would have been *lancé* by some distinguished lady, perhaps by a Duchess du Maine, or the more humble but none the less effective Madame de Persan. Whether men of letters now scintillate in the salon or clink their glasses in the café, literary clubs no longer seem to hold the same conspicuous place in French society as in times past. Furthermore, since the famous clubs of the Revolution, *The*

Feuillons, *The Royalists*, *The Jacobins*, and *The Girondists*, the French government has pretty steadily frowned down the political club. *The Institute* and *The Academy* are associations rather than clubs; therefore the robust and manly interests which give dignity to many of the English and American clubs are said to be wanting in the enervating atmosphere of the luxurious club-houses frequented by the men of wealth in France. From all we can learn these social clubs are the nurseries of vice. If the rich man deserts his fireside and spends his evenings at the club, the poor man does not want for places of entertainment. The café and the cabaret everywhere, no matter how small the village, entice him to drink and to gamble. These places are apparently the after-dinner resort of the whole male population, and on fête-days, instead of the accustomed four or five hours, many spend eighteen out of the twenty-four within their walls in the gratification of sloth and appetite. It is not to be wondered at, where the club and café in town and country distil their secret poison into the very heart of family and social life, that the home should fail to embody the highest ideals of French society.

Were there not a tendency in our country to reproduce the conditions we have just described, we might hold the *marriage de convenance* responsible for French immorality; but this clearly is not the only cause. We are inclined therefore to regard the club-house as one of the principal agents in arresting certain forms of social progress. The American home is menaced not by the desertion of men alone. There is a large class of women, and one under present influences more likely to increase than diminish, which also seeks diversion in clubs organized for their especial benefit. This class is composed largely of the unmarried, but it also includes the married woman who is reckless of the consequences of her actions, and she who is disheartened, spiritually lonely, and who feels that cares and vexations without reward or approbation are depressing and dreary companions. These women, therefore, eagerly throw aside the burdens that rest upon them, and seek outside of the home the distractions and varied contacts which come to most men in the pursuit of their ordinary occupations.

Whatever may have been the origin of the club in other countries, there is sufficient ground for believing that it owed its being in New England not so much to the presence as to

the absence of the social instinct. The Puritan, amid the unaccustomed hardships and rigor of the country of his adoption, more easily divested himself of the rich social vesture of the old civilization he had left than did his brethren who remained under traditional influences. Therefore in the course of time he had to reconquer his social heritage, and in doing so developed an intellectual recognition of the value of human intercourse more powerful than the impulse which led toward its fulfilment — an impulse which it was found necessary to fortify by an obligation and back by a stiff resolution. Under these circumstances, opportunities for contact and good-fellowship became a matter of deliberate calculation and consent. In addition to the usual inducements for congregating together, some form of intellectual entertainment was frequently offered as a substitute for solitary thought and as a reward for leaving the fireside and braving the hostile elements. Thus we are led to infer that to be clubable and sociable are not necessarily one and the same thing. In those parts of our country where the climate is mild and nature permits man to wander forth when and where he lists, the friendly recognition of the street corner, the front door, and the open window all serve to stimulate as well as to satisfy the social craving without the need of giving it much thought or premeditation. Under these circumstances a man does not feel called upon to weigh the significance of words so easily exchanged, to question himself as to the worth of a conversation which otherwise needs to be justified in view of the storm-door, the bell, the tardy maid, and the acquaintance who descends only upon demand and with the air of one who knows the value of time.

Notwithstanding Mr. Lowell's assertion that "ceremonious thrift has bowed hospitality out-of-doors" we cannot help believing that the club has been the most powerful of all agents in its expulsion. The social club which meets from house to house has undoubtedly much to be said in its favor. The objection to be urged against it, aside from its monotony, is that where these associations exist in any great numbers spontaneous hospitality is practically unknown. The prescribed occasions of festivity occur so frequently when the male, the female, the mature, the adolescent, and the infantile members of the household all belong to separate clubs, that there is little spirit or energy left for any other form of entertainment. It is also a well-known fact that people as a

rule entertain the club not because they want to, but because it is their turn to do so; hospitality thus comes to be looked upon as a fateful penance rather than a pleasure, and the guest at these reunions is one who enters upon a right, instead of being the recipient of a special act of courtesy, without which the finest flavor of hospitality is lost. This coercive and organized form of social intercourse is, however, doubtless the best fruit that originally could be grown under the influence of Calvinism and on the battle-ground of domestic service in this new world of ours.

The unwillingness of spirit which withholds the housekeeper from a rash offer of bed and board is the result of no transitory emotion; it has been evoked by the grim realities of extra work which may be a remembered pain or the present accompaniment of all such acts of courtesy in households where there are no spare hands and where women already have enough to do. It is in its relation to such matters that the club, in view of our growing materialism, stands as a perpetual menace and rival to the home. The practical care concerning the contents of the larder and the capacity of the cook is one of the main reasons why a woman can never be entirely in sympathy with the male members of her household in the belief that a festivity must necessarily be a feast; nor can she altogether suppress a remote sense of superiority over masculine grossness when she reflects upon the facility with which she is able to gather the men of her acquaintance around the dinner-table who on other occasions of social reunion are generally conspicuous by their absence. Since we no longer, as a people, wander in the desert or the wilderness, and are not often visited by periods of famine or invaded in our homes by deadly foes ready to snatch the food from our mouths, it is difficult to understand why the primitive appreciation of the opportunity to eat at the expense of another should linger in these days of security and plenty. Nevertheless, whatever may be the opinion of individuals concerning these matters, the current of humanity has set in the direction of the dinner-table. Men are almost unanimous in regarding it as the place of greatest mental as well as physical refreshment. It is vain to deny the pleasure which in its perfected form this mahogany flower of materialism is capable of diffusing over our lives; it is, moreover, one of the most available weapons in the magazine of social resources with which to combat that form of the club which, avowedly or not, undertakes to supplant the home.

The question before society is as simple as it is important. Our civilization rests upon the education of the home; the good gained from the household cannot be won elsewhere. Whatever advantages the club may afford for political training, it cannot compensate for the evil it does in debilitating the life of the fireside. It is the duty of all who recognize these obligations to struggle, as the keepers of the best winnings of society, for the elevation of household life. This end can best be reached by a clear understanding of the dangers that attend the removal of the pleasant offices of the home to places where the family as a whole is not admitted. All the material gains of our time will be as nothing if the household is not maintained as the chief seat of social interest and pleasure.

A SOCIAL SETTLEMENT.

BY ANNIE L. MUZZEY.

Reformers are crying out bravely and lustily against the perpetual struggle for spoils and self-aggrandizement among our party leaders, and are directing the full force of their accusing and denunciatory energies at the political corruption which they fearlessly expose. But what, after all, is political corruption but the wider outshowing of individual and social selfishness that thrives and flourishes with small rebuke in the circles where our leaders are courted and fêted without troublesome inquiry after such immaterial circumstances as character and motive? For the matter of that, the same thing goes on in nearly all conditions of life where our future politicians are being reared and where they are imbibing through unconscious but powerful educational influences the spirit that culminates in public fraud and national dishonor. We sow to the winds and reap the whirlwind. Back of the heart of things lies the evil that we denounce. The body politic may not be cleansed of its corruption before the domestic and social life is turned from its worship of the gods Sham and Mammon. All legislation for the administration of justice and equal opportunity must inevitably fail so long as the claims of a common brotherhood are socially disregarded. It is not enough that such claims are religiously and sentimentally discussed. Until they are practically acknowledged in the private and social conduct of a people boasting of Christian and democratic principles we cannot condemn the public and political defaulter alone.

In social functions, certainly, woman does not have to clamor or wail for her rights, but may show forth here and now the spirit in which she will fulfil to the uttermost the duties of a fully enfranchised American citizen, pledged to the support of a just and equal government by and for the people. As the recognized law-giver in social ethics, she need not draw the lines of distinction less markedly against the vices and impurities of her own rank and station than against a class whose worst crime is the absence of means and opportunities to reach the standard of culture and refinement which

even simple association would insensibly tend to improve and elevate. Nor is she more immaculate and virtuous when she hedges herself away from the vicious and depraved in the lower ranks of society, than when without reproach she opens wide her doors to the libertine and profligate who lives alone for sensual, selfish gratification, and contributes no more to the best welfare of society at large than the wretched Lazarus lying without the gates.

One woman, realizing her sacred rights in the conviction that our democratic ideals are at the best too limited and partial in expression, has, in association with another of similar conviction, carried the gospel of human love and helpfulness into one of the lowest wards in the city of Chicago, and founded a home whose social amenities and educational influences are open to all who will respond to its cordial hospitalities.

The names of Jane Addams and Hull House have become familiar not only to the residents of Chicago, but to all readers interested in sociological studies and experiments. But there is with the general public a misapprehension of motives and uses which does injustice to the broad spirit and purpose of the founders and sustainers of this noble social settlement. It is crudely supposed that a woman, or a company of women, going voluntarily into an ignorant, impoverished, and alien community must be actuated solely by motives of charity and self-sacrifice, or by a pious longing to give and be given for righteousness' sake, taking credit and great satisfaction for their praiseworthy effort to save the lost and convict the sinning.

But it is especially desired by Miss Addams that Hull House shall not be regarded as a philanthropy in the sense of conferring charitable benefits from the high altitude of a superior order of beings whose benevolence is restricted to religious exhortation and eleemosynary services.

The mission of Hull House is simply one of pure neighborliness. It assumes at the outset that there is to be an exchange of kindly offices and mutual benefits. It sits down in the midst of its humble neighborhood with the idea of sharing the influence of its larger opportunities with those whose lives are defrauded of the light and beauty that belong equally to all. It has no cumbrous theories to which it is bound to conform, but is ruled only by a loving intelligence that constantly seeks the best good of the community of which it has, by free choice, become an important and a responsible part.

Right here, perhaps, it would be well to quote what Jane Addams herself has said of the Social Movement.*

I cannot, of course, speak for other settlements, but it would, I think, be unfair to Hull House not to emphasize the conviction with which the first residents went there, that it would be simply a foolish and unwarrantable expenditure of force to oppose or to antagonize any individual or set of people in the neighborhood; that whatever of good the house had to offer should be put into positive terms, that its residents should live with opposition to no man, with recognition of good in every man, even the meanest. I believe that this turning, this *renaissance* of the early Christian humanitarianism, is going on in America, in Chicago, if you please, without leaders who write or philosophize, without much speaking, but with a bent to express in social service, in terms of action, the spirit of Christ. Certain it is that spiritual force is found in the settlement movement, and it is also true that this force must be evoked and must be called into play before the success of any settlement is assured. There must be the overmastering belief that all that is noblest in life is common to men as men, in order to accentuate the likenesses and ignore the differences which are found among the people whom the settlement constantly brings into juxtaposition. . . . The settlement, then, is an experimental effort to aid in the solution of the social and industrial problems which are engendered by the modern conditions of life in a great city. It insists that these problems are not confined to any one portion of the city. It is an attempt to relieve, at the same time, the over-accumulation at one end of society and the destitution at the other, but it assumes that this over-accumulation and destitution are felt most sorely in the things that pertain to social and educational advantage. From its very nature it can stand for no political or social propaganda. It must in a sense give the warm welcome of an inn to all such propaganda, if, perchance, one of them be found an angel. The one thing to be dreaded in a settlement is that it lose its flexibility, its quick power of adaptation, its readiness to change its methods as its environment may demand. It must be open to conviction and must have a deep and abiding sense of tolerance. It must be hospitable and ready for experiment. It should demand from its residents a scientific patience in the accumulation of facts and the steady holding of their sympathies as one of the best instruments for that accumulation. It must be grounded in a philosophy whose foundation is on the solidarity of the human race, a philosophy that will not waver when the race happens to be represented by a drunken women or an idiot boy. Its residents must be emptied of all conceit of opinion and all self-assertion, and ready to arouse and interpret the public opinion of their neighborhood. They must be content to live quietly side by side until they grow into a sense of relationship and mutual interests. . . . They are bound to see the needs of their neighborhood as a whole, to furnish data for legislation and use their influence to secure it. In short, residents are pledged to devote themselves to the duties of good citizenship, and to the arousing of social energies which too largely lie dormant in every neighborhood given over to industrialism.

In these few words — worth pages of description — is given a close insight into the deep philosophy that has impelled and inspired the life of the settlement which is now in its seventh year. It has, as was said, no rigid theory or rule of conduct beyond the simple law of human kindness, which

* See first essay in "Philanthropy and Social Progress," published by Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York and Boston.

seeks, first of all, to do the best that can be done to lessen ignorance and mitigate the evils which may not be at once removed. This, indeed, might be a hopeless work if it were not sustained by an abiding faith in the equal aspiration of human nature to reach eternally after the highest good, which, with continually unfolding powers, it becomes more and more capable of conceiving.

From first to last there has been no partial, one-sided effort in special lines of reform, but an earnest, thoughtful consideration from many standpoints of the widest assistance that could be given the neighborhood as a whole. And the whole, in the view of these philosophical workers, includes the settlement itself; for whatever is accomplished in the elevation of the people with whom they have freely cast their lot, is believed to rebound, to revitalize and enlarge the mental and spiritual perceptions and activities of all who feel themselves a part of the life of the race.

The men and women who have been drawn to the gratuitous work of the social settlement by the pure force of its human claims are of the generously cultured class who are conscious of a need to expend their energies in wider and more satisfactory uses than are found in the polite and sometimes hypocritical amenities of a society that exists for itself alone. So far, by the mere bent of their desires, they are adapted to the moulding influences of a co-operative work in which each must be willing to renounce personal pet theories and assimilate so far as possible with the larger plan that includes and directs all activities to the best results.

Hull House is no place for reformers with one idea, or for riders of hobbies of any sort whatever. It is in itself a school of large and varied culture, a school that is not ready to announce its full and absolute solution of the social problems with which it deals, but which, with earnestness and humility, is feeling out its way to the truest methods, by united endeavor, of bringing the two extremes of city social life into harmonious and helpful relationships that shall in different ways equally benefit both.

In this altruistic scheme there are ample and manifold opportunities for each to follow the line of his or her aptitudes in the diversity of uses developed by the work in its continuous progress. One of the remarkable things about the settlement is the fervor and swiftness with which response has been made to its needs, the army of resident and non-

resident workers showing how strongly the spirit of Christ is seeking, on the borders of the twentieth century, to embody itself in broader and diviner expressions of love and human fellowship. Some of our deepest thinkers on social and ethical grounds have been numbered among the speakers and instructors in the clubs and classes which have been formed from the various nationalities that make up the population of this nineteenth city ward, numbering about fifty thousand.

The Working People's Social Science Club, meeting weekly at Hull House, touches on some of the vital subjects relating to the well-being of the neighborhood, and calls into activity whatever useful knowledge and influence there is with the people themselves to work for the promotion of good citizenship. The bare effort to give a wider outlook on matters which have been mainly discussed in the two hundred and fifty saloons of the ward by demagogues and low politicians, is in itself a fair step toward the higher education which is sought.

To co-operate with every moral force existing in its neighborhood, to antagonize nothing that can be brought into nobler relations with a movement that is seeking a universal good, has been always a principle with the residents of Hull House, who would make local institutions, as far as possible, contributory to the mutual advantages at which the settlement aims. With its hospitable doors open to social entrance from all sides, it radiates an unconsciously refining influence, which is perceptibly felt and responded to in the awakened aspirations and gradually improving conditions of the surrounding people, who in turn act as an inspiring force to those who are attempting to bring a new atmosphere into cramped and defrauded lives. For the one thing insisted on by the settlement workers is that benefits must be mutual to be of wholesome use, and nothing is done in the self-righteous, pharisaical spirit which makes the recipient of favor feel a mean, inferior creature of whom nothing innately good and noble is expected.

The social evenings at Hull House, where the guests are adroitly won to give their best, have developed resources undreamed of by the casual and unsympathetic observer content to draw a rigid, inflexible line between what is termed "the upper and lower classes." How many fairly educated and refined people have been driven into the low tenement quarters, whose cheapness is their first and inevitable consideration, only those who are giving themselves to the life of the

social settlement really know. The foreign population contribute likewise from their national history, literature, folk-lore, and native melody much that is picturesque and entertaining as well as instructive to the lover of humankind.

Literature classes, mathematical classes, classes in physics, and college extension classes are fully attended, demanding the faithful attention of the large faculty of college men and women who voluntarily give their services from term to term, their numbers being re-enforced as the need exists. The students are mainly employees in shops and factories, or maybe clerks, typewriters, and public-school teachers seeking the advantages of higher study, inaccessible to them through ordinary channels of learning in expensive universities. No charge is made for teaching, but students pay fifty cents a course to defray small incidental expenses, any surplus being turned toward a fund for distinguished lecturers, many of whom serve on the programme of public speakers who always find large audiences in the gymnasium, a building recently added to the ample and hospitable old family residence known as Hull House. A supplement to the university extension courses has been made through the free use of Rockford College buildings and laboratories during the summer months when the college buildings are emptied of their regular pupils and faculty, and expenses for board have been cheapened sufficiently to admit of the attendance of a fair number of students who have thereby been able to combine study with country recreation.

A reading-room supplied with books and periodicals from the Chicago Public Library is free to all, both foreign and English literature being accessible through the system of delivery employed by this library.

An art exhibition room has been provided in what is known as the Butler Gallery, where the best pictures that can be obtained are exhibited from time to time to admiring visitors whose appreciation must be measured by the average attendance of thousands during the afternoons and evenings of the two weeks in which the exhibits are continued. Classes in clay modelling and free-hand drawing are also held in the studio connected with the art gallery, and fine work is being done. In the musical art, also, there is a promising class under the instruction of a composer whose high standard is not lowered to please assumed low tastes, and concerts, free to all, are given every Sunday afternoon with classic programmes,

looking to the development of cultured taste and understanding, which is measurably realized. For everything in this direction is to be hoped when we are told that the Apollo Club of Chicago, resolving to give the oratorio of "The Messiah" to the wage-workers in factories, where low-priced tickets were sold, was astonished by the demand for twenty thousand when the auditorium holds but forty-five hundred people.

Of the especial departments for the care and training of children in this large-planned social settlement on Halsted Street we have not space to adequately speak, though we must not omit mention of the late erection of a four-story building devoted entirely to the children, and comprising club-rooms, kindergarten, nursery, studio, and music-rooms for their use, under control of skilled and conscientious teachers who hope to solve some of the hard problems in the life of the city child, and open the way to a wholesome development of natural powers. Nor can we fail to name the Jam Club, a co-operative boarding club of working girls, numbering now about fifty, who, with weekly dues of three dollars each, run a substantial and happy home of their own in the vicinity of Hull House, meeting all expenses and enjoying all the freedom and comforts of domestic life.

In so brief a paper it is impossible to give more than a passing glance at the manifold good which this first social settlement in Chicago is doing for the neighborhood and the city at large.

Active in all departments that relate to municipal law and order, earnest in its advocacy of the rights of labor, steadfast in its purpose to secure an even-handed justice for the people with whom it specially deals, it ranks among the strongest forces that are working all together, without cant or sectarian spirit, for the long-promised and sure-coming kingdom of peace and good will among men.

MAHAYANA BUDDHISM IN JAPAN.

BY ANNIE ELIZABETH CHENEY.

Bhagavat Tata Giata Sakyamuni had one of the essential qualities of a great man; he understood human nature, and from this knowledge there came to light the Tripitaka (three baskets).

To insinuate truth, Bhagavat adopted a method quite peculiar and economical, one that would seem almost paradoxical to the ordinary teacher, who wastes a great part of his strength in pouring from himself profundities of thought which are never understood, much less assimilated, by his disciples. Bhagavat did nothing of the kind, but taught in three ways; these were the Nindenyana, the Hinayana, and the Mahayana.

The mass of the people of India at the time of Buddha were undoubtedly, like the mass of humanity of this nineteenth century, unable to conceive of truth in its essence or principle, and consequently were only ready for instructions strictly exoteric and mandatory. The *reason* of a law the people never debated, the law itself was enough. Hence the Hinayana of Bhagavat; and to-day in the Orient a great proportion of Buddhists know no other way than the (little way) Hinayana.

But before I explain the difference in these methods of teaching, I wish to state that the truth of the three *yanas* is really the same, and the seeming paradox implies no contradiction at all.

The Western world has helped on the misconception of what true Buddhism is, and has so distorted the meaning of Bhagavat's teachings, that we have but a travesty of the original conception. Scholars from the Orient are astonished at our interpretation of their religion, and in despair attempt in their broken English to make it clear to us.

To get at the real meaning of Bhagavat, one must divest himself of all prejudice and sentiment; superstition must fall from him as a worthless garment, and reason and pure logic must be brought to bear upon the study. To correlate with the mind of Bhagavat, one must use the method of

Bhagavat, which was none other than inductive and deductive reasoning. From known laws he deduced facts, and from collected data and experimental knowledge he discovered principles. If he used illustration, parable, poetry, behind it all was the never-failing reason.

To understand Bhagavat, one must generalize as well as specialize. In seeing the variety in the unity, he must equally see the unity in the variety.

The Hinayana disciple knows but little of the true Bhagavat, and consequently less of the nature of Buddha. Only the Mahayana scholar gets a conception as broad as Bhagavat's own, and, becoming enlightened, needs Bhagavat no more. The great teacher retires as it were, his mission accomplished, and the numerous books of the Tripitaka lie dusty upon the shelves.

The Nindenyana, taught by Bhagavat in the Deer Gardens of Benares, when he was first enlightened, contains five moral precepts. They are: "Not to kill," "Not to steal," "Not to commit adultery," "Not to use immoral language," "Not to drink intoxicating liquors."

The law of cause and effect was also carefully explained *from the point of ethics;* this is the doctrine of Nindenyana. In the Hinayana are explained four truths; they are: "Evolution," "Dissolution," "Sorrow," and "The Path." He taught with this two hundred and fifty moral laws to the male and female priests, and ten to the novices. This is Southern Buddhism, and the essence of the doctrine is to grasp the kernel of peace and tranquillity which lies concealed in the apparent discord of human suffering. By following the Hinayana precepts, one stumbles without knowing how or why into the path of peace, though the Hinayana disciple does not understand in the least the real essence itself. He takes, as it were, a remedy given him by a physician for some unknown disorder, and recovers health by a means not comprehended by himself.

The Hinayana teaching is analogous to the laws given by Moses called the "Ten Commandments." Humanity as a mass blindly obeys these precepts, never looking back of the ethics into the principles they involve. The reason *why* thou shalt not kill, the reason why thou shalt not steal, is never asked. The delicate and finely drawn distinction between right and wrong growing out of the necessity of relativity is not once discerned by them. The Hinayana

Buddhist must have a priest and a Tripitaka, as the exoteric Christian must have a church and a Bible.

In the Mahayana it is explained that the very exoteric aspect of life itself is tranquil, that one beholds a perfect equilibrium when he judges from the point of unity, and that the apparent discord and unhappiness only exist in the mind of the person himself; that really there is no discord or evil, and if he becomes enlightened enough to understand Mahayana, he will recognize this stupendous fact.

Though the precepts of Mahayana number from ten to two hundred and fifty, the real law is existent in the human mind to which these precepts correspond. This is Northern Buddhism, and is especially taught in Japan.

The foundation of Southern Buddhism is an exoteric obedience to laws, while the Northern is perfect harmony of the mind itself with the universal principle of the universe. The Hinayana disciple judges from the point of specialization or relativity, while the Mahayana disciple judges from the absolute or the whole. The former sees blindly and but a short distance around the arc of his existence; the latter, with one sweeping glance, takes in the complete circle. In other words, be sees the principle or principles, and having a powerful deductive capacity, extracts for himself whatever of life he desires. The former sits among an array of facts with no understanding of the law which enfolds them.

To comprehend Mahayana one must understand Hinayana, but to know Hinayana one is not necessarily conscious of Mahayana; Hinayana is included in Mahayana. The mind must have learned to generalize in order to grasp Mahayana, but even a child when trained from the principle of mind itself, in other words taught to reason, can comprehend it.

Though Bhagavat seems to teach creation, in reality he does not. The principles are eternal, beginningless, endless; the symbol of life is the circle. The many manifestations would indicate beginnings, but really it is the same everlasting Ego manifesting in various forms by incessant changes, having no actual starting point anywhere; only for the sake of specializing temporarily does Bhagavat speak of a beginning and ending.

The idea of a Creator is superfluous; but as the manifestation of phenomena is endless, and from the law of specialization no two things are ever exactly the same, each new

manifestation might without much objection be called a creation.

Bhagavat conceived the magnificent premise of the eternity of all things, and abolished the necessity of an anthropomorphic Creator. All modern science confirms the truth of the fundamental principle of Bhagavat, and the master at the Deer Gardens of Benares commands now as he did in the palmy days of ancient India, the respect of all students and thinkers.

There really is — to simplify the teaching of Bhagavat — but one principle, *Ekayana*, or Mahayana, and all the innumerable laws of relativity, when perceived from the point of unity, are the *one* law of unity.

All phenomena have really the same spirit of Buddha, but being manifested in different stages of development in the world of matter, they seem entirely foreign to each other. Though all things animate and inanimate have the nature or spirit of Buddha, all things are not conscious of the same, and unless we become aware of our potency we can never realize the Nirvana of Mahayana, which, though potential in everything, is comprehended but by few.

Meditation is the secret of the power of the Mahayana Buddhist. By meditation he unites his thought with the universal sea of mind, and truth becomes one with his consciousness. He is then enlightened, — he knows.

Buddhism teaches pure reason, which is none other than cause and effect, and the Mahayana Buddhist understands this. All Mahayana disciples know very well that the Maha Meru of Bhagavat meant only the heights of mind, though so crudely and uncharitably interpreted by the Western Encyclopædia to mean an actual mountain with its literal twenty-four heavens above it, never once admitting that it is symbolic only, as is much of Bhagavat's teaching.

To destroy Karma, or the law of cause and effect, is not to annihilate the seed of life itself, but simply by the Nirvanic principle to transcend environment. As the Nirvana of Buddhism is admitted by Buddhists to be enjoyed now and in this life, and that one may become conscious of the law of it at any time, how it can mean extinction, as stated by some, is more than I can understand.

To transcend the law of Karma, to be conscious, in one's individuality, of the unit, and thus as an individual apply the law of the unit, is not extinction, but complete life, because

it is the life of all and may be experienced at any time by any one who becomes conscious of his Nirvanic potency. It is life, not death, life overwhelmingly grand, and the world has yet to grow before it can reach the stature of Bhagavat, although he lived about twenty-five hundred years ago.

Though the word Nirvana means to blow out, as I said before, it does not necessarily mean the extinction of the individuality, for the principle of specialization makes that impossible ; it simply implies the practical annihilation of the laws of specialization by the one law of generalization, or the conscious realization of the unit by the individual.

The true Mahayana Buddhist speaks of the Nirvana as a law, a principle. Paul, the Christian apostle, must have had an idea of it when he said that one might become a law unto himself.

The Nirvana, instead of extinguishing the individuality of man, brings to his consciousness a startling conception of the stupendous grandeur of that same specialization called himself. He realizes that he partakes of the essence of the unit, and that his present manifestation is but one in an endless chain of expressions ; and as no individuals are expressing exactly the same aspect of the unit at the same time and place, infinite variety becomes possible.

The Nirvana also means intense activity, not restless, frictional, but harmonious activity.

The balance power of Minaka Nushi, an old mythological god of Nippon, would seem to illustrate perfectly the Nirvanic potency with which he ever adjusts himself to his environment by rising superior to it in his supreme consciousness of unity. This seems to be a contradiction, but it is not.

Mahayana Buddhism has been nourished in Japan, and accounts perhaps for the Western misunderstanding of the character of the Japanese. Though there are a great many sects of Mahayana, unlike the sects of Christianity they do not differ one from the other in their real meaning, but all teach the Great Way, their method of imparting truth alone distinguishing them ; consequently the majority of the Buddhists of Japan understand the Mahayana, whether belonging to the Hosso, the Kusha, the Shingon, or any other of the sects.

There seems to be a renaissance of interest in Buddhism in this country at present, and it is quite important that the highest form, the Mahayana, so little comprehended by the West, should be explained.

The Japanese race are a living and unique example of a nation founded upon reason. That they are a race of students no one can doubt who has watched their career in the Western colleges, and that they are Spartan patriots every one knows who has read their history and followed them through the late war. I do not pretend to say that all the Buddhists of Japan understand fully the simple grandeur of Mahayana; but a people who feel as conscientious about the *making* of a sword as in the *using of it*, a people who do not console themselves in the time of suffering with platitudes about punishments inflicted by the divine will, or blessings in disguise, but who between sobs and falling tears talk of the law of cause and effect, — such a people have, to a greater or less extent, the conception of Mahayana. It is impossible to enter the Great Way without realizing the stupendous dignity of one's self, and in discovering this there looms up to the astonished eyes the grandeur of one's race.

That consciousness of liberty which comes to a people who understand Mahayana, that freedom from priest control, that absence of fetich worship, are tremendous factors toward enhancing their self-respect, and in binding them so firmly together with chains of patriotism that they become almost invincible.

The suns of nations have risen and set since Ananda listened enraptured to the words of Bhagavat as they fell from his lips. Great teachers have come and gone. From Socrates to Aurelius Antoninus the splendid intellects of Greece have been exercised about the soul of man.

The Jewish Christ and the camel driver on the desert of Arabia have read the open book of revelation and prophesied eternal life.

Minds of the brilliancy of a Kant and a Hegel have wrestled with the knotty problem of being, but nothing has been given to the world to supersede the knowledge of the *one* principle of the universe, the *awful Ekayana*.

The teachings of the master Buddha, who discovered that experience and inference would guide the soul to the paradise of Nirvana, have never been transcended since the sun glittered on the spires and minarets in the ancient days when he trod the soil of India. And now, as the glow of the dawn of the twentieth century heralds a coming morning, the keen specialists of the West recognize that between the covers of the Tripitaka may be found the duplicate of the key with which modern science unlocks the doors of truth.

THE CONVICT QUESTION.

BY J. KELLOGG.

It has been said that "man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn." While this is probably true, and many men are inhuman in the ordinary acceptation of the term, and thousands are made to mourn because of neglect, or by overt acts of their fellows, yet it is gratifying to note the fact that there is a growing tendency on the part of the human family as a whole to alleviate the sufferings of the needy and afflicted. Let it be made known that a woman or child is sick and in need, many warm hearts will respond and contribute to their necessities. Let a noble man get a limb broken, or become mangled while pursuing some honorable vocation, the people in that vicinity respond to the "distress call" at once. Let a city be burned, and women and children be rendered homeless and destitute, or let a drought or frost or grasshoppers or tornado destroy the crops of any section of the country, rendering the people destitute, and the appeal for help be made, the whole country will at once come to their rescue. This shows that the human heart is not so bad as some would make believe.

There is a class of sufferers, however, who are largely overlooked, but who are doubly entitled to our sympathy and assistance, although they may not have made any appeal. That is the families of convicts — men who have violated the laws of the State, and who have been sentenced and are serving terms of greater or less length in the penitentiary. In the majority of cases these men were the sole support of a wife and children, or mother and sisters. These helpless people are innocent of the crime for which their protector is convicted, but they are made to suffer more than the criminal. A man may, in the heat of passion, possibly while defending his honor or that of some loved one, take the life of his fellow-man. He is tried before a jury of his peers and sentenced to imprisonment at hard labor for say twenty years. Another may commit a similar infraction of the law, and being tried before another jury, is sentenced for only five years. Still another may be convicted of a less offence, but be sentenced for a

long term. This imprisonment, although meted out unequally, may seem under existing laws to be just, and it is supposed to be not only a punishment of the guilty, but is intended, also, to restrain others from violating the law in a similar manner. In such cases the greater sufferers are the wife and children. They are not only humiliated because of the odium which attaches in such cases, and because they are often ostracized by former friends, but they are deprived of the actual necessary support they have been accustomed to receive from their protector, and, besides, are burdened with debt incurred for the purpose of defending the loved one. This ought to be and may be remedied by very simple and equitable means. The convict is assigned to hard labor for the State during the term for which he has been sentenced. For this service the State gives nothing in return. It may be right to punish the offender by putting him at hard labor and by imprisoning him, but the State should make some compensation to his family for this service. This compensation should be graded according to the kind of service rendered, say from forty to sixty or eighty cents per day. This should be paid monthly to the family of the convict if he has one. In case he has no one dependent on him, then it should be invested for his benefit in a savings association, so that when his term of imprisonment shall have expired he may have some capital with which to start anew, and thereby become a good and useful citizen, and not be turned adrift into the world without any means of support with the "mark of Cain" resting on him, every man's hand being against him. If he is supplied with a small amount of capital which he has earned and is of right entitled to, he will have an opportunity to begin life again. This is but just and should be carefully considered by our Legislatures.

There is another question in connection with the foregoing which needs to be considered; it is this: convicts should be given access to a library of wholesome and instructive literature during their leisure hours. This library should be provided by the State. It is more important to the convicts than the food they eat or the clothing they wear. If the State neglects or refuses to supply it, then some humane society or benevolent person should furnish it. In doing this, you turn the thoughts of the prisoners away from crime and prison walls into higher channels; and who knows the possibilities of such an effort? Some of the most popular books, some which

wield a large influence in directing the human mind, were written in prison. It cannot do harm, and will doubtless do much good, leading many of the inmates to become worthy and law-abiding citizens after having served their term of imprisonment.

The States now turn their convicts loose upon the world, after years of penal service, without a single serious effort looking toward their reformation, if we except possibly a so-called religious service on Sunday; and this service is often forced on many of the more ignorant class, whose lives have been spent in irreligious quarters, against their wishes.

This library might be supplemented with lectures occasionally, say once a month, on such subjects as enter into the daily life of all classes of successful upright citizens, and thereby stimulate in the prisoners a desire to become proficient in some special line of work. There are men in these prisons clothed in the convict garb who are intelligent, energetic, and perserving, and who could succeed in almost any vocation they might choose, if the State would only use the proper methods of philanthropy to secure such results. Instead of trying to make a profit on convict labor or even make it self-supporting, it will redound greatly to the benefit of the State, and it would be a nobler work, if practical plans were fostered for the reformation of these unfortunate people. This is a work to which every legislator and every philanthropist might devote many hours of thought with credit to himself and his State.

ETHICS THE ONLY BASIS OF RELIGION.

BY R. B. MARSH, M. A.

There are those who teach that morals are the outgrowth of religion; that morality that is not founded on religion is not pleasing to God; that a man's good life will count for nothing when he comes to die.

These teachings seem to me false and harmful. Religion being a sense of God's spiritual presence and love, communion with Him and with the spirits of all good men and angels, a consciousness that we belong to the spiritual world and are immortal, is the outgrowth of morals, the flower and fruit of right doing. That right doing is the only foundation upon which this spiritual temple can be built.

Jesus told his followers that if anyone would do the works that he commanded he should know that his teaching was of God. The young man who was seeking this eternal, or spiritual life, was told to keep the commandments. In his enumeration of the necessary commandments, he said nothing of the one in regard to the Sabbath, which teaches the foolish idea that God made the world in six days, and the still more absurd thought that He rested on the seventh. He did not refer to the one forbidding all works of art, and calling God a jealous God, with unreasonable anger against unborn generations. When Zaccheus professed his purpose of being honest and charitable, he was told salvation had come to him.

We can hardly imagine the sweet peace that would come to us if we and all around us were moved only by the highest ethical love. Kindly people who profess no religion are more pleasant to live with than the most religious who lack the sweet amenities of life. Our young people have little talent for religion, but they enjoy being good and kind. A religion barren of good works was what Jesus especially condemned.

John, the forerunner, told that Jesus would cut down all the trees that bore not good fruit, that the chaff would be winnowed from out the grain, and the grain garnered. He emphasized a good life. He refused to read even from

Isaiah the words, "day of vengeance of our God." * He forbade the keeping of the law of Moses, where retaliation was commanded. "Thou shalt not bear false witness," he said, and did not limit the command to refrain only against one's friends. He did not call morality "filthy rags." Nor did he tell them that "good works done by an unconverted man were of the nature of sin."

I believe in religion. I prize it above all things. If this little life were all, this world our universe; if there were no over soul; no spirit world that floats like an atmosphere around this world of sense; if death ended all, ethics would be all-sufficient.

To believe in the existence and loving care of the invisible God; in the cloud of witness and friendly spirits that are around us day and night; in the immortal state into which we shall be born when the body is cast aside like a worn-out garment, these seem to me the unseen things which are eternal, though no scientific investigation can demonstrate them.

The rock became soil; the soil produced vegetation; vegetation sustains the animal; the animal culminates in man, the reasoning being; man matures into the spiritual, the angelic. If we live aright the spiritual will mature and its pleasures take the place of the physical as they decline. As the physical eye grows dim, the spiritual opens; as the sun rises the stars are hid. In the rapture of the spiritual we shall not lament the loss of the physical; the body is of value because of the spirit.

"Gently, so have good men taught, gently and without grief, the old shall glide into the new." For this we were brought forth, for this the ages produced us; howbeit that is not first that is spiritual, but that which is physical; howbeit that is not first that is religious, but that which is ethical.

John, preparing the way for the Gospel, told the soldiers and tax gatherers to resist their special temptations; all people to divide their abundance with the needy, that is to reform on ethical principles, and so be ready for the new ethical religion, the reign of the heavens, or of the higher law on earth. Jesus said little of the next life, as it is called. The laws which govern the soul are the same in whatsoever body the soul may be. His judgment was on the basis of kindly deed, not on faith in him or in anyone. Love to man is love to God. No man can love God whom he hath not seen, if he does not love his brother whom he hath

* See 61st chapter.

seen. "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father," because the Father dwells in me and speaks and acts through me. We must be a friend and helper to others if we would show our love to the Father. The word for this kind of love means goodness in action. The love of a friend for a friend was not the kind of love Jesus asked of Peter, but the love that feeds the sheep, feeds the lambs, the love that does good and lends, looking for nothing in return.

We may be sure that not only our acts, but even our thoughts affect others. There is a spiritual atmosphere into which our spiritual desires go for good or ill. No man liveth unto himself. Love, peace, joy, kindness, bring forth after their kind. Even the horse and the dog of a kind man are better and happier, not only in what they receive but in what they become. Nothing brings so sure a reward as kindness. To order our thoughts, words, and acts aright is the most important work we have to do. "He that doeth righteousness is righteous." Others seem to us to be what we are ourselves. If we are false, mean, and tricky, all seem to us to be as bad as we are. Only an honest man can believe in honesty; only a loving man can see love in others. Only the loving and true can have a loving God. Our hearts are a mirror in which we behold all things. If the mirror is imperfect it will distort all that we behold. Even the sunshine and the common sounds of day are bright and pleasant, or gloomy and funereal, as our mood is. So much depends upon ourselves that some have thought that the outside world is but the creation of each one's imagination. The warlike people of old had a "God who taught their hands to war and their fingers to fight." St. John and St. Whittier had no such God, because they had no such hostile feelings. Love to men springs from loving treatment of them. If we injure a man we can never forgive him. If we prophesy evil of a man, we rejoice when he goes wrong, thereby justifying our evil thought of him. The Christian believers, as they are called, can never forgive Paine and Ingersoll for living grand lives. They feel as though something had been taken wrongfully from them, since these do not live as they think men who reject their dogmas ought to live.

When one goes wrong no one can tell how much these evil desires and ill prophecies have to do with it. We are our brother's keeper. If he goes wrong we are responsible, if we have not used every effort of mind and heart to prevent it. As foul diseases are borne in the atmosphere unseen, but do their deadly work, so spiritual diseases, by a

law just as sure and fatal, are caught, are communicated. We shall never be safe while diseases of soul or body exist. Papers and books full of noble deeds of self-sacrifice, such as the history of our early struggle for liberty, begat sons and fathers ready to defend the right. Papers full of the accounts of foul crimes, vivid recitals of deeds of darkness, are infected. If such things are, it is bad enough; to publish them is like spreading the seeds of loathsome diseases. The things that are pure and good should be thought, talked, and read about. Religion must fall upon good ground, or it will be gross superstition. It is fearful to hear new converts boasts of their crimes before conversion. What must we think of the reformation of a man who is not ashamed to win the applause of the superstitious by such recitals. A temperance lecturer who has no gutter experience will not draw.

People do not believe in the inevitable law of cause and effect. Their rewards and punishments are arbitrary. The old superstitions still cling to us. If the ancients missed their aim or fell, they charged it to an evil spirit. If successful, they vowed large offerings on the graves of their ancestors; or Jephthah-like, swore to offer the first that met them on their return. Our children are taught in Sunday school to honor their parents that their days may be long, to honor the Lord that their barns may be filled and their presses burst out with wine. As though a man could be called moral who did right for large crops or long life, or refrained from wrong to keep off spring floods. Better teach a child to honor his parents lest he beget children that shall dishonor him. In the light of this "first commandment with promise" how can we account for nearly all the good Sunday-school boys dying young!

Another thing that stands in the way of a high ethical practice, is the belief that the laws which govern here will not govern on the other side of death. It is supposed, in face of all New-Testament teaching, that only our church and prayer-meeting record is to be considered in the expected judgment. There are few who believe that a life insurance policy for wife and babe is a better passport into the celestial city than church membership or baptism. We are taught that at death we go to our reward, as though our reward was not in what we are rather than what we shall receive, or where we shall be. Let us do right as we eat good food, not for reward but for health. Who asks reward for being well in body or soul?

When we know the truth it will not be hard to do right.

We have long been taught that to do right is so hard a task that if it were not for the reward in the next life it would not be advisable. Where does Jesus teach goodness as a preparation for death? Only those who preach an unnatural and corrupted religion do this. The kingdom of heaven is in the heart, and is its own evidence and reward. Eternal life is being good and pure. A drunkard cannot enter it while he is a drunkard, of course. But they teach that he must get converted, that is enter the kingdom, before he can break off drinking; thinking that getting converted cures him of drunkenness, instead of breaking off his evil habits bringing about conversion. They try to have the fruits without the tree. Religion is not a means to an end, but the fruit of right living. No sense of spiritual things can come to a gross and sensual man. No realization of the goodness and love of God can be felt by a hard-hearted and cruel man. No sense of love can come to us higher than we have experienced toward others. It is thus that the merciful man shall obtain mercy. These seek religion as insurance against death instead of as a great joy in life. Right doing has its reward though we die to-night and never wake. Why should we ask a reward in the next life for having been well and happy in this?

The wrong-doer thinks he will not be found out in this life, and will repent and accept Jesus as his substitute before death, and so escape all penalty. This is at the bottom of much deliberate crime. It is a fearful thing to know to what an extent our religious teachings have effected this result. Buddhism is far ahead of the common Christianity in this respect. When we hear people complain of their good deeds not being rewarded, that is, not meeting with adequate returns, we see they do not know the law; nor have they done good deeds. They have selfishly done something for a reward or return, and, not meeting with this, they feel defrauded.

If they have really done right, from the only right motive, their reward is sure, and no one can rob them of it. They will become the children of the Highest. From this false notion of looking for a reward in turn from others, they have come to believe in a God who is looking for return, demanding praise and sacrifice, being angry when he does not receive it. It is surely better to be a free giver than a thankless or even a thankful receiver. To do good for thanks, to give up something here in hopes of a great reward hereafter, though considered Christian motives, are low and base, and unworthy of us all. To expect a heaven of idle-

ness and luxury as a reward for good deeds can never be called moral, nor truly Christian, nor God-like. Doing right is to them as the taking of better medicine is to a child. The love we feel for others is far more important than the love they have for us. It is to be something, not to receive something, that all should aim at; not what we have done, but what we have become by doing, is the all-important thing in life.

God will give us no peace till we seek it in the right way. We are too high ever to enjoy low things. If we act like brutes we shall not have even brutish enjoyments. Our souls can never be fully satisfied till we have filled them with the loftiest motives, the highest thoughts. Our hearts are empty till full of true love. Our lives have a sad feeling of failure, till we employ them aright. The laws are perfect, they need no supernatural interference. We must learn them, obey them, live them, or we shall have no peace in any world where God rules.

Reason and experience are our only guides. God by his spirit giveth man understanding. Reason and observation have given man freedom in the physical domain. Observation of the ethical phenomena of the race would give large results for good. Herbert Spencer has devoted the best years of a marvellous life to the subject of ethics, from an agnostic view-point, and has come to the conclusion that none can be happy, safe, or good, till all are happy, safe, and good, coming to the exact conclusions with Jesus from his spiritual view, as taught directly by the spirit of the Father, showing the harmony that exists in the universe. Conscience is not a guide to right action. It but compels us to do for peace' sake what we believe to be right. The heathen mother cast her infant into the red-hot arms of Moloch as conscientiously as any mother ever brought her child to be christened. There is not an ethical law of to-day, whether it be forgiveness to enemies or faithfulness to one's wife, whose very opposite has not been just as conscientiously followed out by others. Emerson says: "The laws of nature are in harmony with each other; that which the head and the heart demand is found in the long run, for what the grossest calculator calls for his advantage. The moral sense is always supported by the permanent interest of the parties."

There is no physical good that we esteem which is not insured to us by the highest ethics. But if we pursue it for this object, we shall not be ethical. "Honesty is the best policy," but he who follows ethical courses for policy's sake

is not honest, any more than the thief who refrains from "holding you up" when he sees you are armed, is an honest man. The doctrine of forgiveness of penalty, instead of the putting away of the sin itself, not the penalty, has done grave harm in morals. There is no escape from the penalty of wrong doing. Our children must suffer, too, for what we have done; no doubt we shall know it, to our great agony. There is fearful physical retribution for the sins of the body, but they are but the visible representations of the harm done to the moral nature. We learn the law so slowly. Our prize fighters are still heroes. War is honored. Thousands are spent to try a man for crimes which a good dinner might have prevented.

Our police wander the streets with gross faces and big clubs, to catch a man breaking the law, and we have no force to prevent the crime by coming in to help the hungry and desperate man in his extremity. Millions for punishment, but not one cent for prevention, seems to be our motto.

Let us remember that the lack of eyes to see and hearts to feel is all that stands between us and the loftiest visions and the most ecstatic bliss. What could the longed-for heaven give us, if we were still blind to beauty and deaf to love?

They only miss
The winning of that final bliss,
Who will not count it true, that love,
Blessing, not cursing, rules above,
And that in it we live and move.

THE MORNING OF A NEW DAY.

BY GEORGE CANNING HILL.

We have come to a new stage in our political experience as a nation. The old party maxims are worn out, and refuse to conjure any more. Whether we realize it or not, the present is a political renaissance. The resistless issue of free coinage opens the door wide for the admission of discussions long postponed. Events do not wait to be heralded, though the preparations are always making for them a long time before.

The silver question becomes a mother question, whose offspring will one after another appear to solicit an answer at her maternal knee. The past life and experience of our country is gathering to crystallize in new forms. Reason and reflection are drawing the ulcerating sliver of old party struggles and passions, and proposing larger themes for the people's more thoughtful treatment. An issue is at last before them which the mere political purveyor cannot misstate nor they misapprehend. The industrial element is superseding the corrupting forces of the past in public administration. The social and ethical influence is taking the place of the power-seeking only; the fraternal and humanitarian, the barren rules of selfish ambition. The scale comes down at once when the triumph of truth and manhood and patriotism is weighed with the cheap prizes of power and place and selfish personality. All is in a state of transition — passing over to a higher level — being renewed in a more capacious and creative spirit.

And there is every reason why we should be profoundly grateful that it is so. From this universal flux and apparent unsettlement are to come forth in their destined order the deeper problems of our common future. That which makes our union a fact of such vast vitality in human history is of far more account than any care for that union's mere integrity. To the vision of prophetic faith it seems as if on this American continent its last earthly chance had been given to the human race. Military renown will become dim and finally fade away as the moral element advances to work its

will in the national destiny. The issue raised in the contest now openly begun involves the continued existence of the whole people in a state of independent freedom, — either that or peasant poverty in a condition of tenancy and a hopeless existence ever after.

Is our common metallic currency to be made adequate to the service of the universal need, or is it to become the staple of traffic for the enrichment of a privileged few at the cost of the common industry? From this time till the last ballot is cast and counted the living argument on this vital issu is to be impressed on the general mind with incessant energy. In principle, and therefore in formulation, it is no such complicated matter to understand as the money-dealing class would purposely make it for the confusion of the popular judgment.

Before 1873 the two precious metals furnished the basis of the national currency. They were constitutional money, as they both are still. Each supported and corrected the other. When one fell short from any cause, the other came to its assistance. That was all the real meaning the much-used term "parity" had then. The people had the chance they always should have to pay their debts and make their exchanges in the money more easily obtained, that was always the cheapest money. By the process of sneak-legislation that privilege was stolen from them, leaving them no choice and therefore no facility. As the inevitable consequence, we have had fastened on us, worse than the shirt of Nessus, the plague of a consuming dry rot, that steadily destroys all forms of industrial energy and warns off all incentives to its prolific exercise.

History's pen has already written that the money power of the world is consolidating its forces at an alarming rate. Its direct aim is the absolute control of the products of human industry, and thus of industry itself, by controlling its instrument of exchange so far as to reduce the great population of producers to a wholly dependent condition, in which simple existence will be gladly accepted as the greatest boon. Within the last twenty years it has found out the way to successfully accomplish this by simply getting money more and more into its own hands. Its unfaltering purpose is to achieve the monopoly of that which enables the rest of us to maintain living relations with one another, and which was created to be a servant, never a master in the hands of selfishness. It is as if the life-blood were drawn from human

veins, and then offered back again at such rates as the murderous leech chose to demand and the victim was too weak to refuse.

The thing to be remarked in this newly opened debate over the currency is the intensifying habit of reading and reflection on the one side, and of merely exploding coarse epithets on the other, clearly evidencing the change in political methods that is going on. The ominous silence of an intelligent people is an unanswerable rebuke to the arrogant insolence of their money-made defamers. Political preparation is more after the academical order — the bullying, corrupting, and brutal methods visibly going out of vogue. A much-needed lesson in practical ethics is thus taught relatively by the mass rather than by its self-assumed master. The old order of things is in process of reversal.

Now if the great body of the "plain people" are sufficiently intelligent to live to create a vast nation with the helpful service of any money system at all, the presumption is that they are at least capable of comprehending the inherent principles of that system and the laws of its practical operation. The first object of their united rebuke will therefore be the insolence that contemptuously asserts their incapacity to attain an intelligent understanding of the laws of the currency employed by them in the transaction of their affairs.

The average American citizen as readily sees that it costs him twice as much effort to pay his debt and taxes and fixed charges as the money trader sees that when money is made doubly dear by the withdrawal of one half of it from use it brings him without any effort a doubled profit. The intelligence to discern is just as keen in the one direction as in the other.

The ordinary citizen can understand that if silver were not forbidden by law its customary entrance at the door of the mint, it would be worth all the time as much as three hundred and seventy-one and one quarter grains of silver are worth per dollar and that money would be cheaper instead of dearer — that is, that prices fixed in money would be marked higher instead of steadily falling. The gold advocates intentionally and ignorantly call it "inflation," and the advocates of the two money metals they call "insane." All the insanity of it consists in a final determination to resort to the only remedy for the fatal depression in industry and trade. The "craze" of it is but an earnestly eager desire for the restoration of the

country's continued development and its progress in abounding prosperity.

The universal hurt to the industrial activities that create the commonwealth by the increase of the value of money and the diminution of the value of all forms of property, can undeniably be seen and understood by every citizen possessed of common intelligence, and it is no such feat for him to reason to the conclusion that the simple act of the restoration of money to its normal value can in no sense be the fraud or crime which the gold monometallist alleges.

He can understand without any special knowledge of the routine processes and calculating technicalities of the banking and exchange business that this restoration is but taking the excess of valuing power out of money and putting it back into the products from which it has been taken, into wheat and cotton and land again, — the only substantial and recognized forms of property, which money is not and was not intended to be.

He can comprehend that no sufficient natural causes exist for this steady increase in the value of money, that is, for this continual fall in prices, and therefore that they are artificial causes, arbitrarily set and kept in operation; that they are expressed in legislation's fiat outside of the safe limits of long experience; that money is by no means the same thing as property, though it at all times exchanges for it, but is its measuring agent and representative only; that it was never intended to be a commodity to be dealt in like a staple product, but the most convenient instrument for the mutual exchange of all products alike.

The blinded adherents to the new and dangerous dogma of gold monometallism talk of educating the people out of their perverse ignorance on the currency question. Let them be cautious how they proceed with their complacent experiment. They will only make their case the worse for themselves as they make it better understood. They will unsuspectingly expose the crafty arts by which they maintain their fatal advantage, and make the details of their occupation appear in a stronger light of error and guilt than before.

It is not necessary to stigmatize the calling that operates with trained skill the vast enginery of exchanges so successfully as in any recognized sense a conspiracy against the persistent industry of an entire people. There unquestionably are as good men and honest men in the banking business as

in any other. But it is no less a fact to be allowed room for consideration that they all together form the working force in this great machine and its wonderful ramifications; that by long habit and close familiarity they come to be a part of it and belong to it; that it is their undeniable superior and master, limiting the range of their thought to its own designing mechanical operation, and forbidding any the least excursion into fields which it reserves to itself for harvests yet ungathered.

Therefore all this affectation of superior knowledge and deeper penetration on the part of the class who are attached to and work the machinery of the country's finances, centrally and locally, is pitifully out of place and a standing provocation to the keenest shafts of satire and ridicule. That the men who handle money for the general convenience and supply it in response to the common need should for that as a principal reason better understand the principles that underlie and the laws that govern the relation existing between supply and demand than the great body of the people they serve can be expected to understand it, is so preposterous an absurdity as to make the laws that divide classes an object of ridicule far more than of respect.

The matter of vital concern is that the financial machinery of the country and of the world is susceptible of a destroying diversion from its appropriate function into channels of operation through which selfishness is mainly fed and greed waxes fat, while those for whose service it was created grow hungry and lean, and the common sustenance is sucked out and absorbed into private treasure vaults. The sleepless eyes of insatiate greed, ever watchful of its chances to have and to accumulate, indicate the hiding-place of the real enemy of the social state and its continuous stages of development and progress. It has chosen for its final lurking-place the organized devices by which men effect the exchange of their products, convinced that in the control of these it has its effective grasp on all. This is the spirit we are to contend with in the discussion that is now on; here is the latent power which seeks the ultimate possession of all power by silently getting into its hands that potent agency by which we exist as a community, a society, a people. That it ought to be opposed with all the energy possible to concentrate against its expanding supremacy, should hardly require the statement of a united determination.

Never until now has a national party declared for the establishment of a gold standard of money to the exclusion of silver. The party platforms have invariably asserted the broad constitutional ground of bimetallism. Nor has Congress ever presumed to pronounce by a majority of its members for what the party platforms unwaveringly enunciated. How then can the advocates of the free coinage of the two metals be charged with the abandonment of the accepted principles of their party? It is those who go over to the single gold standard who abandon their party, and this is sufficiently proved by the history of the matter.

In the adoption of the exclusive gold standard, the party founded by Jefferson notoriously becomes Hamiltonian. It is no longer Democratic or Republican, but Federal and British. For it is the British financial system it adopts, and it thus proclaims its preference for a return to the colonial condition in name as well as in fact. The free-trade doctrine of Great Britain is stubbornly refused by us, and are we now going to subscribe to the currency system she far more selfishly seeks to impose on us?

By the terms of none of our issued obligations are we bound to make payment in gold only. The bulk of the bonds declare on their face that they are payable in "coin" of the United States of the standard weight and fineness. That was done prior to the demonetization of silver. By the payment of them in gold their investment value is doubled, and the public debt increases a great deal faster than it can be legitimately discharged.

What insensate folly to talk of not maintaining the standard of the national honor and sustaining the national credit, because we refuse to pay any longer the increased amount that a covetous class of foreign bondholders exact of us. We do our whole duty to them and to ourselves when we pay our accumulated debt exactly as it is nominated in the bond.

Into this insatiate vortex of greed is going with a speeding rapidity the wealth, and therefore the basis and expression of the power of the country. As we draw near to the close of the century we rise as an entire people and declare our united purpose that this spoliation of a nation of such wonderful resources as ours shall go no further. We make a stand in the growing necessity for our life as an independent people through our enterprise and industry. The edge of the fatal precipice is reached. Our would-be masters do not rashly

seek to push us over, but they would keep us always on its edge and all the time in a state of fear and dependence.

It is to cost us an almost superhuman effort to free ourselves from our threatening tyrant and usurper, and it is that to which we now courageously devote ourselves as independent patriots, believing faithfully in the true welfare of the people. We hail the morning of a new day for America.

ASSOCIATED EFFORT AND ITS INFLUENCE ON HUMAN PROGRESS.

BY DR. M. L. HOLBROOK.

In my garden, last summer, I planted a large number of morning-glory seeds, hoping that a reasonable part of them might grow and produce beautiful blossoms in the autumn, a hope which I am happy to say was in a fair way realized. After they had grown to the size when the long twining part of the plant which climbs strings or rods or poles is produced, I found it necessary to provide these things for them in greater numbers than I had expected. To save the necessity for a few rods, I placed a single one in the centre of a wilderness of plants, and as the vines which were several feet away grew in length, I bent or turned them toward the poles, thinking that those at some distance would work their way there in due time. I found on experiment that when two plants joined their forces together by twining around each other they were in most cases successful, but that a single plant going alone would, after wandering about in a most irregular way, generally fail. To help them all I could I often gave several a start by bringing them together in such a way that they would act together. Thus was promoted association in numerous instances, apparently to great advantage. In studying the plants that unconsciously worked together I found that they supported each other, and each held its partner from going off in a tangent or in a direction that led nowhere. It seemed to me an example of unconscious association for the attainment of an end far more easily and surely than either could have attained it alone. I think if I were to try I could give numerous instances from the vegetable world where association, working together, often produces results far more favorable than are accomplished by individual effort.

I have often noticed that many of our forest trees are hardy or not according to whether they grow in groups so as to be able to protect one another from the cold blasts of winter or not. There are many evergreen trees that will die if standing

alone, but thrive if planted in clumps. They co-operate or associate unconsciously for mutual aid, and illustrate what I shall show further on.

If we take a broader view of the subject we shall find that all through nature, association, mutual aid, whether conscious or unconscious, has been one of the chief means by which evolution has been able to accomplish its work in developing from the lower the higher and more complicated plants and animals. If we consider the monocellular organisms, from which we may conclude all higher organisms have arisen, we find it is by association that their evolution has been accomplished. These low forms must have found some advantage in keeping together, instead of dividing and each one taking care of its own little cell or group of cells. By association they were able to divide their work, one group attending to locomotion, one to digestion, one to sensation; and so little by little, from co-operation along such lines as were useful, arose more and more complicated plants and animals of greater complexity, and finally man himself. I think we may assume that if the original monocellular organisms had not in some way unconsciously to themselves found out that it was better to live and work in union and harmony than independently, man would never have had an existence, and to-day the world would be swarming with unicellular organisms as the only forms of life. We might trace the influence of association in the organic world all along the line of evolution up to the human race with interest and profit. I will give a few illustrations.

The common ant is one. Its associative life is very highly developed, and by means of it this insect is able to live much more comfortably and perfectly. Among some varieties the division of labor is very remarkable. Like the bee, ants are males, females, and neuters, or undeveloped females, the former having little to do besides reproduction, the latter, or neuter, doing the work, building the often very elaborate nests, gathering food, guarding and protecting the eggs and young, and assisting each other in danger. Some species have a military system resembling man's, and some are even slaveholders. We cannot doubt but that by means of association they have been able to spread so generally almost everywhere and hold their own against often most adverse circumstances. In some parts of Africa and South America the country belongs to the ants. Not only has association

been useful to the insect itself, but to the world, for as a scavenger it has few equals, eating up every particle of dead flesh it can find. If you doubt this, kill a few caterpillars or other insects, or a mouse, or even a bird, if you are wicked enough, and place them near a nest of ants, and see how quickly they consume every atom that can be consumed. Medical students have often taken advantage of this fact, and placed the skeletons which they wished to have cleaned in their way, that they might eat up the flesh which the scalpel could not cut away.

My friend, Mary Treat of Vineland, the naturalist, has given me a most remarkable instance of mutual aid among ants, witnessed by herself in a battle between a nest of slave-holding (*Formica sanguinea*) and a colony of black ones. After watching the battle as it raged all the afternoon, at dusk she picked up ten red, pitted against ten black ants, in deadly embrace, and placed them where she could observe them by lamp-light. It was a full hour before a single red warrior had despatched its black antagonist. After it had torn off the legs, it looked around to see where it could help another comrade, and, choosing a case where assistance seemed most important, it seized the head of its comrade's foe, bit it off, then went to another and another, till it had aided its companions in killing all their own antagonists. This little insignificant creature knew the value of association in ant warfare, and did not wait for an invitation, but offered its services after its own special foe had been despatched.

This was an instance of association for the destruction of a foe. We often see the same thing in human beings.

The bee is another instance well worthy of study, especially the honey-bee, in which co-operation is highly developed, and, judging from our own standpoint, very successful. Every bee seems to know its place and do its work instinctively. Bees are both social and anti-social, but the social ones, those that work together peacefully, thrive best, and far excel the others in number, which is, I think, evidence of the usefulness of association in mitigating, indeed almost annihilating with them, the struggle for existence.

Passing on to the vertebrates we find still abundant proof that evolution does not take place in an orderly way unless the same instinct of mutual helpfulness prevails. Among birds this is conspicuous and easily observed by any one

who has any love for observation. Two birds, a male and a female, join their lives for reproduction and the care and rearing of offspring. Both together assist in choosing a place for the nest, in constructing it, and sometimes in sitting on the eggs, as is the case, according to Wilson, with the crow. I have seen a male robin which had found a place he evidently thought suitable for a nest bring his mate to inspect it and pass final judgment, but she decided it was not suitable. It was exceedingly interesting to watch them examine every part of the place, now and then giving a chirp which evidently communicated some thought, and finally see them depart without apparently the slightest feeling of antipathy or disgust on the part of the male that his judgment had not been concurred in.

After the breeding season is over many species associate in small or large flocks, according to the abundance or scarcity of food, for society and for mutual protection. It is the same in migrating. They come together before starting on their periodical journeys, often several days before, waiting for the tardy ones a reasonable time, and apparently have a mutual understanding of what is to be done and the direction they are to go in. This is particularly true of the barn swallow, the blackbird, the robin, the wild goose, and formerly of the wild pigeon. In the West, where the bird was abundant, I have seen what seemed to my boyish eyes to be enormous hordes of them covering miles of space. Of course some careless ones lose their lives at the hunter's hand and from birds of prey; but so great had been the value of association, or the ability to live together peacefully, over the less social habits of hawks and other predaceous birds, that the pigeons far outnumbered their enemies until man cut away the forests and took from the wild pigeon its chief source of food, without which nothing survives. Those who have watched the cedar-bird must have noticed how closely they keep together in their wanderings for food, and when a flock flies, its movements often appear as if the whole were one bird instead of a hundred, so uniform is their flight. If one rises, all rise simultaneously; if one falls or turns to the right or left, all do the same at exactly the same instant.

I have seen a flock of perhaps five hundred blackbirds, when they arrived from the South in the spring, hold a most joyous conference in a small grove of trees, the meeting lasting for three or four hours, after which they separated

preparatory to nest-building and reproduction. During this season they live comparatively isolated lives. No doubt there is some advantage in this, as they can then better conceal their nests, the eggs of which are much sought by some other birds, especially the crow. Too close association at this period would more easily reveal their presence, for fifty or one hundred birds in close proximity would be more easily found than one or two. During the breeding season it is not uncommon to see three or four males join their forces to annoy a robber-bird seeking their nests for their eggs, and to drive it away. Many small birds associate for the purpose of annoying an intruder, though far larger, and successfully, too. Even a few martins co-operating will drive away a large hawk or so annoy him that he can do them no harm. In autumn again the blackbird and many others congregate in large flocks, and go from field to field to find food; or if food is scarce, then they go in smaller companies and spread over a wider range, thus avoiding too much competition. Birds associate for the following important purposes: reproduction, migration, the pleasure taken in social intercourse, or happiness, which is the same as in man except in degree, self-defence, *and to mitigate or lessen the evils of competition.* By this latter the struggle for existence is greatly diminished, almost nullified.

As we come to mammals, the same rule prevails in various degrees with various species. The common cattle are good illustrations. The cows in the farmer's dairy always go in herds. They will not go separate. Put a new and strange cow into a herd, and the members will fight her off for a while; but she will endure a great amount of insult rather than go away by herself. In a few days all is peace. They cannot afford to keep up anti-social habits long. With these animals the chief object in association must be sociability and its pleasures. In the domestic state they have no enemies except their owners; and as their wants are provided for there is practically no struggle for existence until they reach the shambles, and here it is short but very intense.

The sheep is a still more forcible example. According to my own experience — and it is not small — an anti-social sheep is an anomaly. Even if food is scarce they still go in flocks rather than singly, though a large flock will sometimes divide into two or more, if its range is extended and food is scarce, as in case of drought.

With the horse it is the same. This animal, left to itself, as sometimes happens in new States, soon reverts to the wild horse, but they associate together in small or even quite large bands. One of my correspondents in Colorado years ago gave me a vivid picture of a herd of wild horses under the guidance of a leader guarding themselves from attempts to capture them for weeks. When an enemy appears several bands will unite to drive it away. United they resist all foes. If a drought takes place they join together and migrate. If a great snow-storm comes on they keep together and repair to the most protected place available. In bands their struggle for life is diminished, and there is greater ease in overcoming foes. A careless animal straying from the herd is easily overcome by wolves and other carnivora. Great herds of horses still exist surrounded by enemies in Tibet, says Krapotkin, but they can only exist by banding together, not by dissociated lives.

When it comes to wild animals the degree of association varies and is adjusted to the needs of the species. I might as well begin with one of the most disreputable of all animals, the wolf. Many weird stories are told of this vulgar fellow which do not concern us here. The one lesson we draw from his life is that he almost always, so far as I can learn, hunts for food in packs of three or four or more, rarely singly. He probably has not intellect or courage enough to go out in the darkness of the night alone and give chase to any animal he desires to capture.

The lion we might think of at first as generally anti-social. He does usually seek his food alone, mainly in the night, and, like a cat, in the most secret and dishonorable manner. He has not the slightest moral principle, except that shown in the care of the young; but he is not altogether anti-social, for troops of lions join together for social intercourse. Gordon Cumming says:

> Not unfrequently a troop of lions may be heard roaring in concert, one assuming the lead, and two, three, or four more regularly picking up the parts like singing a catch. But on no occasion are their voices to be heard in such perfection as when two or three troops of strange lions go at the same time to a fountain to drink. When this occurs every member of each troop sounds a bold roar of defiance at the opposite parties, and when one roars all roar together, and each seems to vie with his comrades in the intensity of the power of his voice. The power and grandeur of these nocturnal concerts is inconceivably striking and pleasing to the hunter's ear.

This would seem to be a case of association for pleasure,

rather than defence or material aid; but it must be remembered that lions do not need much help, being strong enough to get their food alone. In this respect they differ from the wolf

The case of the hippopotamus is another. Frank Vincent, the great traveller, tells me they are almost always found in herds. He has counted as many as forty in one company in the Nile. They seem to get their greatest happiness in lying near each other in the water, with their heads resting on the bank, so as to be able to inhale air and receive the rays of the sun freely.

Elephants also associate for several purposes. One is to be able, in case of danger, to aid each other. Their great size renders them easily seen, and they have many foes. They go together in considerable bands, one hundred or more, with a leader whom they implicitly follow when menaced. If one of them has a bad disposition, a sour temper, and is disobedient, he is driven out of the troop and lives ever after alone. This teaches us that animals understand as well as man does that association for mutual benefit cannot go on without adjustment and the giving up of any right which interferes with the welfare of the whole.

The buffalo is still another case. One buffalo is no match for a lion or a tiger, but if three or four join in defending themselves from these ferocious beasts, they do it always, it is said, with success. Our American buffaloes in their day associated in vast herds, and were so organized as to be able to take care of their interests and defend themselves well from all ordinary foes, aside from man, as their vast numbers proved; but if for any reason they became disbanded and disorganized, so that each must act independently of the others, they were easily routed.

The same is true of the ape. A few probably degenerate species live solitary lives, but a majority are unhappy if alone. In some species the members join their strength in order to accomplish some object which neither could do alone, as for instance the building of a bridge over some otherwise impassable stream.

Man naturally comes next in order for our consideration; and what can we say of him? Is he, and has he been, an exception to the rule? Those who read history and believe all that they read should believe that man has spent most of his energies in the past in war, in contest, in struggle against

foes mainly of his own kind, and that he is very anti-social. Unfortunately historians, in writing the lives of any people, have kept well to the front their achievements in war. So true is this that the social phases of human life have been until recently too much overlooked. And yet man is and always has been the most thoroughly social animal of all. If he had not associated with his fellows in a more or less orderly way from the beginning, he would never have multiplied and spread over the globe to so great an extent as he has. Man is born not full-grown like a microbe, enabled from the first to shift for himself, but the most helpless of all creatures, requiring long years of care and toil on the part of his parents to rear him at all, and especially to rear him in such a way as to make his life a success. This could take place only by the association of men and women in families, and also of large numbers of men and women in communities. Indeed Darwin goes so far as to say that the genesis of man from the ape required a social ape, not an anti-social one. He says:

> We should bear in mind that an animal possessing great size, strength, and ferocity, and which, like the gorilla, could defend itself from all enemies, would not perhaps have become sufficiently social, and this would effectually have checked the acquirement of the higher mental qualities, such as the sympathy and love of his fellows. Hence it might have been of immense advantage to men to have sprung from some comparatively weak (but social) creature.

Going back to our subject, modern research has shown us that the neolithic man, who lived before history began, but who lives to-day in many places, was social and lived in large communities. While anthropologists are not all agreed on every point, some things are pretty well settled.

We cannot, however, tarry among animals or primitive man, but must come down to men of our own time. Do any of us realize how much of our life is associated life, and how much we depend upon it for promoting human happiness and progress, which after all is only human evolution? Let us see. We will begin with the family, which is an association of two persons for mutual helpfulness.

The old myth that Eve was created because it was not good for man to be alone, though not a literal fact, tells a wholesome truth. There is probably no associative institution which has done more to promote progress than marriage. Its first and chief object is reproduction. Now reproduction in the higher species is exhaustive. The parents, especially

the mother, give up during a certain number of years, the period of the highest physical vigor, individual life for the life of the race. It is in one sense a sacrifice which parents make for the future, such as their parents made for them. Experience and observation show conclusively that reproduction is best promoted by the association of the sexes into families, in which the male provides for the female, protects her, furnishes her with a home and its comforts, while she gives her life largely to the children. If women, during the years of child-bearing, were to live independent lives, providing for all their own wants, few children would survive, and those few would receive inadequate feeding, training, and care during the years of their helplessness. This is best illustrated by those cases where women become mothers by unchaste relations, and does not need to be further illustrated here. So much greater is the strain on her energies in this case that such relations are most ruthlessly and properly condemned in the most advanced societies. Unchastity, which in reality is anti-social in its essence, thus becomes one of the greatest of evils, and this simply because the results are disastrous not only to the race, but to the individual. Unchastity, if it prevailed widely, would result in the decay of society. Chastity, on the other hand, is productive of a more highly developed social state.

But the production and rearing of children are not the only benefits of this form of association. While it necessitates the yielding of many rights on the part of both parties in marriage, it develops many of the finest traits of character and all those tender emotions and mutual aids which go so far to make life happy, and this is greater when marriage is most perfect. It is no wonder, then, that it has been considered a sacred, even a divine institution, far more so than any other institution we have.

Proceeding further we find that a large part of life is one of association. Men and women band themselves together for every conceivable purpose, and for promoting all sorts of schemes, good and bad, which could not be achieved in any other way. We have churches for promoting moral and religious culture, schools for promoting education, benevolent societies to promote charities, and clubs for securing pleasures which could not otherwise be had. In business we combine capital and industry for promoting commerce and trade, for building railways, for carrying on banking, for securing

higher wages by labor unions, and for hundreds of other objects.

Great progress in science was never possible so long as scientific men were isolated from one another. It has been by their coming together in societies where they could exchange knowledge that great advances have been made. The association of the leading scientific men of the world in the Royal Society of England, the Academy of Science, France, and many others which might be named, has been a most potent factor in all scientific progress. So familiar are these matters to you all that I need not dwell upon them longer.

I wish now to speak of one modern form of association which has attracted wide attention. I refer to co-operation. The term *co-operation* and the word *association* have literally about the same significance, but in recent times the former has to a great extent become a technical term having a special meaning. According to Holyoke, one of its chief apostles, it may be defined as a system of commerce and industry consisting of societies of working people who have necessarily little surplus capital, in which the business profits of a store are given to the purchasers, and the profits of a workshop are given to the workers.

Co-operation is not communism on the one side, nor is it State socialism on the other. It is a voluntary system of social economics implying the banding together of a larger or smaller number of persons or societies for mutual profit, either in the purchase and sale of commodities for consumption, in the manufacture of commodities which may be in demand, or for borrowing or lending capital, as in banking.

It may be of interest, in passing, briefly to note that co-operation for these three objects has been highly developed in three European countries. In Germany, for instance, we have co-operative banking for the benefit of the working class. These banks are organized on principles adapted to workingmen, and not to large capitalists, and have become very useful.

In France co-operation has developed more highly than in any other country for the purpose of manufacturing. In Paris there are many societies for production, founded and managed by workingmen, in which all the profits go to the workers. Similar societies are found in all the French provinces. They have demonstrated the fact that laboring men may and do, by union, conduct business enterprises with suc-

cess. In no other country are there so many persons who do their work in their homes as in France. This has proved that individualism among workmen has been promoted by co-operation rather than the reverse.

We must go to England, however, to study most successfully co-operation as related to the purchase for consumption of all commodities, the profits going to the consumers. Co-operative stores have become very extensive all over the United Kingdom, and so great and long continued has been their success that it is no longer an experiment. There are already nearly two thousand societies, with a membership of considerably over one and one quarter million persons, and the annual business for the year 1895, estimating from the rate of increase during several years, must have amounted to $240,000,000, with a profit for its members amounting to about $25,000,000. Some of these societies are of course small and do a small business, but some of them have become enormously rich. One society in Rochdale has had a profit of over $260,000 in one year. Two other old town societies have unitedly a profit of over $500,000 yearly, all this going to its members in proportion to their purchases at the stores. It may not amount to a great sum when the division has been made, although in very many cases it does; but these profits are after all only the lesser advantages. The parent society in England is a wholesale society, which purchases for the retail societies; it takes, for instance, the entire crop of tea of large plantations in China, and all the butter and cheese of large factories; it employs competent buyers in all parts of the world. It owns numerous steamships and many factories for manufacturing chocolate, cloth, sweets, jellies, soaps, boots, clothing, and other articles most in demand, and it has great sums of ready money — for it always buys and sells for cash, as do all the retail stores, so there can be no loss from bad accounts, and there is less expense for book-keeping. It employs a chemist to detect any adulteration in goods purchased, and will take no other than pure articles of food or genuine, well-made manufactured goods. Purchasers know that they get what they order or buy. The goods are reliable so far as it is possible to have them. According to Holyoke, co-operation promotes in a high degree the peace of industry. Competition has its uses in war, and war means destruction. Destructive competition generates hate, ill will, and all the baser sentiments, and the harboring

of these sentiments consumes time and all those surplus energies which otherwise might be devoted to the promotion of industrial progress in a thousand forms.

One of the fundamental principles of English co-operative societies is fair dealing. Each applicant for membership must accept the principle and be guided by a desire to promote truthfulness, justice, and economy in exchange by the abolition of false dealing, never representing any article other than it is known to be, or concealing from the purchaser any fact which will aid him in judging of the value of what he buys.

To those of us who know to what an enormous extent dishonesty enters into all trade, even in a civilized country, and how impossible it is to prevent being cheated except by spending more ingenuity, toil, and nervous energy to protect ourselves, and even then often without success, than most of us can afford, this simple rule of dealing fairly with all customers will be a revelation.

A store is not only a place to purchase the necessities of life, but it is also an educational institution. Mr. Holyoke calls it a guild rather than a shop or a store. A shop cares only for your custom, and will treat you honestly, perhaps, to retain this custom. A co-operative store or factory cares for your welfare, and would benefit its members by making life pleasanter, and confer less mastery and more individuality and independence. The store is visited daily by the head of the family, and is to some extent a centre of thought as well as of trade; it gives instruction in classes in domestic economy, has its festival days and lectures on various subjects.

Often the members are helped to find work or positions. All this, however, is only possible when the stores and factories have become large and flourishing. A store or factory can only flourish when it has a competent head, without which there is sure to be trouble. In this respect they are only like other great corporations. As a rule, capable, honest men are educated by experience. The demand creates the supply. If this is not the case the enterprise fails. One of the difficulties of co-operation has been to find agents who know how to buy. It takes far more forethought for a good buyer than for a seller, there are so many temptations to buy what will not sell; but as co-operation has developed, co-operators are able to manufacture much which they need, and they have found by experience that it pays to buy only of

reliable dealers. This to a certain extent makes it pay to deal fairly. The law of evolution works even here. The fittest survive and become more fit. What one store gains by experience the others soon get the advantage of. Little by little the useful experience of one becomes the common property of all.

I have said that co-operative stores have been more successful in England than elsewhere, and that co-operative manufacturing has been less so; but while there have been many failures, there have also been some remarkable successes. I have thought it worth while to give an account of a successful one. It is that of the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society at Shieldhall, near Glasgow, on the banks of the Clyde. The account has been furnished me by a gentleman on the spot, and is, I believe, reliable. This society is a federation of all the retail societies of Scotland, two hundred and seventy-eight in number, with a total membership now of over one hundred and fifty thousand persons, far less than the English Co-operative Society, but a more ideal example. The society began on a moderate scale many years ago, but in 1887 it started out on a new and grand career which has continued ever since, owing to the indomitable energy of one man, its chief promoter, a man who for himself would have made a great career, but who has gladly devoted his life and force of character to co-operative industry.

The buildings stand in a very healthy locality. The health of its working force is considered of the first importance. They seem to have learned that sickness is loss — loss of time, loss of productive energy, loss of happiness — and that it is very expensive. As Mr. Beecher once said, it is the one burden that bends, almost breaks, the back of society. They are realizing the Latin saying, "a sound mind in a sound body," just as far as possible. They take as good care of their living machines as of dead machinery. The idea that men and women may be used up as rapidly as possible by working in badly ventilated rooms and by brutal treatment, because there are others willing and glad to take their places, does not enter into their plan of operations as into so many private enterprises.

The land consists of twelve acres and cost $2,500 per acre, and nearly all of it is now covered with large blocks of fine buildings in which nineteen different branches of industry are carried on successfully, many of them on a large scale.

Each building is constructed after modern methods to meet all the requirements of convenience and health. The workrooms are cosy, spacious, well ventilated, warmed by steam, and lighted by electricity. The best sanitary arrangements known are provided, and the excellent health of the workmen and women — for there are over one thousand of each, over two thousand altogether — tells the story as to sanitation. Two large dining-rooms, one for men and one for women, which will accommodate about eight hundred persons each, are provided; also two large reading-rooms with papers, periodicals, and means of amusement.

Food of the best quality cooked in the best manner is supplied to all at cost. Some idea of the expense is afforded by the following items.

A dish of oatmeal and milk, three cents; a large scone with tea or coffee, three cents; Scotch broth or soup, two cents; stewed meat and potatoes, eight cents; roast beef or mutton and potatoes, ten cents. A most substantial meal need not cost over twelve cents. The workmen and women are satisfied with their positions. Standard wages are paid, and two and one-half hours less time for a week's work is demanded than in private shops. The men work fifty to fifty-three hours weekly, the women forty-four. The best machinery only is used. Most of the women work in the shirt factory, but none of them ever have to sing Hood's "Song of the Shirt." Sweating is unknown. In 1893 over three thousand tons of preserves were made, and not the slightest adulteration was permitted. What is very interesting is that every member of the committee of the board of management has come up from the ranks of the workingmen. Every worker, from youngest to oldest, has a direct interest in the business and receives his or her wages out of the profits, the same amount per pound as the shareholding societies receive out of the profits on their purchases. Some £3,000, or $15,000, yearly, are divided among the workers. The great success of this splendid establishment is an object-lesson, and will, it is hoped, continue to be such for those seeking to solve some of the difficult problems of labor and capital. They are peaceful methods and entirely at variance with anarchistic ones. They seem far superior to socialistic ones also, for they are entirely voluntary and allow of the largest individualism possible. Thus are some of the clear-headed Scots wringing success by co-operation out of the conditions

of their environment. This others also can do if they have equal farsightedness and equal determination.

Let us now, for a short time, consider the question of the relative importance and effect of the two principles, the one of competition, and the other of mutual helpfulness. We have many of us put a high value on competition as a civilizing process. What do we understand by the term? Competition means the struggle of two or more persons to get possession of the same thing. When a flock of sparrows, on a cold wintry day, if food is scarce, as I have often seen, quarrel as to which shall have a crust of bread found on the sidewalk, they give us a lesson in competition. When two boys, brothers perhaps, fight for the possession of some toy, they give us an illustration of competition. When two or a dozen tradesmen underbid one another to possess the trade of a community, and then give an inferior article instead of a superior one, that is competition. When five thousand men gather on the borders of an Indian reservation to rush pell-mell on to the land to get the best sites the moment the Government says "Go," that is competition. Competition, as already stated, is the war of industry. Competition in its extreme form requires smartness, alertness, health, little or no conscience, no sense of justice, and a high degree of selfishness; and it develops these traits of character to excess. Competition takes all it can get. Like a greedy child it overloads itself, if it can, and often staggers under the burden of excessive wealth it has to carry.

Holyoke has given an inscription for a tombstone which shows its evil effects:

> Here lies a "practical" man of business.
> He had an eye to the "main chance" which was always open.
> His heroic life was an incessant contest with his butcher, his butterman, his baker and tailor.
> He died 20, 30, 40 years before his time, of premature exhaustion, in trying to avoid being poisoned and cheated.
> Had he been a member of a Co-operative store he might have lived to old age, had leisure for self-improvement, excelled in some useful pursuit, and achieved distinction and easy competence. As it was, like so many others, he perished ingloriously,
> The vigilant fool of competition.

Let us now turn to the other principle, that of co-operation or mutual helpfulness. I have already shown that it exists as an important means of progress in many of the lower animals, and even in the plants, and also that it exists to a still larger extent in men.

If competition is the war of industry, mutual help or co-operation is the peace of industry. Competition works secretly and in the dark. Two men seeking to buy the same property go about it to get an advantage one of the other. They keep sly; they do not divulge their true thoughts; each tries to mislead the other. Co-operation, on the contrary, has no secrets. It proclaims its object on the housetop, that all may know.

Competition wants the lion's share of the profits. It would take all if it could, but this would be killing the goose which lays the golden egg. *It gives what it must and no more.*

Co-operation would give to each its proper share. It undertakes to introduce an element of justice into all its transactions. If it sometimes fails, it is because competition has so long dominated in trade that it is not easy at once to change human nature. This requires time. It has succeeded to a larger extent than many thought possible in the beginning, and this has been because its early promoters were men of large natures, practical humanitarians. They impressed this idea of justice on their followers to a most remarkable degree.

Competition leaves often in its track wreck and ruin, shattered fortunes, antagonisms, broken health, broken hearts, and ill will.

Co-operation does, or tries to do, just the opposite. It promotes friendly relations, educates its members, even the poorest, teaches the value of knowledge, of mutual aid, of saving, of industry; so far as is possible it prevents ruin. It takes no comfort in any gain made by the loss of those with whom it deals. It gives equal value for value received.

Co-operators, however, are not antagonists to wealth, for they believe in it. They also believe that wealthy men are very useful and necessary. They would have more of them. They know the value of capital when rightly used, and would secure more of it for the industrious, the frugal, the temperate, even if it does reduce the amount turned into the pockets of those who often overreach and take every advantage of those who are too busy at their labors to look out for their own interests properly. Co-operators believe in looking after their own interests, not in leaving them altogether in the hands of others who want all for themselves.

Co-operative industry, however, is not a benevolent arrangement to promote ease and give dividends to those who do not

earn them. It insists on individual effort, and would promote every manly virtue.

Co-operation is in accord with human nature, especially in its higher aspects. This is illustrated by a few lines from that immortal poem of Homer, the "Iliad." When the fortunes of the Greeks were at a very low ebb, owing to the wonderful achievements of the great Hector, Agamemnon called together his wisest chiefs and held a council of war. At this council Nestor said:

> Friends: Is there none among you who so far trusts his own valor that he will to-night venture among the Trojans? He might perchance capture on the border of the camp some foeman wandering, or might bring report of what they meditate, and whether still
>
> They mean to keep their station far from Troy,
> And near our ships, or since their late success,
> Return to Ilium.
>
> All were silent for a space.
> Then Diomed, the great in battle, said:
> Nestor, my resolute spirit urges me
> To explore the Trojan camp that lies so near:
> *Yet, were another warrior by my side,*
> *I should go forth with a far surer hope,*
> *And greater were my daring; for when two*
> *Join in an adventure, one perceives*
> *Before the other how they ought to act;*
> *While one alone, however prompt, resolves*
> *More tardily and with a weaker will.*

Those who remember the remainder of the story will know that Menelaus chose Ulysses to go with him, and that on their way into the Trojan camp they met Hector's spy, Dolon, on a similar errand coming into the camp of the Greeks. Dolon, however, had not associated with any companion, and was so frightened that he gave up all the secrets he possessed, and then had his head cut off to make sure he would do no more harm. Had Dolon been accompanied by a brave companion to strengthen his weak will, the results of the war might have been different. At any rate he would not have given in so quickly.

The question now comes to us: If co-operation has such value in promoting human progress, and promises such benefits for the laboring people, why is it not at once adopted in America as well as in England?

The reason is simple. Human nature is slow to change, and time is required. Many are seeking the same benefits by other ways. The public does not seem ready for it. Besides, it requires men of large brain and large heart to build up the cause, men who when a dividend is in sight will

not, like those in competition, seize it for their own. By degrees, however, co-operation is gaining ground with us, and in due time it will produce its legitimate results.

In conclusion I will say that the workingman has a full right to all the profits on his labor, provided he is willing to devise means to secure them. If so, then he must himself employ this labor either directly or indirectly. Co-operation, of which I have spoken, to a certain extent offers these means. It will not bring in the millennium; nothing will. Certain ills must be borne; even they have their use.

George Holyoke says, and I close with his words:

> Co-operation has, through the store, benefited its adherents and excited astonishment and respect, and it will excite the enthusiasm of the outlying masses of working people when it carries to them its greater message, that labor is the workman's capital and is entitled to interest as such, and more so than the rich man's investment, and that the co-operative workshop teaches them how it can be secured should not the equity of the employers lead them to concede it.

PHILOSOPHERS AFLOAT.

BY HELEN H. GARDENER.

"It's strange how hard it is for us to forgive those whom we injure. The graver the injury the more difficult our task." It was the philosophical voice of The Traveller which had broken the stillness that seemed to settle over the upper deck of the coastwise steamer as the moon rose.

"Seems to me I've heard some such remark before. Let me see. Dates back about fifteen hundred years, doesn't it?" drawled Edward Bentley as he turned the lighted end of his cigar toward him and gazed steadily at it. "But perhaps you were not intending me to accept your philosophy or your remark as strictly original, old fellow," he added with a twinkle in his eye and a suspicious quiver in the corner of his mustache, as he waited for a reply which did not come. "S'pose you haven't taken offence at my frank response. Don't feel injured, do you? Because if you do, I'll forgive you at once."

The Traveller made no reply to the flippant baiting of his companion, but answered quite seriously when he finally came around to reply at all:

"I haven't a doubt that it has been said a hundred times before. Its original date may be fifteen hundred or fifteen thousand years back of us, for all I know. Indeed, I fancy it may have been said by the first philosophical observer of human peculiarities, but it continues to fit people to-day just as it did then. I wasn't using it as evidence of originality, my boy. I was led to the comment by observing the way almost all these Floridians treat their fellow-citizens who chance to be or are suspected of being what they call 'Minawkins.' Look at that handsome fellow over there near the dial. Everybody shuns or snubs him. He is well behaved, fairly educated, well dressed, and, I venture, quite as good as those about him, but they whisper, 'He is a Minawkin,' and there is but one grade of treatment lower and shabbier than that bestowed upon him thenceforth — the grade reserved for the negro."

He paused again, and both men gazed steadily at the unconscious Minorcan as he studied the dial of the ship's binnacle.

"By Jove, I've noticed that myself," said young Bentley in a lower tone, twirling the remnant of his cigar so that it spun deftly over the ship's side and skipped for a moment on the white foam below. "And I've tried to learn why it is, but I can't. What's the matter with the Minorcans anyway? Who and what are they and why are they so despised?"

"Any Floridian will answer your first question in a jiffy, Ned," said the traveller without taking his gaze from the unconscious man at the dial. "The reply would be brief and ever the same. The matter is they are 'Minawkins.' And then to your other three questions there will remain a deep, dark, impenetrable blank for reply. They are despised because they are Minorcans; but what a Minorcan is or why he is contemptible you will find it impossible to learn from a native. I've dug some of it out at last, and it is the old, old story, and was the basis of my philosophizing a while ago. They are the victims of a most atrocious piece of villany, and therefore the natives cannot and will not forgive them. A victim is always despised if he accepts his lot. If the Minorcans had murdered a few hundred people and wrung their rights from their oppressors, they would be respected citizens. Old or new, my friend, it is very, very true that we do not forgive those whom we injure."

"Don't rub it in any more," laughed Bentley. "I am penitent. But tell me about them. No, here he comes. Let's get him to tell. Good evening, sir. Will you take a cigar and a seat here? We were just talking about Florida. Have you lived here long? Oh, a native! Indeed! Then perhaps you can tell us what we were wondering about and have, so far, failed to learn."

The young man accepted the cigar, lighted it, and remained standing. There was a half-suspicious look on his handsome dark face, but Bentley did not notice it. The Traveller moved uneasily in his chair.

"We were wondering who the Minorcans are and why they — what makes them — ah — hold aloof from the other Floridians." Bentley glanced up. The young man before him had taken the cigar from between his teeth. His face was livid. He checked himself in a hasty reply and, tossing the weed contemptuously into the sea, lifted his hat and

strode indignantly down the deck. Bentley sprang to his feet in consternation. The Traveller laid a hand on his arm.

"Sit down," he said; "I will go."

A few strides brought him to the side of their late companion.

"I beg your pardon," he said, touching his hat. "My friend did not intend to hurt or offend you. He did not know any reason why he should not ask you the question he did. Nor, if you will pardon me, do I. I have learned more of the race to which I perceive you belong than has my friend, and I fail to see why you or any man should be ashamed of it. I have learned only good of the Minorcans and only ill of those who originally caused them to be held in light esteem. Will you not join us again? If the subject annoys you we will drop it, but I assure you that it is one which, were I a Minorcan, I should take deep pride in discussing with fair-minded men."

"Fair-minded men!" sneered the young fellow bitterly. "Where do you find them? Surely not here!" He waved his hand toward the receding shore. "I am a native — and a despised Minorcan. Fair-minded men! To what race do *they* belong?"

The Traveller ignored the bitterness of speech. He saw the young face flush after its recent pallor.

"I neither wonder at your heat nor do I feel able to tell you where to go to find fair-minded men — as a class — but" — he laughed a little and held out his hand — "here are two who would like to talk to you if you will permit them to do so — to talk on frank and equal grounds." He had emphasized the word equal just the merest trifle; but his companion noticed it and said with a slight shrug which held a Spanish ancestry's grace back of it:

"Truly an opportunity so rare is not to be lightly lost;" and they joined Bentley, who was growing restless and disturbed.

If there had been a touch of bitterness in the last remark, or a tinge of resentment, it died out of face and manner when the young Minorcan glanced at the puzzled and apologetic countenance of the man whom he had a few moments before left in indignant haste. He wished that he had not openly tossed overboard the cigar. There was enough of the primitive man within him to feel as if that little roll of weed might somehow act as a pipe of peace if he had it

again, and yet he would not take from his own case another cigar lest that very act might emphasize still farther his recent discourtesy.

"I was hasty just now," he said, bowing to Bentley. "Perhaps past experiences have made me unduly sensitive. It is not a pleasant thing to be in a position to expect gratuitous affronts."

There was a certain haughtiness in his bearing, but withal an alert defensiveness in both look and tone.

Bentley extended his hand. "I could not imagine myself offering an affront to a total stranger," he said as the Minorcan took the proffered hand with grave dignity and looked steadily into his eyes. "But since my friend here tells me — what I have observed to a limited extent myself — I appreciate the fact that there must be some of my race who plead guilty, else a man like you would not —" He was going to say "fear and hate us so," but the young Minorcan broke in with a nervous laugh:

"Else a man like me would not be guilty of brutally repelling a courtesy? I beg your pardon!" He bowed again with the grace of his fathers before subjection had made them servile of conduct and bearing.

There was a nervous, awkward pause when they were seated. Bentley said some trivial nothings about the water, the weather, the ship's speed, and again silence fell.

"You were wondering who the Minorcans are and why the other natives hold aloof from them," at last said the young fellow, leaning over the railing and looking steadily across the water. "I will tell you the answer to the first half of the question, and then you may tell me the rest. The first I know. The last is a mystery so profound that I have never solved it. Perhaps you can."

Bentley murmured some inaudible reply and settled himself back in his chair to listen. His companion lighted a fresh cigar and handed one to the Minorcan. The young fellow took it, smiled, bowed, and said to Bentley, "Expiation." Then he lighted the weed from the one extended to him by Bentley. All three smiled, bowed, and smoked in silence for a moment. At last the Minorcan said:

"It will be rather stupid and it will be a brief and a dark bit of history. But it can be verified if you doubt my bald facts. They have been recorded by an American who was not one of us. I shall quote him when I can, that I may not

be accused or suspected of exaggeration. By the way, did you know that the famous Admiral Farragut was a despised Minorcan?" he said, looking up quickly.

Both of his companions exclaimed involuntarily.

"No, you did not know that, nor do those people who constantly scorn us. Neither do you know — and they ignore the fact — that when the United States Government called for a brave, loyal, intrepid, cool-headed man to run the blockade at New Orleans during the late war, it was a Minorcan who volunteered and who succeeded. There are not many of us. Our proportion of heroes is fair, our criminals are few, and as good and loyal citizens we average well, but —" His lip curled. Bentley noticed that his hand trembled as he held his cigar over the railing and struck it lightly with his little finger to shake the ashes into the water below. Suddenly he faced square about, and looking from one to the other, he said in a bitter, sneering tone, pronouncing with careful distinctness each word: "But, for all that, gentlemen, we are, one and all, under the ban. We are Minorcans."

"But what of that? What *is* a Minorcan?" asked Bentley, affecting not to notice the bitterness of tone.

"The *what* of it is the part you are to explain later on. I have agreed to reply to who we *are* only. A Minorcan pure and simple is a native of the island of Minorca. Our blood is partly Spanish, partly — but of that later on. We of Florida were brought here from our beautiful island home under false pretences. We thought we were coming as free men to make homes in a beautiful and happy country. Most of us were poor, but travellers will tell you that there is neither robbery nor beggary among us in our island home, and that we were simple, honest, industrious, self-respecting islanders. We agreed to work to repay the man who bore the expense of our transportation. So far we are in no worse a position than some of the proudest blood of Massachusetts or Virginia, for their fathers did the same. Well, our simple, patient, loyal ancestors fell into the hands of a knave. He took us under false pretences to his isolated indigo plantations, where he starved, abused, and even murdered us. We could not speak the language; we had no appeal. We worked away, and hoped and despaired by turns. At last when he had murdered, by starvation and overwork, exposure and other crimes, more than half of our number, when he had reduced the band in nine short years from fifteen hundred to

six hundred, we rebelled. Even then we did not murder him — I *hate* my ancestors for that alone!" he said with passion. Then he resumed again, quietly: "No, we committed no crime, but we appealed for help, once, twice, to the Governor. The Governor was of your people, not of ours, and he did not know the half, and yet he took our part. He told us to leave in a body; that we were free; that the laws of this land were not what the fiend we slaved for had made us believe. The Governor said he would protect us. We left. He kept his word, and to-day some of the best lawyers, bankers, farmers, and physicians of this State are of our people, and yet we are shunned, sneered at, despised. That is the story in brief. There are thousands of facts and horrors to embellish it if I cared to give them or you cared to hear. But that is quite enough, is it not? And it is *all*, so far as an outline goes. I have concealed no crime, no wrong, no shame of my own people. Now will you tell me your part? *Why* do you despise us? Why do you rank us below everything else except the negro? Any place else than here, I am a man among men, a gentleman if I so deport myself. Here I am — a 'Minawcan.'" His color had grown steadily paler and paler. Suddenly he staggered to his feet.

"You are ill!" exclaimed his companions as they sprang forward to catch his slowly relaxing body as it sank to the deck.

Instantly a group gathered from all quarters of the ship.

"Oh, it's that 'Minawkin' fellow," said one to another as they turned away contemptuously. "Let's go on with our game. Confound him! I had a tip-top hand. Here, it's my deal. I reckon those two fellows must be pretty cheap sort of Yankees or they'd hardly take so kindly to —"

"Don't know he *is* one, I reckon," responded his opponent. "Make it five more to draw cards. There, he's coming round. That younger one actually gave him a drink out of his flask! They say Yankees eat with niggers, though. I call. Three Jacks; take it."

THE VALLEY PATH.

A Novel of Tennessee Life.

BY WILL ALLEN DROMGOOLE.

CHAPTER XII.

Dr. Boring had begun to feel at home in his cabin, and to find in the valley that quiet content which life offers to those who follow her humble leadings. In every work so much goes for charity, "for nothing," the world is accustomed to say of that for which no actual return in dollars is to be expected.

The physician, more than any man, if he be the true physician, gives more of himself to the poor than does any other man. Yet, does he stop to cast up the discount, — so much money, so many hours of sleep, so many miles of cold and sleet and suffering, so much hunger, so much time, so much of man's strength and vitality gone for nothing? Not he; he doesn't so much as consider "done for God's poor." He accepts it as a part of the price of success, as a duty done in the name of humanity, as so much of the discount demanded of his profession. But he responds to the calls. He who does not is a speculator in human suffering and unworthy the name of physician.

Dr. Boring had not put out his door-plate with any hope or wish for patients; it was merely a part of the whim that had bought the cabin and transferred him to the quiet valley paths. The little practice that he did was his "discount," his donation, in the name of his profession, to humanity.

As the days grew colder he realized that if he returned to the city this winter he must be off. Sometimes he was tempted not to go at all, — he was comfortable, content; what more had any man? But since his talk with Joe and the promise made himself not to disturb the young man's happiness, he had decided to return to the city at once, — in two days perhaps.

He believed there was real good in young Bowen; for himself, he said with a sigh, the path would soon reach the river,

and he fancied the crossing would be clearer for the sacrifice made. Then, too, — and he tried to laugh at the recollection, — Bowen's first call had been his introduction to the people round about. It had set him in the balance — learning against ignorance, skill against herbs. And he had felt his end of the scale go up until, he told himself, he had "kicked the beam like a trounced frog."

Yet this first call had been a God-send to him; had lifted him out of himself; inspired him with a determination to prove himself to those aristocrats of the wilderness; given him an entrance into their homes, a part and place in their lives. It had drawn him out from the shadows that had dwarfed and the doubts that had upset his life, from the dogmas and creed whose "I believes" he had refused and had, in consequence, found the great doors of Christianity closed upon him. So he had knocked at the doors of these native independents, who measure men, not their phylacteries. They had called to him that the latchstring hung upon the outside with the same cordial good faith with which they responded to each other's knock, or to the knock of the parson himself, — that embodiment of all perfection. And since they had found him neither thief nor liar, they still accepted him as honest, even in his doubts, and granted him the privilege of believing "according to his light."

True they still called him infidel, and believed that he would eventually be lost, burned in a lake of fire and brimstone; but with the same breath declared "'twould be a burnin' shame," and sighed, unconscious that they were guilty of a witticism.

To those he had left in the great world he had forsaken there was a touch of tragedy in his life. They were a trifle disposed to call him the "mad doctor" also. Not because of the old romance to which he had refused to accord the privilege of ruining his life, — he had "outlived that," they said of him, "long enough before he left the world." Neither was it for the touch of heresy they pitied him; it was the voluntary giving up of the pleasures of society, those things for which his wealth and station fitted him, — his "self-immolation" they called it, — but they had ceased to believe that he would "soon grow weary of the wilderness." Nor would he. To him the hut in the valley was nearer the heaven his fancy painted and his heart called for than he had found elsewhere; here he was not a cynic, not a scoffer, not a

disturber of other men's content. No, no; no man could charge him with the despoiling of his happiness. The knowledge brought him infinite content. The happiness that had been denied his own life he had given to another. It is a grand thing to give joy to a troubled heart; a glorious thing to scatter the rose seed along the barren wastes of a life, a blessed thing; the winds passing over the spot some day, and finding the roses abloom, will bring back their perfume, a sweet incense, to the nostrils of the sower.

With the spring came Brother Barry. Al, who had been but poorly all the fall, had at last taken to his bed with a chill. The old grandmother still refused the mad doctor's medicines, and poor Al had been at the mercy of herbs and hot teas.

The day following Alicia's visit Dr. Boring walked down the path to the miller's gate to inquire after the sick boy. It was early, he had not breakfasted, and the frost still lay white and glistening upon the short dry grass, and ridged the crisp brown stalks of the naked sumach and elder bushes.

The miller had lately met with reverses. A visitor had dropped a spark from his pipe, and that night the mill had burned. The doctor missed the noisily monotonous clatter as he drew near the house, and stood a moment leaning upon the low gate, looking over into the shivering grays and browns that had lately been Alicia's truck-patch.

The doors of the house stood wide open, and beneath the window a denuded, frozen rose bush tapped persistently against the pane.

A neighbor woman was spreading some quilts to air upon the ancient althea bushes in the yard, the bright greens and yellows making a gaudy robing for the winter-stripped shrubs. On the doorstep, her face buried in her folded arms, sat Alicia. The sun caught and duplicated the golden glints of her bright hair, as if rejoicing in the warmth of color.

It was a pretty picture, despite the trouble in the background. He leaned over the gate and called:

"Lissy!"

The figure upon the doorstep did not stir.

"Lissy! Oh, Lissy! how is your brother?"

Still there was no response, and he called again:

"Lissy! O-h, *Lissy!* How is your brother?"

A neighbor woman came to the door, saw him, and said

something in a low voice to the girl, seemingly deaf to his call. She lifted her head wearily, saw him, and placed her hand behind her ear; the wind blowing contrary.

"How is your brother? Your brother? How — is — your — *brother?*"

The bright head fell back upon the folded arms. The neighbor woman shouted a reply in a shrill, sharp voice, meant only to be distinct, however.

"What? Your brother is dead? *Hell!*"

He turned abruptly and went back to his cabin, surprise, anger, disgust struggling within him. "These people," he muttered, "they sit still and let one another die like pigs in a pen. Dosed on hot tea and set to cool in a draught that would make a bear sneeze. It's enough to make a man swear. A foot-bath and a few grains of quinine would have set that boy on his feet in three days. And here he is dead. I declare I've a good mind to pull up stakes and quit the country."

As he approached his house he heard Aunt Dilcy calling to Ephraim to "shut de front gate," and looking up, for the first time discovered that he had a visitor.

The lank-looking mare industriously skinning the bark from a young sugar-tree proclaimed the ecclesiastical presence before old Dilcy hobbled to the gate to announce the guest.

"De preacher ob de gospil, marster. An' lookin' lack he might be tolerable hungry fur his breakfus'."

He was grieved, troubled; yet he never permitted his own worries to affect his household, so he replied as carelessly as possible, although he felt but little disposed for the company thrust upon him.

"Well," said he, "you must fix him up a good one. And tell Ephraim to take his mare and feed her, also."

The old negress's face wore a knowing look.

"He say he can't stay but just a minute; he say he got to git about the Marster's bus'ness."

He made a lunge at her with a stick he had cut from a sumach bush down the valley.

"Get out with you! as if you didn't know what Brother Barry's minutes mean. You old sinner, — go get the Methodist a good breakfast; fry another chicken, and make an extra pan of biscuit. Fill up your coffee-pot, and put fresh sheets on the bed in the garret. There's a revival to begin at Goshen, the big church down the valley. And the Master's

business will locate Brother Barry in the guest-chamber for a week at the very least. Go along, you old sinner, and help entertain the elect."

She went off laughing and protesting; she understood the situation as well as he.

"Marster," she paused to say, "dey's plenty breakfus' done cooked fur half a dozen hearty eaters, en I ain' guine tech nare 'nother chicken, not fur nobody. Hit's raidy en watin'. You Efrum, come 'long here en tak dat mar' nag from dat sugar-tree 'fo' I bus' it wide op'n."

The preacher was standing before the fireplace in the attitude of warming himself.

He turned to meet the doctor, in the old empty, high-sounding way. His voice had lost nothing of its drawling religious accent since his previous visits; his face wore its usual solemn aspect; he was, if possible, more dismally lachrymose, in every way, than he had ever been. The sins of his people were more crushing than ever. He offered his hand cordially, in a brotherly clasp, but without lifting his eyes.

"My brother," he said in his solemn way, "the Master has sent me to you."

"Much obliged for the compliment," said the doctor dryly. "But as I told you once before, I thought it was only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel you were sent. By the way, one of the flock has just died in the next house. Al Reams, the brother of Alicia, died an hour ago. You might be of service up there, instead of wasting ammunition on an old stray like me."

The face of the Methodist wore a pious frown. Suddenly he lifted his hand and pronounced the doom of the dead boy.

"Died in his sins! died in his sins an' went to hell. A warning! a warning. What a theme for the evening service! — the death of the unregenerate; the soul that sinneth it shall surely die."

The sumach stick slipped from the doctor's hand to the floor; he was all atremble with indignation.

"Do you mean to tell me, you old hound you, that you expect to hold that dead boy up, a terror by which to drag your ignorant hearers out of hell fire? That boy, who never had an ugly thought in all his poor little life, and whose worst sin was an ignorant fear that somewhere, some time, there might be reserved for him a punishment for the sins of which he had never so much as heard? The only brother and the idol

of a broken-hearted sister who sits yonder crushed and heart-broken with her loss, and whose only comfort is that the poor boy is safe and happy with his God? And you would destroy that hope, assume the responsibility of the overthrow of that faith? *You? you?*"

"Let the living be warned by the dead," said the enthusiast. "Let them flee the wrath to come, lest they too be overtaken in their sins. The girl herself is a sinner; time an' again has the truth been presented, the offer refused. And now, for her stubbornness, the Lord has visited her with his rod. Let her be warned; let her be warned. Oh, I shall not preach the unregenerate into heaven: *I* have the courage to say he's in hell an' the lake prepared for the devil an' his angels."

The doctor gave him a glance of intense scorn.

"Rot, nothing but rot. In less than ten years the fool who gets up to cram such doctrines as that down the throats of an audience will find himself hissed out of the pulpit. Do you believe all that damnable stuff you're talking? If that is the kind of God you preach, then he is a fiend, and not a God. Stuff and nonsense! Go up there and help the poor people to live, if you can; ease their burden, not seek to crush them under it. Oh, you carping hypocrites, that strain at the gnat and swallow the menagerie, that bind burdens for men's backs, and stand off and cry 'The Lord He did it!' I tell you He didn't. God doesn't strike in the back. Go up and tell the mourners in that cabin that He cares for them, that He has not smitten them, that He is not narrow and cruel and revengeful, that He established certain laws of health, and that one of these has been violated, and that is all. Tell them that hot teas and cold draughts killed their son and brother, not God; and that a dose of quinine taken in season would have accomplished that which that poor girl's prayers failed to do. Go up like a man, and a missionary indeed, and tell them the truth. Preach the doctrine of cold water and common sense. That is what the world needs, and the missionary who carries that creed into the homes of ignorance and of poverty will without fail come in at the harvest time bringing his sheaves with him."

Across the face of the Methodist flitted an expression half pity, half reproach; the next moment he sighed heavily; he had learned the folly of all argument with this man. He raised his long arm that had aye been ready to do battle

in the cause of his espousing, and said, in his best pulpit style:

"Let the dead bury their dead; the Master has sent me to *you*."

"No, sir, I reckon not," said the doctor with something like a return to good humor. "You misunderstood the call, that was all. It was your stomach you heard indicating a place where the cheer was plenteous and a welcome possible. Well, you are welcome; make yourself at home while I speak to Aunt Dilcy. You know where the guest-chamber is."

He nodded toward the garret, and went to Aunt Dilcy, busy "taking up the breakfust."

She had just taken the pot of steaming coffee from the stove, and at the moment he entered the kitchen was carefully dusting away with her apron any possible soot that might adhere to the bottom of the vessel. When he spoke she started, being unaware of his presence, and set the pot back upon the stove with a vehemence that almost sent it spinning across the floor.

"Lor', Marster," she exclaimed, "you mos' skerred de life out'n me: it's de befo' God's truf, you sholy s'prised me *some*."

"Well, I am going to surprise you still more," said the doctor. "The young man over at the miller's is dead."

"Great God A'mighty —"

"And you are to get your breakfast on the table and go over there. You are to carry this bill to Lissy. The miller has had losses lately, and something may be needed beyond their present funds. Give the money to Lissy herself, and tell her to use it as she may find need for it, and that she can repay it in eggs and butter some time. Be sure you tell her that, else she will not touch it. And before you go send Ephraim to take Brother Barry's mare."

Despite his rather stormy welcome, Brother Barry continued to occupy the guest-chamber for some weeks. With all his ignorance the Methodist was not totally ignorant of men; he knew that he was welcome, that his entertainment was given freely, without grudging; he knew also that in none of the humble valley homes within his charge would he find himself so comfortable, so free to come and go, so unquestionably at home. So he remained, and although the revival at Goshen furnished food for gossip, as well as pleasure for the entire neighborhood of believers, and although Brother Barry never

for an instant failed to let his light shine in the eyes of the infidel, and never let slip an opportunity to speak a word of warning, still the doctor continued to "travel the high road to destruction," as the minister declared he was doing.

Many had been gathered into the fold, however, and among them Lissy, poor, pale, heart-broken Lissy Reams. Sorrow had so crushed her that Brother Barry found it no difficult task to persuade her that the Lord had visited her with the rod of his wrath because of her sinfulness. The doctor saw but little of her those days. There come to all of us points where life makes a certain, emphatic turn, after which all life is different, and runs, or seems to, in a new groove. Such a point had come to Alicia, and the shadow of her grief drew her into herself, away from those who would have offered comfort. He would have gone to her, only that he dared not. His impulse would have been to fold her in his arms and soothe her in his bosom, his own forever.

At last the meeting closed, and one morning in December the Methodist mounted his mare and rode out of the valley back to the heights.

But even the hard shell of ignorance had been pierced by the quiet goodness of the infidel. True, he had writhed not a little under his host's keen sarcasm and keener questioning; and there were times when he would have been glad to question him on certain points, but he was afraid lest, showing his weak part to the enemy, he should be attacked in that quarter, overthrown perhaps, and conquered. Moreover he believed in faith, accepting without questioning the gospel and its teaching. He was afraid to tamper with his religion lest he unsettle its foundation. Yet, in a certain way, he had a great respect for the doctor. As he sat astride his mare, at parting, he leaned forward and placed a hand upon his shoulder.

"My brother," said he, "you have sat beneath the word day after day, hearing without heeding the gospel call. You ain't a bad man. Neither are you a Christian. But you are in darkness: I want to help you to the light, to lead you to the rock. Show me where you stand; tell me your creed. You believe in the hereafter? in God?"

The physician sighed. There was a time when the words would have amused him, but of late he had looked too steadily upon the sombre in life's pattern.

"I believe in God," he said, "yes, and in a hereafter, yes,

for I am not a fool, though certainly not orthodox. Your theory of three Gods comprising one — no. Your God of vengeance, cruelty, and blood I refuse to accept. Jesus Christ preached the real religion. The creed which I profess is the same that he taught: truth, cleanliness, charity. My religion is told in few words: to tell the truth, help the poor, and keep myself clean."

The Methodist straightened himself to speak, but paused, reconsidered and was silent a moment, looking away toward the hills where the mists were shrouded about Sewanee. There was a baffled expression in his eyes. He had toiled all these weeks for a certain fish, and at last had been forced to quit with a broken net. He lifted his hand toward the purple haze.

"Rain," said he. "Rain followed by drought, poor crops, sickness, destitution. I know the signs. Well, for me I aim to trust in the Lord for a crop. I'll trust in the Lord."

"And keep the plough handy," laughed the doctor. "Don't forget to mix the plough in with your prayers, Brother Barry."

The shaft went home; there was a frown upon the face of the Methodist as he rode across the valley; he felt the hot blood mount to his cheeks, recalling as he did the waste which last year Joe Bowen had converted into a garden, but which this spring, for lack of a friendly hand, was only an acre of weeds. He had been insulted, he a minister of the gospel. His wrath refused to be bridled. Suddenly he clinched his fist, half turned in the saddle, and exclaimed:

"That man's the dad-burndedest infidel this side o' hell, I reckin." It was the nearest he had ever been to swearing.

But later, when his anger had cooled, and his way lay along the cliffs where the mists were lifted and the view clearer, and the blue heaven beamed upon him fair and open, the words of the infidel came back to him, and underneath their lightness he read a deeper meaning.

"To help the poor, and to keep myself clean."

He gave the lines a sudden jerk, and as the mare came to a halt thrust his hand into his coat pocket, where he always carried a small well-thumbed Bible, for the churches of his circuit were not always supplied with Bibles. Slowly he turned the leaves, until he found that which he sought, then read slowly, aloud, running his finger along the lines, while the mare with considerable forethought cropped the long dry grasses along the roadside.

"Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this; to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world."

After all, the old doctor's creed was not unlike the definition given by the apostle; and that he lived up to it no man could deny.

He closed the book, replaced it in his bosom, gathered up his lines and rode on. There was nothing he could say against a creed so indorsed, and, after all, there might be that in the books of which he knew nothing, which would give new light. But he was resolved to "cling to the safe side." The books might confound him. Too much learning might prove as dangerous as too little.

"I'd rather go it blind," he declared, "go by faith, and keep on the safe side." There entered into his brain no thought of a spiritual law which refused to condone ignorance.

(*To be concluded in our next issue.*)

THIS CROWDED WORLD.

BY D. L. MAULSBY.

Two squalid children shut their creaking door
And turn from home, the last time, hand in hand.

Upon the unpainted table of their hut,
Too clean of food, a scrawling message lay,
Slow-penned with schoolboy care: "Our mother dear,"
It ran, "you long have slaved and starved for us,
Till now your courage and your strength are past.
We will not stay a burden to your back,
But go to find a lodging-place with God."

They set their pallid faces to the street
That wound through fair Vienna. Marble walls
Upheld white columns, architects had wrought
Rich halls of state, afar Hans Makart's dome
Housed bird and mammoth, old Saint Stephen's roof
With sky-like distance awed her worshippers.
But all the tide of life that pushed and swayed
In Austria's capital that blazing morn
Could issue forth no feeble finger laid
Upon these faithful children bound for God.

The Prater soon becomes their sacred way.
Stop them, ye passersby! Their mother's heart
Must groan in torturing anguish at their loss,
Insanity shall seize her bursting brain!

No: unimpeded pass the children on,
The boy now glancing on his sister's face
Till eye to eye rebuilds their pale resolve.
Great Mozart, once a little child, once poor,
Sublime Beethoven, sad and stern, look down
Upon the streets where once ye triumphed,—save
Two hero souls, young smiling life in store!
Alas! the master's ears on earth were stopped,
And yonder Mozart found a pauper's grave.
Both slight the human cry, both say, "'Tis flawed,
The rosy diamond of your earthly life:
We beckon, rather, whispering lures of peace."

And so the children reach the bridge. They climb
The parapet. The dazzling sunlight glints
Upon a thousand windows, low domes fling
The challenge back, the Danube smooth and blue
With hardly stirring current ripples rest.
They twine their arms about each other, kiss,
And spring into the air.
A downward rush,
A splash and glitter of fine rainbow spray,
And all is done. The river, nurse of God,
Enfolds them in her bosom, and will sing
A crooning lullaby, until they wake.

BETWEEN TWO WORLDS.

BY MRS. CALVIN KRYDER REIFSNIDER.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Ruby and her friends passed a pleasant and profitable summer. They walked out or drove into the country, and often to the land her father had purchased. They marvelled at the rapid development of the city in that direction, and cognized the father's foresight in this as in all his other dealings. It was now very near the city limits.

Ruby had found her way to the hearts of Salome's parents and was now an eagerly expected guest. If Bacchus had looked too deeply into his beer mug she feigned not to see it, and he, on his part, was only just a trifle more precise to make believe he had not taken anything at all. Ruby had also introduced Mr. and Mrs. Goode into the household, and they had made many little additions to the comfort as well as appearance of the place. The carpet that her father had taken off the Temple floor when he purchased it made the floors look quite elegant. Pretty curtains, a table and an easy-chair for each of them were furnished; and now the good matron brushed her hair before a pretty mirror and saw that she was not so bad-looking after all. Bacchus put on a clean shirt every day, for he said, "There's never any telling when the young lady may step in." He was a live-stock commission merchant, and with temperance could have kept his family very comfortably. After some weeks Ruby found him actually thinking seriously of trying to be a sober man, but he told her the habit was one long fixed and that it was no use trying.

"I tell you I can no more help it than I can live without drawing breath. I wake up and I must have a drink before breakfast; if I take more than one then I'm unfit for a day's work."

"Yes, but, my friend, it's only habit. If you woke up every morning and found a serpent crawling on your bed you would not take it into your bosom, but you would do your best to kill it, wouldn't you?"

"Yes, I guess I would."

"Well then, that desire for drink is a serpent within you; now why not rise up and kill it?"

"A serpent within me?" said the man with a stare.

"Yes; a really more dangerous one than if it was outside crawling on your floor or bed. You could kill that with a blow, and your children could run from it. This one must be starved out. Do you really feel that you want to be a free man and astonish Salome and really do something just as great as she is going to do — indeed the very greatest thing a man ever did — to conquer himself?"

"Yes, I swear I do."

"Then we will begin. To-morrow morning if the serpent demands rum give him a glass of water."

He made a heroic effort, but in less than a week he came home more beastly drunk than he had ever been, and the next morning was so ill that his wife sent for Ruby.

"There's no use trying," said he in the afternoon when strong coffee had in some degree counteracted the effect of his spree. "If I try to quit and then begin again, why, its worse than ever. I never was so bad as this time. I drank a quart of raw rum yesterday."

"And it's a mercy you're alive to-day. However, if you will just leave it with me and my good friends it will yet be all right. You are in need of care just like any sick person who is diseased. Let us be your physicians."

He finally concluded he would prove his willingness by giving himself up to them.

It would take many chapters to describe their trials with him,—how Ruby sat with them during the day, and every time he must have a drink she had measured it out, first three quarters the usual amount, then one half, then one quarter, and on down to a few drops; how Truman had relieved her after tea and stayed all night to be there to measure the morning libation; how several times Bacchus had on some pretence gotten to the door and then slipped off, and never failed to get beastly drunk; but still patiently they waited and hoped and never slacked their watch; and after many months they had the gratification of seeing him a sober man, and we record his last spree only. As usual they had sent for Ruby and as usual she came. He was asleep at the time, and Ruby was pleased to see the children had been instructed of late by their mother (a thing she had never

thought of before) that father must be kept quiet, and that some day he would always be well and good as he was getting to be at times, — a thing so wonderful to them that their infantile hearts appreciated it sufficiently to quell their own boisterous plays, and walk about on tiptoe, and go out to wait for the beautiful lady who was going to cure papa.

Ruby had not failed to speak some words of cheer to this man at appropriate times, and get him thoroughly disgusted and dissatisfied with his old life in the hope of giving him determination to live a new one, and the very fact that his sprees now made him so ill was a hopeful sign to her. She knew there was war, war to the death, between good and evil going on within this man. While the former was dormant he had drunk with impunity, just as the vulture gorges and disgorges and is none the worse; but when the good was once awakened, the evil, not liking to be dislodged, rose up and rebelled. Or, when the conscience was aroused, the mental effect was to create disgust instead of appetite; therefore what had agreed with his stomach when his clouded mind craved it, disagreed when his awakening manhood condemned the craving. The poor man sometimes thought he would die, but Ruby knew better. She knew that something within him must die, but it would not be his truest self. This day when he roused up and found her sitting silently beside him, the room so quiet, his wife not angry, but calm and patient, he closed his eyes and remembered all that Ruby had ever told him, and then, turning over with his head slightly raised on his hand, said:

"Well, I have done it again, you see. I was just thinking of all you've told me when I was sober, and I wondered what my damned soul will look like after this infernal rum-loving body kicks it out in one of these drunks."

"It will be very fair, very beautiful maybe, Mr. Blake; for I do not believe you really enjoy doing these things any more."

"What do you say? Do you mean to say you don't believe I'll go to hell when I die?"

"Of course I do not believe such a thing. There is much good in you, away down deep. It shines forth every time I come and welcomes me. I see it in your eyes. I hear it in your voice. I feel it in your warm hand-clasp."

"Well, that's a new one for a feller to sober up on. Try to get that thought into my wife's head. I don't believe she can believe that there's any good left in me, if I ever had any."

"Indeed she does. See her face. Does it not wear a look that only hope and love could give it? Why, she knows that if you conquer you are a better man than if you had never loved to drink."

"Why, curse my soul, the very last time I sobered up I went to church, and heard so much about hell fire prepared for such as me that I went and got drunk again on purpose to forgive God for putting me here without my asking to come, and to forget what He was going to do with me when I died."

"All of which was very wrong," said Ruby gently. "God doesn't have anything to do with anything you do wrong. If you make a struggle to do right, that is His work within you, and it is your own rebellion against doing good that brings the evil. God never made a hell for you nor any man. You make it for yourself, and then your wife and children have to live in it with you. You can make a little heaven right here for yourself and your children and your wife. God sent us to you to show you the way you had lost."

The man was quiet for a long time, then he said:

"Does Salome ever write and thank you?"

"I think she is very busy and has very little time for anything but study. She evidently wants to surprise us."

"Well, she has succeeded. I wouldn't have believed it if anybody had took oath to it that that girl would have forgot anybody who was good to her. She'll never forget any one who was bad to her, I know. I never expect her to forget or forgive me, but I'll tell you, I feel to want to pay you for your goodness to her by bein' a better man."

He almost choked with these words, and Ruby assured him that he would make her happier than anybody else that she knew could in making himself and his family so.

She was disappointed and grieved at Salome's silence, but had heard through her manager that Salome was working heroically.

From this time Ruby's work was daily repaid. Whenever Bacchus had a half holiday Mr. Goode hired a park wagon, they all drove out and carried their baskets and made a feast in the park away from the smoke and temptations of an idle day at home. The children grew bright and strong, and Mrs. Blake was actually getting young again. Bacchus wore a white shirt and new trousers and a coat as nearly like Mr. Goode's as his purse would allow, and Ruby's white cheeks glowed and took on roses in the general warmth

of such heavenly love. When Mr. Blake told them good night he always said, "It may come back again, but God helping me I'll fight it to the death."

"Bravo! Remember in whose name alone you can conquer."

Mrs. Blake now found new joy in life, and her skill with her scissors, needle, and machine came to her aid, and very soon she had plenty to do at fair prices. Ruby said to Mrs. Goode, when speaking of Mrs. Blake, it was plain to be seen where Salome's great energy and capacity to work came from, although in different directions. Mr. Blake having lost the confidence of old customers, the carloads of stock once shipped to him for sale were consigned to large, responsible firms, and he dropped into a small buyer for the city butchers, who paid a small commission. His wife was willing to work if he would be sober; and thus it was that the burden of their lives was shifted from his shoulders to hers. She took it, fragile creature, without a murmur, indeed with gratitude and hope; but she had never learned economy. Her work brought better clothing for her husband, her children, and herself — or more expensive clothing. Alas for little mother, as Salome called her.

Never had Ruby been so beautiful, for never had she been so useful, going daily among the poor, teaching them to cook, to sew, to darn, to mend, cut and fit, and to save, how to buy clothing and fuel and food. Never before had she been called upon to fulfil a sacred duty that love and gratitude did not repay. Now she realized, sometimes with a suggestion of indignation, that Salome was unworthy. Yet her father's wish must be regarded. He had won hearts from base ingratitude to love and respect; he had taught her how she must do it. Yes, Salome had smitten her left cheek; she must turn to her the right. This meant a deeper lesson than the minister preaches. She had offered Salome the left, meaning truth, a stern truth maybe, of showing her respect to her parents. Salome had smitten truth; now she must turn to her the *right*, which means love, and patiently wait until the seeds of truth had struck root in Salome's heart; for she believed her father had found good ground there, or he would not have determined to aid her.

Not one penny did Ruby expend for herself. All must be reserved to give Salome the advantages her manager declared her talents deserved. So hopefully, faithfully, Ruby worked on. Several times during the winter Salome's father and

mother dined with them, and then, sitting in wide-eyed wonder in the Temple, listened to the organ which Ruby or Mr. Goode played, and then Mr. Goode read aloud to them.

What a heaven had opened to these once benighted creatures! If they only began by adoring the visible creature who brought them this happiness, as they imagined, they were, she knew, preparing their hearts to receive Him whose instrument she was.

CHAPTER XIX.

Dr. Cadmus and his wife called occasionally, but Ruby had never visited any one since her father's death, her whole time being given up to work among the poor. She was greatly surprised to find the doctor waiting for her one morning at breakfast. He held a basket of rare flowers in his hand, and when she entered he broke off a pleasant conversation with Mr. Goode and came forward to meet her, begging her to accept the flowers as a gift from his son, who prayed the favor of seeing her before he departed on a long voyage. He then told her the subject of his last interview with her father, and his proposal of marriage, and his promise for an answer which was, he said, favorable.

Now we have never tried to analyze Ruby's feelings since that morning when she listened to the voice of Solon Cadmus and then fled from his presence in her father's study, although we have seen that her father and his had spoken of their children's marriage. Indeed, though she had thought of him with wonder and admiration, and the marvellous effect of his voice upon her heart, since she ceased to see him, which had been since her father's death, she remembered him as she did a wonderful piece of music or statuary, or a landscape, or the voice of a mighty cataract she had watched, the brilliant waters plunging down the dizzy height and the rainbows swaying in the breeze. When thinking of him she recalled everything of beauty, grandeur, pathos, and sublimity she had ever seen or heard; for all were brought before her when she had listened to his voice, and still clung to every memory of him. And now he, this man, wanted to see and speak with her — only to say good-by.

She stood silently, her white face laid close to the flowers and her eyes closed, then her face illumined as it had done only once before. The doctor and Mrs. Goode saw it. Ruby

with closed eyes standing there was silently communing with the spirit of her father. When she raised her head she said simply and frankly, "He may come."

She wore white with flowers at her bosom when Solon came, appearing just the same as when he saw her first. She was standing near the centre of her father's study when Mr. Goode admitted him, and Mrs. Goode sat at the window looking out. There was a moment of silence when the tall Greek paused before the living statue he had worshipped so long, trying to paint upon his memory the wonderful loveliness of this child-queen of the Temple, a breathing statue, a living *chiaro-oscuro* — the pure white face with its straight delicate nose, its sensitive mouth with lips just parted as though to speak a welcome, the pearly teeth, the rounded chin and the exquisitely moulded neck, the starry eyes with their deep dark fringe, the perfect brow, the broad low forehead and the golden crown of shimmering, flossy hair. One slender white hand rested upon the back of a green velvet chair, and the whole pose had the silent awe-awakening effect of purity, innocent, unsullied truth. In his heart of hearts this ambitious Greek, who had been indifferent to all the world before, now knelt before this child of grace, nor could he break the silence until she smiled and, pointing to his flowers, said, "I thank you."

Solon Cadmus was not the man to keep himself long in suspense, not the man to ask more than one opportunity to carve his way to the desired aim. He had purposely visited her upon this last day, that only one opportunity might be left him to tell his love, and one only for her to hear it; and thus it was that after a conversation that finally led up to it he recalled their first meeting. As she drank in his words she acknowledged that he was to her in appearance a godlike man. She somehow took gratefully the homage he paid her, the love he offered, asking just now no return. He wanted her to think of him as her lover who would win a worthy position in her estimation, a position won, like her father's, by good uses, and he would bring all that he was and had and lay it at her feet. The law was his profession. Oratory should be his field, whether as lecturer or only at the bar he could not say. He would probably not return for two years ; in the mean time, if she permitted, he would like to receive some token from her that he was welcome to return and claim her for his wife. He knew

that Mrs. Goode was present, which he thought correct and proper.

Ruby had lived years in this last hour. An hour before her heart was free from care save for Salome; now it trembled at thought of one who loved her going suddenly so far away, and for so long, and she could not even suggest a different course. A faint tinge of color rose to her cheek, and then she paled as he offered his hand. Solon Cadmus knew from that moment she was his. A proud light brightened the features that had almost seemed stern in his effort to be calm, and stooping so that her ear alone could catch the words, he whispered, "My queen," and then he walked away to prepare a field wherein, united, they might accomplish the greatest good.

CHAPTER XX.

Ruby became very silent. The old question of her own origin came up and troubled her. Day after day she performed her duties, but for the first time she felt that it would be a relief when summer came and she was free; for the poor are better off, comparatively comfortable, in warm weather.

"Goodie," said Ruby one day, "I want you to tell me something — something about my mother."

She trembled and was so white that Mr. and Mrs. Goode were both startled, and the latter said:

"Why, child! Whatever should put such a thing into your head now, when I never heard you breathe it before?"

"I have thought of it many times. The question has trembled on my lips hundreds of times in presence of my father, and yet he had a power that cognized my feeling and never allowed the words to pass my lips. But now — now when I ought to know — I ask."

There was a breathless silence. At last Mrs. Goode said:

"My dear child, neither Truman nor I know any more about your mother than you do."

Poor Ruby! It was a cruel blow. They did not know how cruel. But she had been taught self-control from her infancy.

"Did you never see a picture of her, — nor — see her grave?"

"No, child, no, nor ever heard either spoken of."

"Did you ever see my father's marriage certificate?"

"The wife gets that, I believe."

"Then, can it be that she — still lives?" she asked, scarcely audibly.

"We do not know. We spoke truly when we said that we knew no more of her than you do."

Then a long silence came again, during which Mrs. Goode exchanged nervous glances with her husband, and Ruby never raised her eyes from the floor.

"Goodie, tell me all you know of my father, the whole story."

"That I can do. It was just twenty years ago, when Truman and I were looking for service in England, that a gentleman, a lawyer, answered our advertisement and enclosed a letter from your father dated Madrid, Spain, asking him to secure for him the services of a married couple. We had good references and were accepted. The gentleman who employed us owned a town house in London, and we were sent there to put it in order and await his arrival. When he came he brought you, a sixteen-months-old baby, in his arms. We had no children of our own, and he asked me to be a mother to his motherless child. He was very heartbroken, very sad. His hair was white, his form more bowed than it was five years later when his health improved. He had a long spell of sickness soon after this, brought on, the doctors said, by some great nervous shock. When he recovered he devoted his life to you. I have put away a very beautiful picture that he painted in monochrome in those first days of restored health. It told me all I ever knew of his sorrow."

Mr. Goode left the room and returned with an exquisite painting which Ruby had never seen. It represented a man sitting beside a cradle in which lay a sleeping child. The fire had burned low, the candle was dying in the socket, and the bowed head of the man resting on his hand, the elbow supported on his knee, betokened the most abject misery. Written underneath in her father's hand was the word "Deserted."

That the man was her father, that the sleeping babe in the cradle was herself, Ruby knew, and that the word below told the tale that had made the missing link in the chain, she also knew.

She looked with eyes and heart and soul, and as she gazed she fancied she saw the figure of the man swayed in that mighty woe, and that the sleeping child, disturbed thereby, stirred in its slumber. She lived over her life, and felt she

was as near the starting point in this picture as she could ever get. It was hard, so hard, so much harder than it would have been had not that princely man acknowledged his love and asked for some token from her that he might some day return and claim her as his own; for she realized now that by divine law she was his, by the law of celestial conjugal love.

Why had that unknown woman deserted that noble man, her father? Ah, had he not told her that he had not always been as he was since she could remember him, but at one period of his life a very different man? Surely, surely, though, her father was not at fault; surely he had always been noble and honorable; but for *what* — for *whom* — had he been deserted? Poor Ruby's head reeled, and yet no solution came.

They talked together seriously and reassuringly and recalled the promises he had exacted from her that she would not recognize any one's claim upon his money or property, and now they understood his smothered excitement at that time. He left no papers or letters to enlighten them. There was a package of old newspapers that had been locked away which Truman believed he had a right to keep from her, as well as the one her father held in his hand when he died. He resolved to take them to London first and find out all that he could before he spoke of them to her, lest he cause her unnecessary anxiety; and a month later he established Mr. and Mrs. Blake in the Temple as guard for his wife and charge, and set out to seek all possible information of his dead friend.

These good people were keenly alive to everything touching their darling's interest. They looked forward to a time when age might unfit them to be her guardians, and would gladly see her united in marriage to a man worthy of her, and they believed the young Greek to be the very man who might perfect her beautiful life. They did not believe she would marry him with a shadow on her name. Here was the only careless act of their late employer, a duty too painful, perhaps, for him to perform.

CHAPTER XXI.

We find Salome again, sitting alone in her room in London, moody and silent. On a table before her upon which her

elbows rest lies an open book. She supports her forehead with her hands as if weary, and her dark eyes gaze not upon the open page, but at the vacant wall or space before her. She never attempts a recitation until she has thoroughly memorized every word and appropriated the character. A study of this girl tells the reader of human character that she is by nature gifted for her chosen career, that the body before us contains a myriad of pent-up souls all contending for supremacy, and she, as keeper of the gate, looses each pent-up spirit as her fancy wills. She soliloquizes, and from her own lips we will learn her method. She now pushes her chair back impetuously and rises to her full height.

"Yes, I'll conquer! for in this horrid dream of life I've reason to remember many things of wrong, of slights, of insults, of mortification, aye, of hunger, too, and sobs, and sighs, and tears, and withal there stole into this heart ambition that promised to avenge me on all the world and appease each demand of wrong or insult. Must I play out the emotions of my own bursting heart through all my life? Do I want the audience to see *shame?* What have I to do but remember a time in my life when I met my drunken father in the presence of some more favored child, or the harsh tones of my impulsive mother. Who that sees me and says 'How realistic!' dreams from whence springs the emotion that moves me to thus awaken their admiration? Must I shrink with terror or agony? Do I not repeat the real cry that long ago and often burst from my lips, as real now as in torture it came forth involuntarily then? Must I weep? That fountain was not drained dry in those bitter days. I touch the spring of memory, walk into the cold, bleak room from whence every ray of hope and happiness had fled, and I fall down there in agony and weep the same salt tears. Must I depict hope? I recall the night when that spirit voice whispered '*Write!*' and again these dull eyes sparkle, these dark cheeks burn, and this heavy, tired heart takes on a new throb. Must I be joyful? I recall his words when he told me I could accomplish all I hoped for. Do I want to depict a glorious revenge, deep, gratifying, soul-satisfying? I fancy myself mistress of a fortune such as women in my profession alone have acquired, and it will be when I give back to *her* every farthing, and cancel all obligation to her; not till then can I forget the horrible moment we stood upon that door-step, nor shut out the cry that raised that devil in my heart, nor wipe out the mem-

ory of seeing her sitting there so peacefully, so patiently, because, forsooth, it was not *her* brutal father nor *her* angry mother, and altogether was nothing to her, and therefore she could appear sweet, patient, meek, forbearing, and all the lovable things in the dictionary, and condemn me for my just anger only because she never had cause to feel as I did. What need have others to be ashamed of those whose blood is not the same? Aye, Ruby Gladstone, had your father been a drunkard would you have leaned upon his arm and gazed with such love into his face? Could you have called me into your home to witness your degradation and your shame? A flip for your virtues, Ruby Gladstone," she said, snapping her fingers contemptuously; "I despise them *all*, for no one knows their worth; they were never tried, therefore never proven, and neither you nor any one can say you have one. You sit in your gilded boudoir and study the effect of your beauty in a mirror, or play the organ and sing psalms to yourself. Oh! I love to hate such whited sepulchres as you."

She had been vehement, and the struggle that passed within her, the battle that raged in her bosom, was really too much for her; she threw herself into the chair beside the table and buried her throbbing forehead in her hands. Presently she raised her head like one in fright and said:

"There it is again, that whisper, '*Write;*' and it brings an irresistible impulse to do the same foolish thing that I did once before and nothing came of it."

"Write, write, write."

"Well, spirit of angel or devil, come and do your will. I'm in the mood to-night."

She takes up her pencil and writes.

"Salome, Salome, what has my child done that was aught but good to thee?"

She reads, and holding up the paper, reads aloud, and a trembling fear steals over her. She writes again and reads:

"Evil has turned your mind against her, and you judge her feelings toward you by your own toward her. This is the universal attitude of falsity toward truth, evil toward good. Evil obsesses the individual, and being antagonistic to good, persuades him that good is opposed to him. The sinner knows he has offended God, and therefore thinks God is angry with him, and so invests the true relation of infinite goodness with finite weakness."

And now she asked herself why she hated Ruby. She

knew that she did hate her, but she did not yet understand that she hated her as naturally as evil hates good, as base ingratitude hates the hand that feeds and clothes it. She believed Ruby to be rich; she hated her for that. She knew she was beautiful; she hated her for that. She believed her to be of high, perhaps noble birth; she hated her still more for that. Above all she hated her that she had found out her father and her degraded home. If she had attended to her own business, she, Salome, would have worked her way up above those low surroundings and risen to be her equal, and then she could have returned this loan with pride, she could even have been gracious to her. As it was she would never forgive her for thus humiliating her.

But this paper, these words, "What has my child done that was aught but good to thee?" came to her as the voice once spoke, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?"

All night long her sleep was disturbed by broken visions wherein the dead teacher and his beautiful daughter seemed to lift her out of quagmires and place her on a smooth path; but no sooner did she plant her feet firmly than she walked away from them only to fall again, when at last they succeeded in carrying her up on a mountain where she saw a glorious sunrise that flooded her heart with joy. She turned to thank them then, and lo! they were gone, and she awoke.

Salome had not idled away her time. She worked with the desperation of one who feels that work alone can give freedom, — aye, and she went further, for she wanted and would be satisfied with nothing less than power. Her manager was enthusiastic, and hailed, as the eager astronomer each new star that appears in the firmament, this one, and watched and waited to see it blaze into a glory that should dim all other stars upon the modern stage. Salome was wholly and entirely absorbed in her work during the week save when these bitter thoughts of home and Ruby came. She was not happy, but elated at the hope of success. One Sunday morning, as was her wont, she went out. She had visited all the places of note in and about London and gathered in every way all the information she could from every available source. But now St. Paul's did not attract her. She had heard the voice again say "*Write*." It tormented her often and often, and when she obeyed, wrote always something that troubled her, and she resolved to pay no heed again. She did not go to church because she believed any-

thing she heard, but the English and the music were good, and she saw well-dressed people there. This morning her heart was troubled. The relaxation from the strain of a week's work made her sad and languid; and when in her stroll she came upon a little chapel, she stopped and listened to the music, and the words came distinctly to her ear:

> "The Lord is in his holy temple;
> Let all the earth keep silence before him."

She had heard it only once before, and that was in the Temple when Mr. Goode played and Ruby, standing on the altar, had raised her beautiful voice and given words to the grand music of the organ. A momentand her wonderful memory recalled the very scenes and sensations of that morning, — Ruby, in her statuesque loveliness, standing amid the rich hangings about the altar, the sun pouring his bright rays through the stained windows, the peal of the organ that floated over the palms and flowers and found words when it struck the heart of the young girl. Salome's eyes were bright with tears, and she stole quietly in. She did not notice who made room for her, but sat down quite subdued, her mind in a channel different from the one in which it had been for many months. The pastor was one worthy the office he filled.

"He is worse than a heathen who refuseth to care for his own." The discourse was upon the duty of parents to children in their youth, in tenderly caring for and educating them so as to meet and overcome the temptations of life, and the reward they should have in love and gratitude in after life. It was pathetic, powerful, and instructive, showing that the first and most lasting duty began in the home and family, and that to neglect or refuse to perform this duty placed parents lower in the scale than the most benighted heathen.

When she turned to leave the church after the service was over she heard her own name spoken, and looking up, saw that Mr. Goode had occupied the seat beside her. The day before, yea, that very morning, she would have been impelled to turn from him, for her hatred of Ruby had extended to her friends; but now the words of the pastor still rang in her ears and she held out her hand. Mr. Goode walked with her, and finally she said:

"I have seemed ungrateful, but I want to prove my strength and let you all see whether I have employed my time in work or not."

"We do not doubt it. Miss Gladstone is well satisfied with the report your manager sends. She often expresses every confidence in your ability and success."

After a silence he said:

"There are others in the family who have done still better, although you are worthy of much praise."

Salome's face darkened, but the good angel prompted her to ask, "Which of them?"

"All of them. You would not recognize your own father and mother. He is a sober, industrious man. Your mother, too, is well and happy, and Miss Ruby is training the little folk in all useful things. You must know she has not been idle."

"Salome, Salome, what has my child done aught but good to thee?"

She had expected letters from Ruby containing lessons of warning or advice, but no message ever came. Silence had been repaid with silence, and she believed Ruby to have the same feelings toward her as she felt toward Ruby. She supposed that the latter would take great credit some day in having made a great actress of her. She never dreamed that she toward whom all her bitterness flowed spent an hour each day in the home from which she turned with loathing and disgust, teaching Lois to cook meats, eggs, make soup, bread, and cheap little desserts, showing her always how to save little mother's money and yet give her the very nicest of dinners, how to keep a household expense book; all of which had to be dexterously managed, for little mother was proud and sensitive, and would quickly resent a word, look, or deed that seemed to infringe upon her rightful domain, — the very kind of person most difficult to reach with lessons of helpfulness. Ruby's only road to success was through Lois herself, — to interest her and give her praise, and rouse her pride in home. She gave her flowers and plants, told her a palm was grander than a table, a rose more beautiful than a fancy stool or chair; and the dull old house slowly began to wear a look of home.

Little mother, as Ruby now called her, was not strong, and Ruby remonstrated with her for her long hours of work, early and late, but in vain, — that heroic spirit could do nothing unless it were overdone.

(*To be continued.*)

THE NEW PATRIOTISM.

BY MILES MENANDER DAWSON.

I love my country, love the spot of earth
Where I was born. The very fact of birth
Makes me to love it; 'tis my fatherland.
Things to my eyes familiar on each hand
Draw sympathetic tears.
My heart is touched to look on scenes I know
From boyhood; as with fears
We view strange faces and strange customs, so
Propinquity endears.

I love my country; I would have it be
The guardian of all men's liberty.
Slaves, once they reach it, are no longer slaves
Oh, let it stretch its arm across the waves
And stay the oppressive hand
Of tyranny beneath whatever name,
Pretence, or banner; and
Of such a land, 'twere glory to proclaim:
"This is my native land!"

I love my country, and in him I see
My country's most insidious enemy
Who seeks its privileges to confine
To those of Anglo-Saxon race and mine.
We guard our liberties
When all men's freedom as our own we prize.
Himself he only frees
Who frees all others; we must recognize
No narrow boundaries.

I love my country; let it be so wide
That in it all men everywhere may hide.
I grow with it; increase its domination
And citizens are lifted with the nation.
It is worth while to fight
To free ourselves by making others free,
So that in all men's sight
To go wherever one may list may be
Not privilege but right.

I love my country; I would make it great
Beyond the limits of a petty state.
All they who wish their fellows to be free
Should constitute this sovereign state with me.
Heredity or chance
Of birth or language would not do alone;
But dwellers in all lands
Should join us, shouting: "Earth shall be our own—
And every other man's!"

The world's my country; I am citizen
Of no mean nation, and my countrymen
Are all earth's denizens save them alone
Who will not all men's equal feedom own.
Let at their heads be hurled
The righteous vengeance of the good and great
Until all flags be furled
In universal peace, and one free state
Encompasses the world!

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

AN IDEAL REPUBLIC.*

REVIEWED BY JAMES G. CLARK.

A new literature always precedes and accompanies social and political revolution, especially where reform comes to stay.

Revolutions, when based on intelligence, "never go backward."

In summing up the influence of the vast and rapidly growing mass of reform literature now flooding Christian civilization, we must accord a high place to men like Bellamy, Howells, Garland, and other writers of realistic fiction on social and economic lines, for they reach a large class of readers who are not influenced or attracted by statistics and political economy data unless they can plainly trace their tendencies in the operations of common social and emotional experience.

Social Democracy — in whose absence community and national happiness and permanency are impossible, and in whose warm and living presence "all things are possible" — can never succeed our existing chaos and confusion until its principles and spirit are discussed in the home and by the fireside no less than in the councils of Church and State.

Corwin Phelps, a quiet, unassuming member of the Soldiers' Home, Santa Monica, Cal., has recently written and published a story of some four hundred pages, entitled "An Ideal Republic," which I regard as essentially the most valuable contribution yet made to that class of reform fiction which the editor of THE ARENA has very aptly styled "Social Visions."

The statement in the Hebrew Scriptures, that Samson created consternation in the commissary department of the enemies of the Israelites by entering and setting on fire the tails of three hundred foxes, and then turning the excited torch-bearers loose in the ripened grain fields of the foe, has long been the subject of much wonder and more or less doubt.

Nevertheless, Mr. Phelps has performed a greater feat in his story of "An Ideal Republic," by gracefully and artistically combining in a single volume the tails of a legion of financial foxes that have been preying upon the public welfare for many centuries. And our soldier-author has one advantage over Samson, for he makes his characters catch the foxes and fire their tails; and when the animals get abroad in the corn of our commercial Philistines there will be not only music in the air, but new light on subjects that men like Cleveland, Carlisle, Sherman and company are still trying to clothe with mystery.

The economic hits and thrusts in the book are numerous and most pointed, and yet so naturally, incidentally, not to say fascinatingly,

*"An Ideal Republic," by Corwin Phelps. Paper cover, 50 cents. W. L. Reynolds, 267 South Lincoln Street, Chicago.

introduced and manipulated, that the reader accepts and absorbs the moral without question or mental discussion, so that before one is really aware that reform medicine has been taken the dose has begun to operate and benefit the patient. Herein lies the power of the book, which is destined to have a wide circulation and a most salutary influence.

The story begins in the United States and culminates in South Africa in the creation of "an ideal republic," the conception and evolution of which are so natural, easy, and logical that the reader is forced to accept it as the hygienic remedy for existing social and civil evils and to wonder it had not been conceived and organized ages ago, for it seems to justify the assumption expressed in the book's sub-title, which is "The Way Out of the Fog." The story may be said to have two heroes and two heroines, whose characters are well sustained and in a manner that causes the reader's interest to grow more intense to the very end.

The evolution of the national bank and the single gold standard idea, with their inevitable brood of millionnaires and armies of paupers and dependents, forms the moral warp and purpose of the work; and through it all are interwoven in a most ingenious manner many and varied phases of the economic questions now being discussed and analyzed as never before in all history.

Mr. Phelps proves himself a master of his theme and an adept in the rare gift of presentation and statement.

Here are some extracts selected at random:

OVER-PRODUCTION.

There were a few old Greenbackers in the neighborhood, and they were constantly twitting the Republicans about the scarcity of money, hard times, and low prices, and asserting that Government had destroyed the money of the country when it was so much needed in circulation. For a long time these good, old, honest Republicans were at a loss for argument; it was hard to explain why there should be so much distress in the midst of plenty.

A great and extensive country, industrious people, good crops, a surplus of everything; gold and silver mines yielding millions of dollars monthly; at peace with the world; and in the midst of all these great blessings small business men were being forced to the wall, farmers, after working from daylight till dark to mature a crop, after selling the same at beggarly prices, were forced to mortgage their land to the bank or money-lenders for enough money to carry them through the winter; thousands of men out of employment; farmers in Kansas burning corn for fuel, while people in the cities were starving for bread.

How to account for all this misery in the midst of plenty, without everlastingly condemning John Sherman and other political leaders and other good Republicans, was a hard question to solve; but at last the solution came through the fertile brain of some good statesman and advocate of a gold standard, probably John Sherman.

The wisdom of these gold speculators is wonderful; they are like an oracle, there is nothing so absurd that they cannot explain it, and in a way favorable to themselves. And this great statesman in his speech which the gold power has had printed in all their papers, proved himself master of the situation and declared to the world the prime cause of the very remarkable depression in business.

"It is over-production," said he, "yes, over-production."

And here is the answer:

Gentlemen, admitting that over-production is the cause of our great financial distress, where shall we look for a remedy? A few years ago we had an over-production of greenbacks. It hurt no one but the bankers and money-lenders. It was very hard on them, so our lawmakers commenced destroying the greenbacks, and the times became better for the bondholders, bankers, and gold men. They have made millions and are growing richer every day. Now we have an over-production of everything but money; we have worked too hard and produced too much grain, too many horses, too many cattle, in fact, there is nothing that will sell.

There seems to be an over-production of men. Every one knows that there are too many men; half of them cannot get work. If destroying the money would make such good times for the bankers and men who have gold to loan, the same remedy ought to apply now. It is a parallel case. Then it was an over-production of money. To follow up the same plan in our case, we would have to insist upon the passing of an act in Congress similar to that authorizing the destruction of the greenbacks.

As there is an over-production of men, have a part of them destroyed; kill off all kinds of stock — cattle, hogs, and horses — until you bring about an equilibrium between property and money. You see there has been such an over-production of property and people, that the money which would be plentiful at one time will not do now.

So, gentlemen, it seems to me, it would be just as reasonable to destroy the people and property now, as it was to destroy the best money we had — the greenbacks. I would suggest that Government increase the circulation by issuing a new lot of greenbacks, buy up the Government bonds and stop the interest; then if the people complain of having too much money, I would suggest that they demonetize gold.

The reason why we always have good times after a war is not on account of the destruction, but because a large amount of money has been turned loose.

The following illustrates the pernicious influence of the pursuit of wealth upon the characters of millionnaires themselves:

"I cannot understand millionnaires, mother; they belong to churches, pray to God, help the poor; then go out and rob them; this must be true, for what is it but robbery to take what you don't earn?"

Mrs. Goldburg explained that these people had become so accustomed to handling large sums of money, that they do not realize that it is a crime to keep it from the people; never having suffered themselves, they do not appreciate the sufferings of others.

"Let me tell you what I think," said Rebecca. "I have often heard you say you believed when men handled an amount of money above a competency, it is gambling; men become blind to a sense of honor when they use money only to gratify a love for gain. I believe it becomes an incurable disease, for it is the spiritual man which is affected, and the cause which makes its existence possible should be removed. A law which makes one man's condition better without injuring another must be a good law; so I believe the best law that could be invented would be to prevent any one man from owning more money or property than would place him and his family above want. This would save the millionnaire the trouble of handling so much money and would give others a chance to accumulate enough to make themselves and their families comfortable."

"When our capital amounted to $100,000," said Mrs. Goldburg, "we could live in perfect splendor, have everything the heart craved, and your father had a little time to devote to comfort and enjoyment. I believe it was better."

"I agree with an article I read not long ago that every man is debased

who makes or handles liquor in any way; it seems the same to me about surplus wealth; when men have all the money they can use for comfort or pleasure, they should turn their attention to benefiting mankind; all gain above that is simply usurpation of power that should only belong to the Government; it is all stolen goods and, like the liquor traffic, debases every man who indulges in it or engages in it. The tendency of a man, after he has accumulated wealth, is to become hard-hearted and arbitrary.

"It may all be my imagination, but it seems to me that since father has become a millionnaire he has become cold toward his neighbors and has also changed his feelings toward us, so that love, if it exists at all, is in the background. This is not only so in our family, but in every family of my acquaintance, where ladies delight in show to the exclusion of all noble sentiments, they enjoy a measure of happiness, but it is small compared to the joy which comes from doing good. How any one can reconcile want, wealth, and Christianity, is more than I can see.

"If you were to tell any of the bankers of this town that the Bible is false, that Christ was an impostor, they would denounce you as they do Ingersoll and Tom Paine; and yet their actions are exactly the reverse of Christianity. To me it seems hypocrisy to profess Christianity and at the same time hoard up wealth while children are going hungry and half-clad.

"They try to deceive God and man, and their whole life is a fraud. In my father's case this love of gold has already become a disease, and I can trace its beginnings, until now it has reached its climax. When he was in only moderate circumstances, my every wish was gratified, but now in order to establish something like a family dynasty which will continue to wield a power to collect rents, take interest, and oppress the poor for all time to come after he is gone, he would sacrifice all my feelings, all my affections, and marry me to a man whose only recommendation is that he is the son of a millionnaire.

"Mother, it makes me sad when I think of all these things, and when I see how cold father has become toward us, how he walks the floor at the dead hour of night because some tenant of his in Oregon had failed to pay his rent, his excuse being that a flood had destroyed his crop. He walks the floor and worries; says he did not agree to keep down the river; because they lost their crop they wish to beat him out of his rent."

Here is a reference to the financial condition in 1866:

Money was plenty and everybody busy. It is a coincidence well worth noting that never in the history of the United States have the people enjoyed such a wonderful degree of prosperity as at this time, when the iron chains by which Shylock held the people in financial bondage had, by the greed, cowardice, and want of patriotism on the part of the bankers, been temporarily severed, and the Government without Shylock's consent had become so bold as to issue an abundance of money that bankers could not entirely control. Hence the contraction act became a necessity to the nobility, and all the bankers and bondholders, aristocrats, money-changers, and gold-gamblers of the civilized world united in one common brotherhood to rob the American people of the good conditions and the prosperity that evolution had brought about. As these fiends of hell, paupers who had lived for years from the earnings of others, had by usury, trickery, bribery, class legislation, and fraud secured possession of all the gold on earth, they wished through it to control the business of the world, as they had done for ages.

While the people of the United States had plenty of legal-tender greenbacks that would pay debts, taxes, buy goods, in fact do anything that money can do, even buy gold if it was necessary, their gold would remain in the vaults uncalled for, hence it would become necessary to

destroy the greenbacks and base all values on gold. Why base on gold? Because the Shylocks had all the gold stored up in their vaults, and it would have remained out of use without legislation in its favor, and been valuable in the United States only as a commodity. And how base on gold? Simply by making gold a legal tender, destroying all other legal-tender money, and make all debts, both public and private, payable only in gold, and the job is done. Easy, is it not, and simple? Any man can understand that if he has to have gold to pay taxes, to pay notes, and to buy the necessaries of life, and Shylock owns the gold, he has a one-sided deal on hand, for gold he must have, — the law demands it. Shylock then says that money is scarce; give me your wheat for fifty cents a bushel, your cotton for five cents a pound, and if you do not have money enough to pay your taxes and keep your family clothed, we will lend you money at a good round interest and take a mortgage on your farm. If you can't afford to pay your help good wages you can make them work for what they can eat, for eat they must.

They would have us believe that no one but a Sherman or a banker can understand these things, but we all know that when we had plenty of legal-tender greenbacks we did not need gold, and as the bankers have the gold, why not let them keep it? We do not want it. We do not need it, and the sooner we demonetize gold the sooner we will destroy the money power and burst the shackles from 65,000,000 of financial slaves.

When there were plenty of legal-tender greenbacks in circulation there were good times throughout the whole country; as fast as they were withdrawn, we returned to gold panics, bank failures, low prices, want, and enforced idleness. And the wise statesman tells us that it is over-production. What a fertile brain it must have taken to make such a discovery!

Think of it, people starving because crops are too good! (what a blessed thing it would be to have a famine!), and people going poorly clad because there has been such an over-production of clothing — bosh!

Speaking of the new settlers that flocked to the "ideal republic" in South Africa, the book says:

A large part of the farmers who came were from the United States; a majority were men who had owned valuable lands and farms there, and during the war, when money was plenty, had become involved, generally from improving their property or buying new machinery to facilitate labor; but in consequence of sickness, fire, flood, storm, or other unforeseen circumstances were unable to meet the full obligation when due, and before another opportunity was offered the circulating medium was withdrawn through the enforcement of the contraction act, and their productions went down in price to such an extent as to make the payment of debt and interest impossible. They were therefore forced by circumstances which they could not control to sell their homes for what they could get, and their losses went into the coffers to swell the fund that produced the present crop of millionnaires.

Those who recognize the fact that money is not a commodity of value, like a book account, but is in itself valueless; that it is only a means, a method, a tool as it were, that has no value except where it can be used in actual transactions of business or to accomplish the purpose for which it was designed; that as you take the tool from the workman it makes him helpless, so when you withdraw money from its usual channels of circulation, the people are paralyzed, small enterprises are wrecked, panic ensues and millionnaires take to themselves the shattered fragments, — yes, those who realize all these facts already know that this young Republic recognized money, not as a thing of intrinsic value, but, on the contrary, only as a means, a method, a tool, and supplied it to the people through a regular business system, that not only sent it

to the people through a regular business system, that not only sent it out among the people, but also brought it back into the treasury, and as the heart circulates the blood through the human system, so the treasury through its carefully arranged business methods forced the circulating medium into every extremity, into every nook and corner, there to do its work, and in due time return only to be sent out again. The great trouble with the United States Government is that its heart has been dragged into Wall Street and sometimes fails to throb.

It is impossible to do anything like justice to the book by quoting from its pages. One can only get at its true force and spirit by reading it from beginning to end, for it develops an exceedingly interesting plot, that can only be appreciated by reading it as a whole.

A ROMANCE OF NEW VIRGINIA.*

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.

This is a work which will find no favor among extreme realists, for it is a pronounced idealistic and romantic novel of uncommon strength and power, and it seems fitting just here to make an observation bearing upon current criticism.

At the time when the romantic school in France, under the masterly lead of Hugo and a brilliant coterie of writers of exceptional ability, rattled the dead bones of the worshipping devotees of classicism and gave a new impulse to the literature of their nation, slothful conservatism, in its favorite pastime of garlanding the past and libelling the present, became enraged with these disturbers of ancient forms, and no terms were sufficiently savage or contemptuous to apply to the new school. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the young blood of France was not slow to take up the gauntlet and wage a determined warfare.

During recent years realists or veritists have been savagely criticised by representatives of idealism and romanticism and the apostles of the classic school, and in turn the new school has not been wanting in its wholesale denunciation of all who failed to view literature from their vantage ground. We have been told by the enthusiasts of the new school that Dickens, Scott, and Bulwer were valueless, and that even Shakespeare was *passé*, while idealists, no matter how noble or how thoroughly in alignment they have been with human progress, have been dismissed with contempt. Critics in literature, as partisans in politics and enthusiasts in religion, seem, usually, incapable of impartially viewing the work of one who represents a school of thought or expression differing from theirs. Their visions have too frequently been limited to their own cult, and any one who spoke from another vantage ground has been condemned or treated with contempt. Inhospitality of thought and the general spirit of intolerance are ever unfortunate, it matters not where found.

The spectacle of Calvin being driven from his beloved France on

* "A Romance of New Virginia," by Martha Frye Boggs. pp. 369. Cloth, $1.25; paper, 50 cents. Arena Publishing Company, Boston, Mass.

account of religious persecution, and watering his footsteps with bitter tears, is very different from that presented by the same divine when we behold him compassing the death of Servetus and banishing holy men from Geneva because they failed to see as he saw. So our modern veritists, who have contributed strong, virile literature of positive and permanent value in the face of contempt, ridicule, and misrepresentation, present a very different spectacle when they arrogantly brush aside as worthless the works of Shakespeare, Bulwer, and Hugo.

The prefatory remarks I have felt it necessary to make render it impossible for me to warn our readers against that intolerant spirit which blinds the reason to merit outside its narrow range of vision. In viewing a work one should, it seems to me, sink as far as possible all prejudice or bias in regard to any *school of literature*, and criticise the work in question from the position of those who stand for the special school represented.

In "A Romance of New Virginia" we have a remarkably strong work of the romantic school, tinged with lofty idealism. If at times this volume is intensely exciting, the fine and pure spirit which permeates it more than counterbalances any charge of its being too exciting. In its wealth of imagination, no less than in its tendency to touch upon psychological themes, which are profoundly moving the best thought of our age, it strongly reminds one of Bulwer's powerful romances. These topics, however, are only incidentally dwelt upon; and while the spirit of the whole work is lofty there is little or no preaching to be found within its covers. The local color is very fine, and there is just enough negro dialect introduced to brighten the story without in any way palling upon the reader.

The first two chapters, in my judgment, are not quite up to the succeeding pages, and this of course is unfortunate; but when one has become fairly acquainted with the heroine, there is small chance that he will be willing to bid her adieu until the shadows, the mystery, and the manifold perplexities are dispelled and the great soul-yearning of a high-minded woman finds its fruition. This work I believe will have a large sale among those who wish to forget for a time the wearing cares of life to-day and who enjoy a strong, exciting love story which is marked by loftiness and purity of thought.

A SPIRITUAL TOUR OF THE WORLD.*

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.

This work impresses me as of especial interest to all persons who are attracted by the higher spiritual philosophy. It combines in a striking manner the occidental and oriental thought, logic, and intuition. The author is evidently a strong believer in evolution, and examines life from its earliest state to the clothing of the mortal with immortality or the entrance of the spirit into the region of perfect harmony, where it becomes

* "A Spiritual Tour of the World in Search of the Line of Life's Evolution," by Otto A. De La Camp. pp. 207. Cloth, $1.25; paper, 50 cents. Arena Publishing Company, Boston, Mass.

as one with God through its elimination of the selfish elements which create discord and inharmony. In many respects this work resembles Dr. Drummond's "Ascent of Man," and yet it is much broader in its concepts and not quite so rigidly scientific, or perhaps I might say it does not elucidate the demonstrations of evolutionary teachings as does Dr. Drummond's work. I have not the time at present to review the book as I should wish. Sufficient to say, however, that all persons interested in a careful, compact, philosophical treatise of life which conforms to the most advanced scientific teachings of the evolutionary school and which is none the less in alignment with the highest spiritual philosophy both of occidental and oriental civilizations, cannot afford to overlook this volume. It is clear, compact, and logical.

A SPIRITUAL TOUR OF THE WORLD.*

REVIEWED BY JULIA A. DAWLEY.

A formidable title, this, to a by no means remarkable-looking book, of which the author declares in a letter to the publisher that it is "a well-founded and well-connected thought-form, reflecting in large lines the life of the universe so far as man can comprehend the same," which comes to the world through conscious mediumship of the one who wrote it. He naïvely adds that the reader is not to notice the size of the load placed upon him as a *burden*, his courage being renewed by the reassuring presence of the "guide," and hopes the reviewer will read carefully and be guided aright by her own judgment.

With a mental aspiration for such guidance, then, we set out on a tour with this man, who admits himself a conscious medium, although he was not a Spiritualist until he had arrived at the last chapter, who expects "by searching to find out God,"—a proceeding which seems to have appeared doubtful to patient Job's well-meaning, if somewhat overzealous, friend Zophar.

The author claims at the outset that when the conception that desired life and happiness is the ultimate fate of all created beings "becomes inseparable from our inner life, we shall feel that our travels and attention have not been in vain," which seems promising, certainly, at the start.

The first chapter deals, very properly, with the trinity of causes in one first Great Cause,— Space, Substance, and Motion,— acknowledged by all teachers of occult things so far as known by this reviewer — who used, when she was too young to comprehend the rapid reading of the decalogue in church about "the heaven, the earth, the sea, and all *that in them is*," to think that God made all the things she could see, and all the rest was "*in the miz*," a sort of mysterious limbo, subject to neither God nor devil, from which might be evolved anything else imaginable,— something like our author's idea of the world's fundamental principles,

* "A Spiritual Tour of the World in Search of the Line of Life's Evolution," by Otto A. De La Camp. 207 pages. Cloth, $1.25; paper, 50 cents. Arena Publishing Company.

"where the world's secret is anchored," as he expresses it — the Akasa of Pythagoras, perhaps. "Whatever is to be," he says, "cannot come into being in any other way than by the will of this one power which we recognize as the supreme Law."

"And God said, Let there be light; and there was light."

Is it not all the same, the teaching of the heathen (?), the occultist, the Pentateuch, — all acknowledging without in the least comprehending the "Being whom we call God, and know no more"?

The explanation given of the state of clairvoyance and the condition where time is no more (pp. 15–17), but only an inevitable and indestructible ONCE, is very fine.

But if, through the assistance of his guide, Mr. De La Camp has reached the same conclusion as to the ideal nature of the world which most of the great philosophers, theosophists, occultists, etc., have reached through other means, he has certainly made a very logical presentation of his theory in these first few pages, which many of the aforesaid philosophers, theosophists, and others have failed to do in several bulky, not to say ponderous, volumes, while they have filled the minds of their readers and students with much of what seems to busy people useless rubbish.

"All life is a mode of motion," we are told, and "what variety of motion and velocity! — not a point anywhere which is not being traversed by some kind of matter in motion, straight or curved, slow or fast" — the ceaseless law of vibration.

The theory of the great Central Sun, so well set forth and illustrated in Dr. J. C. Street's "Hidden Way," Marie Corelli's "Romance of Two Worlds," and other modern works, since it was resolved to make known the Secret Doctrine, so long hidden in mystery and taught only orally, seems to have been known to the "guide" of our author, and is well and tersely explained in Chapter III, which is an introduction to the story of the Evolution of Life.

There is not in all the book one thought which is not familiar to any occultist; but the teachings are so well and tersely set forth, the style so dignified, yet simple, the whole work so free from pretentious effort to display the writer's erudition, so evidently sincere, that it is indeed no burden, but only a pleasure, to read it. No soul sufficiently awakened to understand the first twenty pages can fail to grasp the whole meaning of the author, or to admire his style, even if inherited beliefs and habits of thought stand in the way of complete acceptance of his views; and in these busy, hurrying days it is good to turn, for even a brief hour or two, from the accustomed routine of life and cursory reading to a patient examination of a subject which cannot fail to be of interest to any but the most superficial reader of light literature.

There is not a word about religion in the book, yet it is profoundly religious without bigotry, logical without dulness, uplifting without sentimentality, and comforting without vagueness and delusion.

The description of the person who has attained the higher form of

life (Chapter XVIII) and thus made of himself a *mediator* instead of a *medium* "developed" by any other and less scrupulous means, should be read by all investigators of psychical phenomena, and Chapter XIX is worthy of careful study by all mediums, containing, as it does, a truly much-needed warning, which "he who runs may read," as every honest medium or investigator can testify.

The beautiful theory of the ascent of the perfected, lonely soul to union with its counterpart or archetype, in harmonious attunement of the bi-sexual energies, — the loves of the angels, — is hinted at in the closing chapters, which the reviewer would gladly transcribe if her notice were not already much longer than she usually writes. She reluctantly closes this remarkable book, whose only dull page is its title-page, which, like the unhandsome deal door of those temporarily closed houses in the Back Bay, opens into roomy and luxurious rooms where beautiful vistas of far-off sunsets and distant glories may be seen, if one *opens out the shutters and lets in the light.*

NOTES BY THE EDITOR.

I.

Some Facts on Finance for Thinking Americans.

United States Senator William M. Stewart has put two vital facts in small compass in the following observations:

1. "Twenty years of profound peace and abundant harvests cannot be the cause of universal distress."
2. "The decay of civilization follows the continuous increase of the purchasing power of money as certainly as night follows day."

These facts should be burned into the brain of every toiler of America before he goes to the polls in November, that he may assist in overthrowing the gold ring and emancipating our great Republic from the ruinous rule of England and the American Tories, led by Wall Street's pliant tools, Cleveland and Sherman, the Standard Oil's *protégé*, Whitney, the Morgans and Belmonts of evil secret-bond-deal notoriety, the once bitter foe, but now willing henchman of the head of the present plutocratic administration, David Hill, the bosses, Hanna, Quay, and Gorman, and the "Judas of Kentucky." The Eastern Democrats vie with the Republican party in subserviency to the demands of the gamblers of Wall Street and the usurers of the Old World in the ruinous financial policy of the Bank of England. Is it not strange that the great creditor nation, England, which for a quarter of a century has been sucking the very life blood of the Republic, making it more and more a creditor nation, should be so solicitous that this country should not remonetize silver? Is it not stranger that the American Tories and the multi-millionnaires who are acquiring unearned millions, no less than the wealth-absorbers of Europe, by the ruin of America's wealth-creators, should parrot the catch-phrases of aliens and seek in every way possible to prevent the voter from thinking on the money question in any other channels than those of Lombard and Threadneedle Streets, London? What England wants America does not want, and England is bent on forcing on us the ruinous gold standard which is subjugating the Republic.

In this connection and in order to illustrate at once why England wants us to maintain gold monometallism and also to show forth the pitiful shallowness of an oft-repeated assertion of England's cuckoos in this land, I wish to give Senator Daniel's reply to one of the mouthpieces of the gold ring — Senator Gray of Delaware — in the United States Senate in May of this year. In the course of a remarkably able address by the Senator from Virginia * Senator Gray interrupted with the following stock-in-trade gold-ring assertion:

I would ask the Senator would every bushel of grain raised by an American farmer and sold abroad have to be settled for upon gold prices? Then, if it has to be settled for upon a gold price, the merchant abroad

* Delivered May 27, 28.

who buys it will buy it upon the same terms he does now. The only thing you can argue is for the benefit of the farmer that you translate the gold price he may get into a silver price here; and whether that silver price will be worth more to him when he has less purchasing power, is a question I have not heard answered yet.

To which Senator Daniel replied in the following words:

The resistance in the British House of Commons to the whole theory of bimetallism was based upon the proposition which the Senator from Delaware is now denying. It was based upon the proposition that it would make Great Britain pay higher prices for all the produce which she buys from other nations. I will read the Senator a portion of the speech of Sir W. Harcourt, who addressed the House of Commons on that subject. He said:

> There has been something said about England as the creditor country, and nobody who heard it will have forgotten that remarkable speech which was made by Mr. Gladstone in this House when he last spoke upon this subject, when he held up to the scorn of mankind the proposal that the great creditor country should go, hat in hand, to beg the world to pay 10 shillings in the pound. [Laughter.] That is practically the result that the bimetallic system would bring about. ["Hear! hear!"] Of course it is said we receive more for our money. The fact is, we are not paid in gold, as everybody knows, but in commodities. These are the commodities upon which our people live, and therefore we are to go round the world to beg them in return for the gold we have lent them to send fewer commodities. Is it possible to conceive idiocy going further than that? [Laughter and "Hear! hear!"] We, who have lent £100,000,000, perhaps £1,000,000,000, to foreign nations, are to beg them to give us less in exchange for that money than they do at present. ["Hear! hear!"] It is really hardly possible to state a case of that kind and imagine any person would adopt it. I know they say that under the bimetallic system silver will really be exactly worth as much as gold. If you believe that, will you show the sincerity of your belief by giving an option to the creditor as well as the debtor? ["Hear! hear."]

Sir, there is my answer to your question. The declaration of the British gold-standard men, the open and declared purpose to buy from us all that they get cheaper, and the appeal to Britons to stand by them upon the ground that it would be idiocy for Great Britain to want to pay more — and while I would not use such a term as "idiocy," or use any term which might reflect upon honorable gentlemen who debate with me on this subject, I do say that it is the most singular piece of fatuity that I have ever seen for the great debtor nation of the world and the great productive nation of the world to be constantly laboring in its legislative bodies to increase the burden of those debts upon the people, and to change the standard of them in order to pay Britons $2 where they owe $1, and bear down the prices of their wheat and their corn and their iron and their wool and their cotton in the markets.

II.

Unmasked — A Sample of the Machinations of the Eastern Gold Ring in Their Endeavor To Control Conventions and Subvert the Republic.

I desire to call the attention of our readers to the following fac-simile of a letter sent out by the Chicago branch of the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York, and furnished me by a friend in Illinois. It will be observed that not only does the notice come from President McCurdy of New York, but this representative of the gold ring promises to pay the cost of telegrams sent for the purpose of influencing the convention in behalf of the gold ring. This is a most striking illustration of how

the Eastern gold power works to subvert republican government by controlling conventions. Its baleful influence on the eastern press is no less painfully apparent. No truer words have ever been uttered than those of the president of the Mercantile National Bank of New York, when he declared before a congressional committee that the metropolitan and Eastern press protected their readers against intelligence on monetary matters, else the ruinous financial policy of the Bank of England and the American Tories could never have been pressed so mercilessly forward for a quarter of a century in the face of the growing discontent of the wealth-creators of the Republic.

Illinois General Agency.

The Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York.

Richard A. McCurdy, President.

Charles H. Ferguson, General Agent

Address Charles H. Ferguson & Sons

Chicago, Ill. June 12th, 1896.

President McCurdy of our Company wires us as follows;-

"Can you get representative citizens to telegraph delegates from your State at St. Louis urging strong money plank. Will pay all tolls."

We repeat to you and ask you to wire us name and locality from which such request will go forward, and oblige,

Yours truly

Chas. H. Ferguson & Sons.

General Agents.

Another illustration was given me in this line a short time ago by one of America's most brilliant and venerable United States Senators. It was a revelation of the way in which Eastern financiers were operating through the banks upon business men in the State in which this statesman resided to prevent his renomination by a threat of withdrawal of credits. Mr. C. C. Post, the well-known author, gave me a vivid account of several instances which had come under his personal notice in Georgia, where farmers who favored free silver had arranged to secure through the merchant in the nearest town the customary loan rendered necessary in recent years through the demonetization of silver, in order to raise the cotton crop. But when they went to have the papers and mortgage papers executed they were informed that the banks had refused to discount the paper because they favored free silver.

These illustrations are typical of the ways and means adopted by the

gold ring to completely subjugate the Republic. The voice of England and the voice of Wall Street are the same. The Rothschilds of Europe, the Morgans and Belmonts of New York, and the Eastern trusts and corrupt monopolies, all cry with one voice for gold monometallism. But the Judases in statecraft who for more than twenty-five years have sacrificed the people's cause at the cost of the prosperity and happiness of America's millions, no less than the sacrifice in so large a way of the independence and glory of the Republic, have a day of reckoning before them. The people have at length awakened.

III.

English Gold Against American Independence and Prosperity.

We are now in the midst of one of the most crucial periods which have marked the history of our Republic. The question as to whether or not the terrible social conditions which have been growing worse since the retirement of the greenback and the demonetization of silver shall be intensified and a plutocracy be firmly established on the ruins of the democracy of Jefferson and the republicanism of Lincoln, can no longer be evaded. The conflict of 1896 in some respects is not unlike the conflict which gained its splendid inspiration from the Declaration of 1776. British gold and American Tories are to-day arrayed against the sturdy growth of the New World; and as the people were deceived, trapped, and betrayed in the elder days, so for a quarter of a century they have been deliberately victimized by greed and gold. Now, however, the issue is clear-cut. The first great step toward the prosperity and happiness of the wealth-creators should be the issuance of an enlarged volume of the medium of exchange. This is by no means the only reform. We must have direct legislation and the people must have an opportunity to say whether or not they shall own and control the great natural monopolies, the controllers of which are fattening off the wealth-creators. Money, land, and transportation are fundamental issues, as are also directl egislation and the liquor problem; and a vigorous educational campaign should be carried on along all the lines for the purpose of instructing the people and awaking the conscience of the masses.

But inasmuch as the money question is the issue with which the people are most conversant, inasmuch as it is the outer rampart of the citadel of plutocracy, inasmuch as the lines of battle are already drawn upon this great issue and a union of wealth-creators means the first step toward securing prosperity, happiness, and the emancipation of the nation from the gold octopus, the question is simply, Shall we unite and conquer or divide and be overrun by a plutocracy which will become as merciless and essentially autocratic as the patricians of ancient Rome when they overturned the Gracchi? The gold power will not separate; it may pretend to, and *will* pretend to if such is deemed essential to compass its ends, but at the polls union will mark its action, as has ever been the case. If the people win in November there will be valid reason

for believing that republican institutions will not die from the face of the earth; but to win this first great battle requires concentrated action. We cannot afford to divide our forces or fight one another. The peril of the Republic is too great to permit division of forces; our allegiance to duty requires us to rise to the august demands of the hour. I yield to no man in my convictions regarding the fundamental issues I have mentioned, but I believe success lies in emphasizing at the polls the issue to the importance of which millions are alive, while we carry on a vigorous educational campaign for the triumph of other fundamental reforms.

W. J. Bryan

BROOKLINE PUBLIC LIBRARY

THE ARENA.

No. LXXXII.

SEPTEMBER, 1896.

THE CURRENCY QUESTION: A PROPHETIC UTTERANCE.*

BY HON. W. J. BRYAN.

On the third day of December, 1894, the president of the United States sent to Congress a message which concluded with the recommendation of a plan for reforming the nation's currency. Mr. Cleveland raises an issue which will not be finally disposed of until bank notes are substituted for all government paper, or, until government paper is substituted for all bank notes. It may be interesting to note that the position taken upon this subject by the present Democratic president is exactly opposite to the position taken by the first Democratic president, Thomas Jefferson. Mr. Cleveland has elaborated the war cry, "The government must go out of the banking business" into the statement, "The absolute divorcement of the government from the business of banking is the ideal relationship of the government to the circulation of the currency of the country," thus declaring the issue of paper money to be a function of the bank. Mr. Jefferson, on the other hand, regarded the issue of paper money as more properly a function of government, and in a letter written to Mr. Rives, Nov. 28, 1819, declared in substance that the banks should go out of the governing business, saying, "Interdict forever, to both the state and national governments, the power of establishing any paper banks, for without this interdiction we shall have the same ebbs and flows of medium, and the same revolutions of property to go through every twenty or thirty years."

The plan proposed by Mr. Cleveland contemplates the annihilation of government paper, while that proposed by Mr. Jefferson contemplated the annihilation of bank paper. Which plan should be adopted? If those who prefer Mr. Jefferson's

*This striking paper was contributed to THE ARENA of February, 1895, by the Hon. W. J. Bryan, the tribune of the people in the present war against the classes. I republish it not only because I have received numerous requests to do so, but also because it has proved so strikingly prophetic that it illustrates the keen insight and true statesmanship of the illustrious disciple of Thomas Jefferson. [EDITOR OF THE ARENA.]

are disturbed by the expressions of contempt showered upon them by self-styled financiers, let them be consoled by a remembrance of the fact that the author of the Declaration of Independence did not escape attacks from the same source. In a letter written to ex-President Adams, Jan. 24, 1814, Mr. Jefferson said: —

I have ever been the enemy of banks, not of those discounting for cash, but of those foisting their own paper into circulation and thus banishing our cash. My zeal against those institutions was so warm and open at the establishment of the bank of the United States that I was derided as a maniac by the tribe of bank-mongers who were seeking to filch from the public their swindling and barren gains.

"So persecuted they the prophets which were before you."

The president's plan, outlined in the report of Secretary Carlisle, and later embodied in a bill presented by the secretary to Mr. Springer's committee on banking and currency, is in substance as follows: —

SECTION 1. — Repeals all laws authorizing or requiring the deposit of United States bonds as a security for national bank circulation.

SEC. 2. — Authorizes national banks to issue not to exceed seventy-five per cent of their paid up and unimpaired capital in notes, uniform in design, prepared by the secretary of the treasury (redeemable in gold for any bank that so desires), in denominations of ten dollars and multiples thereof, such circulating notes to be a first lien on all assets of the issuing bank. Secretary of the treasury to keep on hand blank notes for each bank to avoid delay. Bank must deposit with treasurer of the United States, United States legal tender notes and treasury notes to the amount of thirty per cent of bank notes applied for, same to be held as a guaranty fund.

SEC. 3. — Imposes a semi-annual tax of one fourth of one per cent on average circulation, in lieu of all existing taxes.

SEC. 4. — Requires each bank to redeem its own notes at par at its own office and at such agencies as may be designated by it for that purpose, and provides for withdrawal of guaranty fund in proportion to notes returned for cancellation.

SEC. 5. — Imposes a semi-annual tax of one fourth of one per cent on average circulation, for the creation of a safety fund, until such fund amounts to five per cent of total national bank circulation. Now banks must pay into the fund their *pro rata* share, but retiring banks cannot withdraw any part. The guaranty fund of insolvent banks is turned into the safety fund, and all notes are redeemed from latter fund. Safety fund can be replenished when necessary by an assessment on all banks *pro rata* on the amount of circulating notes, and assessed banks shall have a first lien on the assets of failed banks for the redemption of whose notes assessment is made.

SEC. 6. — Authorizes secretary of the treasury to invest safety fund in United States bonds, accruing interest to be added to the fund. Such bonds may be sold when necessary for redemption of circulating notes of failed banks.

SEC. 7. — Requires existing national banks to withdraw bonds and comply with this law on or before July 1, 1895.

SEC. 8. — Repeals Sections 9 and 12 of Act approved July 12, 1882, and Section 31 of Act of June 3, 1864.

Section 9, to be repealed, limits the total withdrawal of national bank notes to three millions of dollars in any calendar month, and forbids any bank increasing its circulation within six months after withdrawing any of its circulation (the purpose of the repeal being to give perfect freedom to banks to increase and decrease circulation at will). Section 12, to be repealed, authorizes the issue of gold certificates on gold deposited in the treasury. (Secretary of treasury thinks that the issue of gold certificates interferes with the accumulation of free gold in the treasury.) Section 31, to be repealed, requires national banks to keep a reserve fund equal to twenty-five per cent of deposits and capital stock in reserve cities, and fifteen per cent in other cities (the object of the repeal being to leave each bank to determine for itself the amount of reserve to be held for the security of depositors).

SEC. 9. — Authorizes the secretary of the treasury, in his discretion, to use any surplus revenue for redemption and retirement of United States legal-tender notes, but aggregate amount of such legal-tender notes retired shall not exceed seventy per cent of national bank circulation taken out under this act. Hereafter no United States notes or treasury notes shall be issued in denominations of less than ten dollars, smaller denominations to be reissued in denominations of ten dollars and multiples thereof as they come into the treasury.

SEC. 10. — Exempts from present ten per cent tax notes of state banks which comply with certain conditions, substantially like those provided for national bank notes issued under this act, but without requiring the five per cent safety fund collected from all national banks.

SEC. 11. — Permits the use of distinctive bond paper for state bank notes, but provides that no state bank shall print or engrave its notes in similitude of a United States note or certificate, or national bank note.

It will be noticed that provision is made for a national bank currency and for a state bank currency. There are three objections, fundamental in character, which apply with equal force to banks of issue whether organized under national or state laws. The fact that a considerable profit can be derived by a bank from the issue of its own notes as money explains the interest which bankers take in this kind of currency, and suggests the first criticism to be made against the system.

The principle enunciated in 1776 that "all men are created equal," is generally accepted in the abstract, but it is difficult to secure its application in the concrete to all forms of legislation. And yet, who will deny that laws should be measured by this standard? All laws which grant valuable privileges to favored individuals are wrong, unless the real purpose of those laws is to advance the public good, leaving the special advantage as a mere incident, and even then it ought to be certain that the same good cannot be accomplished by impartial laws. The proposed plan confers a valuable privilege upon the bank of issue, and denies this privilege to other associations and individuals. If a bank organizes with a paid up capital of $100,000 it can secure $75,000 in bank notes by depositing United States notes, generally called greenbacks, and treasury notes to the amount of thirty per cent of the bank notes applied for. The money

deposited offsets a like amount of bank notes issued, leaving the net gain to the bank in bank notes, $52,500.

The bank must pay a tax of one half of one per cent annually upon the issue of $75,000 to cover expenses, and for the first ten years must contribute an additional one half of one per cent to the safety fund. Without considering the indefinite liability which attaches to the assessments for failed banks, the issue is equivalent to a loan of the $52,500 net circulation at a little less than one and one half per cent for the first ten years and at a little more than one half of one per cent thereafter. If a farmer is willing to put up his farm instead of bank capital and accept all the conditions imposed upon a bank, why should he not in equity be allowed the same privileges? Is it fair to say to the farmer, "The government will not loan to you, but it will loan to the banker at a low rate, and he can loan to you at from six to ten per cent"? If it is wise for the government to loan money on banking capital, why should it not loan to the business man on his stock of goods, to the professional man on his library, to the street-car company on its franchise or to the railroad company on its road bed and rolling stock? Why not loan to states, counties, cities and townships on their bonds? This would save interest to the tax payers. In all these cases allowance could be made for the degree of security in the amount loaned.

At this time, when political discontent is manifesting itself in many ways, when criticism of class legislation is becoming frequent and forcible, is it wise to enact laws so conspicuously partial as that proposed by the administration plan? Favoritism breeds discord among citizens to-day as effectually as it did four thousand years ago among the brethren who tended their flocks in Dothan. It is not recorded of the original Joseph that he ever asked for a distinguishing mark of parental affection, but "the coat of many colors" is boldly demanded now by these modern dreamers who even in their waking hours expect the obeisance of all. If a plan can be devised which will meet the requirements of commerce and supply for the people a money good in quality and sufficient in quantity, without showing favoritism to a particular class, it ought to be accepted in preference to a bank note system desired by banks for the interest of banks.

The second objection urged against the bank note system is that it gives to private individuals control of the volume of the currency. When we remember that the purchasing power of each dollar is affected by a change in the volume of the currency, we can appreciate the immense influence which can be exerted over the value of all property by those who regulate the amount of money.

Section 8 of the bill repeals all present restrictions on national banks and allows them to increase or decrease their circulation at will, while Section 2 provides that the secretary of the treasury shall keep blank notes on hand to guard against delay. The power to control the volume of the currency can only be entrusted to private individuals or corporations on one of two theories; either bank managers are unselfish and will always regulate the amount of money for the benefit of the public, taking it for granted that they always know just how much is needed, or, being selfish, the banks will always find it profitable to increase the volume of the currency when the people need more money, and to decrease it when less money is desired. The history of national banks proves that the circulation of bank notes depends upon the profit of the circulation and not upon the demand for money. In the testimony taken by the banking and currency committee, one of the questions asked in regard to each plan was, "Will the profit to the banks be sufficient to induce them to take out circulating notes?" If, then, we take it for granted that their action will be determined by the amount of profit promised, we must conclude that they will not hesitate to use the power to expand or contract the currency whenever there is an advantage to be gained by doing so. That banks can act in concert when their interests demand it, is certain; that they have acted in concert is equally certain; that they will again act in concert when occasion requires cannot be doubted. It will be easy enough to find an excuse for either increasing or decreasing the currency when money is to be made by it.

Whenever the free coinage of silver is broached the financiers shout in chorus that we have plenty of money now, and point to the surplus in the banks as conclusive evidence of a redundant currency, and yet every plan proposed by the financiers for the issue of bank paper contemplates an increase in the circulation. Those who fear a flood of good money, if it is to be issued by the government, and yet are ready to welcome a flood of bad money if it can be issued by themselves, will be able to reason themselves into favoring any volume of currency that is profitable. We do not expect perfection in any currency system, any more than we expect perfection in other things under human control; but which is the safer plan, to trust the banks or to trust the government? If we trust the government, the volume of the currency will be regulated by representatives of the people who act openly and are responsible to their constituents. While there is danger that the currency may be subject to expansion or contraction, as one influence or another may predominate in the legislature, yet the danger is not so great as when the banks have control, for they are responsible to no one but

themselves and may act in secret council. If representatives lack knowledge on a financial question, the financiers are always willing to give information, but if bank managers lack a desire to care for the public interest more than for their own, who can supply this lack?

A third objection to any kind of banks of issue is that such banks, when once organized, become interested in preventing any legislation which will interfere with their business. It is much more difficult to withdraw a privilege than to grant it, and banks of issue, if established, will soon claim a vested right in the issue of paper money. It is impossible to overestimate the importance of this objection. The influence of a bank is far-reaching, and can be exerted on debtors as well as on stock-holders, so that it can bring an immense pressure to bear against legislation which it considers hostile. This criticism does not apply to the banking business alone. Any business is likely to look after its own interests, and very naturally so, but is it wise, if it can be avoided, to give to so influential a business a pecuniary interest in the currency? In the nineteenth chapter of Acts is recorded an instance where the preaching of Paul was objected to because it interfered with an occupation. Demetrius, the silversmith, was not the last man to drown the voice of truth with praise of Diana, because the making of shrines for the goddess "brought no small gain unto the craftsmen." It is possible that we may make the restoration of a really sound currency more difficult if we establish a few thousand banks, state and national, and set them to work making currrency notes, which are at best but images of money.

The excuse usually given for an immediate change in our currency system is, that greenbacks and treasury notes are being used to withdraw gold from the treasury. This argument may sound strange, coming from those who are sometimes suspected of withdrawing gold from the treasury for the purpose of securing bonds as an investment for surplus capital, but the argument is intended to impress those who oppose an increase of the public debt. The same cry was raised against the treasury notes issued under the Sherman law; in fact, in the public mind that was one of the great objections to the notes issued for silver purchases. It was said that we must stop issuing coin certificates because they were being used to withdraw gold. It was not sufficient to reply that the one hundred millions gold reserve could be withdrawn three times over with greenbacks, not to speak of the reissue of greenbacks, even if every coin certificate were destroyed. But the clamor continued. Nor is it sufficient now to assert the self-evident truth that one hundred millions of greenbacks or treasury notes outstanding, or even fifty mill-

ions, can be used as effectively as the total five hundred millions to drain the treasury of gold, so long as the option to demand gold is exercised by the note holder. The advocates of a bank currency seek to justify their demand on the ground that the gold reserve must be protected, and then propose a plan which brings no relief whatever. The administration plan requires the deposit of thirty per cent of the desired bank circulation, and in order to protect the treasury gold that deposit must be made in greenbacks and treasury notes; but the amount of this kind of paper outstanding is nearly five hundred millions, so that it will require a net increase of paper currency of more than one billion dollars in bank notes to absorb all the government paper calling for coin. If such an increase in government paper or in silver were proposed, what a wild and reckless scheme of inflation it would seem to the advocates of "good money."

But let us suppose that some plan is devised which will take out of circulation all paper issued by the government and payable in coin on demand; will that protect the gold reserve? Not at all. The government paper is presented because the gold is desired and because that is the easiest way of obtaining it, so long as the secretary of the treasury gives the option to the note holder to demand gold. The secretary holds that a refusal to furnish gold on demand would send gold to a premium and leave us on a silver basis. When the greenbacks and treasury notes are all gone a demand will at once be made for the redemption in gold of silver dollars and silver certificates, and the same argument will be made, that any failure on the part of the government to redeem a silver dollar with gold will bring commercial ruin. Mr. C. C. Jackson of Boston, who appeared before the banking and currency committee, insisted that any plan adopted for the reform of the currency should provide for "the slow and gradual cancellation of greenbacks and treasury notes and oblige the treasury to give anybody who asked for it gold dollars in exchange for silver dollars." The above language is quoted from a letter dated Nov. 23, 1894, and sent by him to members of Congress, but the same argument was made by him when he testified before the committee on banking and currency, and he assured the committee that he expressed the opinion of the Boston brokers.

It is evident, therefore, that the administration plan does not afford any real relief to the treasury from the drain on its gold, and it is further evident that those who are urging the cancellation of greenbacks and treasury notes at this time have as a part of their purpose — generally concealed — the ultimate destruction of silver as money of redemption.

The currency provided by the proposed plan is not absolutely

safe. The Baltimore plan contemplated a government guaranty. Such a provision would make the paper as good as greenbacks, but no better. To be sure, it would be a partnership in which the banks would receive the profits and the government would stand the loss. The president's plan protects the government from loss, but does so at the expense of security to note holders. In prosperous times a guaranty fund of thirty per cent of each bank's circulation, and a general safety fund of five per cent of all circulation, with right of assessment, would probably secure note holders against final loss; but during such a panic as we had in 1893 the constant fear of loss on bank notes would increase the run of depositors and hasten a collapse. It is the storm rather than the calm that tests the strength of the ship, and we can hardly afford to adopt a currency system which will add confusion just at a time when good money is most needed. The state bank notes, permitted by the plan, are much less secure than the national currency provided for, because they are secured by no general safety fund. The temptation to counterfeit will be greater also in case of state bank notes.

The proposed plan requires each bank to redeem its notes at its own office, and at such agencies as it may establish. If these notes are good enough to circulate among the people they ought to be so good that there would be no danger in compelling each bank to redeem the paper of every other bank. If bank notes have a general circulation they will become widely scattered, and redemption at the bank of issue will be practically impossible without considerable expense and delay. They are not a legal tender, but are expected to take the place of legal tender greenbacks and treasury notes. As a result, the people will be using money which can only pay debts by unanimous consent, and the debtor will be constantly in danger of being compelled to shave his bank notes in order to pay what he owes. Since the banks have better facilities than the individual for collection, and since they are finally liable through assessments for the payment of the notes, they certainly ought to be required to redeem each other's notes in lawful money on demand, so that the people, if they are compelled to use bank notes, may be able to convert them at any time and without inconvenience into legal tender money.

The agencies suggested in the bill will of course be located in the large cities, and the money deposited at the agencies for purposes of redemption will increase the congestion of money at money centres and give such centres a great advantage over other communities.

There is another objection which ought not to be overlooked. The proposed plan will make depositors less secure, since the

banks are, on the one hand, relieved of the legal necessity of keeping a reserve for the protection of depositors, while, on the other hand, the liabilities of each bank are increased because of possible assessments to pay notes of failed banks. The additional risk to depositors will doubtless make them more timid in times of threatened panic, and hence more liable to embarrass the bank by a run.

If the proposed plan is generally accepted by the banks, it will cause an immediate inflation of the currency, with the possible effect of expelling gold from the country; if it is not generally accepted by the national banks now in existence, the provision requiring the withdrawal of bonds before July 1, 1895, will probably cause a contraction of the currency.

To summarize: The president's plan gives a special privilege to a favored class; surrenders the control of the volume of paper money to private corporations; builds up an influential class which will be interested in preventing all legislation hostile to its business; substitutes non-legal tender paper for legal tender paper, and lessens the security of bank depositors. And all this without bringing any real relief to the sacred gold reserve.

If the secretary of the treasury would exercise the option vested in him by law, and redeem coin obligations in silver when silver is more convenient, the treasury would no longer be at the mercy of those who may for selfish interests conspire to withdraw gold and force an issue of bonds. The plan proposed by the president is worse than a makeshift — it is a surrender of a portion of sovereignty itself, and will be as futile to bring back prosperity as was the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman Law.

It is to be regretted that the chief magistrate did not propose a substantial remedy for our financial ills. We suffer from a disease which is world-wide in its extent, namely, the appreciation of gold. There is but one remedy, the restoration of silver; and the longer we delay, the greater will be the difficulty in applying it. When the United States, without awaiting the aid or consent of any other nation, opens its mints to the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at the present legal ratio of sixteen to one, it will bring real relief to its people and will lead the way to the restoration of bimetallism throughout the world. It will then be prepared to perfect its financial system by furnishing a paper money invested with legal tender qualities and sufficient in volume to supply the needs of commerce. Its paper money will not be loaned then to favorites, but will be paid out in the expenses of government so that all may receive the benefits in decreased taxes.

EVILS OF LAND MONOPOLY.

BY REV. B. W. WILLIAMS.

Land is an important factor in production. Those who own the land in any country largely control the creation and distribution of wealth. It ought to be possible, therefore, for each citizen to obtain and use a portion of land for the satisfaction of his wants if he so desires. The wise management of its public lands and the establishment of unencumbered homes by its people should be among the first concerns of a good government.

Our public lands are the rightful heritage of the people and should be reserved for actual settlers. This fruitful earth was obviously intended by the Creator to be occupied as homes for the masses rather than for speculative uses by a favored few. A man can hardly be a patriot of the highest type until he owns a home unencumbered by mortgage or debt. Any system of legislation which enables a few individuals or corporations to monopolize land, while multitudes remain homeless, is radically wrong and should be speedily changed, otherwise it will prove a fruitful source of crime, distress, poverty, and even anarchy and communism.

The evils of foreign landlordism in America have been too long ignored. The inefficiency of Democratic and Republican legislation on the subject has permitted and fostered these evils. As a result we find that non-resident aliens have already acquired a large part of the best land in this country and are holding it for their own enrichment, thus profiting by our toil and industry while avoiding the responsibilities of citizenship and the burdens of maintaining our government. Lord William Scully of London is a fair specimen of this class of plutocrats. He owns forty thousand acres of good farming land in Logan County, Illinois, besides large tracts in other counties. He rents this land for cash at a high rate, requires his tenants, who are mostly poor people, to put up their own houses, barns, and farm buildings, makes them pay all the taxes, and receives from them $150,000 annually for permission to till the soil they live on and whose

value they alone have made. He is only one of a large and growing number of foreign landlords. The following is an incomplete list of lords, dukes, earls, barons, etc., who own large bodies of land in the United States, with the number of acres held by each:

Names.	No. of acres.
Duke of Bedford	51,085
Earl of Brownlow	57,799
Earl of Carlisle	78,540
Earl of Cawdor	51,538
Earl of Cleveland	106,650
Earl of Derby	56,698
Duke of Devonshire	148,626
Lord of Londonsboro	52,655
Duke of Northumberland	191,460
Duke of Portland	55,259
Earls of Powls	46,095
Duke of Rutland	70,039
Lady Willoughby	59,212
Sir W. W. Win	91,612
Earl of Yarborough	54,570
Baron Tweeddale	1,750,000
Byron H. Evans	700,000
Duke of Sutherland	422,000
W. Whaley, M. P.	310,000
Robert Tenant	530,000
Lord Dunmore	120,000
Benjamin Nuegas	100,000
Lord Houghton	60,000
Lord Dunraven	60,000
A. Peel, M. P.	10,000
M. Ellerhousen	600,000
Alexander Grant	35,000
C. M. Beach	10,000
Marquis Demores	15,000

As if individuals could not acquire our lands fast enough, we find that vast combinations of foreign capital have been formed to accomplish that purpose. A Scotch syndicate, for example, owns 500,000 acres in Florida; an English syndicate owns 1,800,000 acres in Mississippi; another owns 3,000,000 acres in Texas; a Dutch syndicate owns 4,500,000 in New Mexico, etc. There are fifty-six foreign corporations and individuals that together own more than 26,000,000 acres of land in the United States. This is an area larger than the State of Indiana, and would make more than 140,000 farms of 160 acres each.

The monopolization of land in this country has not been altogether by foreigners. American corporations and individuals own perhaps almost as much land for speculative purposes as is held by Europeans. Below is a partial list of

our domestic land monopolists, with the number of acres owned by each:

Names.	No. of Acres.
Ex-Senator Dorsey, in New Mexico	500,000
Col. D. C. Murphy	4,068,000
Col. Church of New York, 180 farms of from 200 acres to 500 acres each, in all about	60,000
Mr. Clark of New York	30,000
Standard Oil Company, in several States	1,000,000
Dr. Glenn of California	90,000
E. Mariner of Milwaukee	70,000
George Hanley of Wisconsin	32,000
David Selsor of Ohio	25,000
Maurice Raleigh, New Jersey	30,000
E. C. Sprague, in several States	500,000
Virginia Coal and Iron Company	100,000
Col. Myer, Wisconsin	35,000
Texas Land and Cattle Company	240,000
Texas State Fund (owned by four men)	3,000,000
New York syndicate in Texas	300,000
McLaughlin of California	400,000
William S. Chapman, in California	350,000
Ex-State Surveyor-Gen. Houghton of California	35,000
Ex-State Surveyor-Gen. Beals	300,000
Miller and Lux, San Francisco	450,000
John W. Dwight of Pennsylvania owns in North Dakota a farm nearly as large as the State of Rhode Island, 110 square miles	704,000
Bixby, Flint & Co. of San Francisco	200,000
G. W. Roberts of San Francisco	140,000
Isaac Friedlander of California	100,000
Throckmorton of California	146,000
Murphy family of Santa Clara	156,000
Thomas Fowler, in California	200,000
Abel Stearnes of Los Angeles	200,000
A Philadelphia firm, in California	200,000

Land monopoly is wrong, whether the monopolizers are of home or foreign birth. The practical effect is the same upon the producing classes; they have to share the fruits of their honest toil with the landlords. The ownership of land, even by our own citizens, should be limited within the bounds of reason and the good of the people, while alien ownership should be prohibited entirely.

Congress has granted to railroads and other corporations 191,442,386 acres of the public domain. This would make a country half as large as Mexico; twice as large as Japan; almost equal to the combined areas of France and Germany; as large as Ohio, Virginia, Pennsylvania, New York, Illinois, and Georgia all put together; and five times as large as all New England. These lands have been improvidently disposed of at merely nominal values, as subsidies, until the

railroads own fabulous acres largely in excess of the area of many States. Had they been reserved for actual settlers they would have furnished eighty-acre farms for more than two million families.

Perhaps some Democrat will say it was the "infernal Republicans" who thus recklessly squandered the public domain, and that Democrats have always opposed it. But we find that the first grant of land to a railroad corporation was made by the Democratic party. Prior to the war Democrats had made no less than forty-seven grants of land in aid of railroads, amounting in all to more than thirty million acres. The Republicans continued this policy and were still more extravagant in their grants. In Texas Democrats have granted to railroads and other corporations 38,826,880 acres of land, which is more than enough to make twelve States as large as Connecticut, while eighty-three thousand Texas farmers are tenants, unable to own the soil they till. Thus many millions of acres of the grandest country ever kissed by the sunlight of heaven have been monopolized by foreign and domestic aggregations of wealth, while multitudes of our own worthy and deserving people are homeless wanderers or tenants of European landlords. And when a new territory or strip of land is open for settlement there is an immediate and tremendous rush for it on the part of our landless people who have so long suffered the ungratified heart-longing for a home.

The national Democratic platform of 1888 declares that during Cleveland's first administration the Democratic party reclaimed from corporations and restored to the public domain one hundred thousand acres of land. This claim is false. There were some grants of lands to railroads which were forfeited simply because the companies failed to comply with their contract. Hence, Congress (Democratic House and Republican Senate) had only to declare this fact and have the lands surveyed. Secretary Lamar of the Interior Department in his report to Congress, Dec. 5, 1887, imparts the following information on the subject:

> Years have elapsed since many of the grants have been made, and other years since the withdrawals. Some of the companies have constructed the entire line of their roads, others fragmentary portions only, and others again none at all; but the withdrawal of the lands was no less effective as a barrier against the settlers in the one case than the other. *After years of waiting Congress had failed to empower the Department to make necessary surveys whereby some of the grants might be adjusted*, and no immediate prospect of such surveys was in sight. But a law was

passed March 3, 1887 (24 United States, 556), whereby the Secretary of the Interior was directed to immediately adjust each of the railroad land grants made by Congress to aid in the construction of railroads. Following this action, instructions were subsequently issued to the Commissioner of the General Land Office to detail all the available force in his office to the work of adjusting the railroad land grants and proceeding as rapidly as possible with the same. *The amount of land restored to the public domain through the orders revoking the indemnity withdrawals is stated by the Commissioner of the General Land Office to be 21,323,600 acres.*

Thus it appears from official figures that the claim of having restored one hundred thousand acres of land to the Government is a reckless exaggeration of the truth, and the failure of Congress for many years to declare void the unearned grants of land lost to the people many millions of acres.

WHITTIER: A MODERN APOSTLE OF LOFTY SPIRITUALITY.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

Interesting as is the New England poet when considered as a barefoot boy, as the inspired prophet of freedom, as the charming lyric poet and graphic delineator of New England life, and dear as he is to us as the simple and sincere man, it is as the true mystic or the inspired teacher of the higher life that he appeals especially to the large and rapidly increasing number of persons who, along various lines of thought and experience, are being brought to-day into what is essentially a deeply spiritual attitude, while they feel little or no attraction toward the empty forms, creeds, or dogmas which have so long claimed to constitute religion. The "voice of God within" or "the Inner Light" of Whittier is becoming a far greater reality to the conscience of our civilization than Mammon-worshipping and easy-going conventionalists imagine. On this point the late Mrs. Claflin observed:

Mr. Whittier believed in following the Inner Light, and when he thought he was directed by that Inner Light, no power on earth could influence him to turn aside. If he decided to move at a certain moment of time, nothing could induce him to change his mind; no storm was severe enough to deter him from going on the train he had set his heart on. He used to tell a story of one of his friends as an illustration of the wisdom of being guided by and yielding to the Inner Light:

"I have an old friend," he said, "who followed the leadings of the Spirit, and always made it a point to go to meeting on First-day. On one First-day morning he made ready for meeting, and suddenly turning to his wife, said, 'I am not going to meeting this morning; I am going to take a walk.' His wife inquired where he was going, and he replied: 'I don't know; I am impelled to go, I know not where.' With his walking-stick he started, and went out of the city for a mile or two, and came to a country house that stood some distance from the road. The gate stood open, and a narrow lane, into which he turned, led up to the house, where something unusual seemed to be going on. There were several vehicles standing around the yard, and groups of people were gathered here and there. When he reached the house, he found there was a funeral, and he entered with the neighbors, who were there to attend the service. He listened to the funeral address and to the prayer. It was the body of a young woman lying in the casket before him, and he arose and said, 'I have been led by the Spirit to this house; I know nothing of the circumstances connected with the death of this person; but I am impelled by the Spirit to say that she has been accused of something of which she is not guilty, and the false accusation has hastened her death.'

"The friend sat down, and a murmur of surprise went through the room. The minister arose and said, 'Are you a god or what *are* you?' The friend replied: 'I am only a poor, sinful man, but I was led by the Inner Light to come to this house, and say what I have said, and I would ask the person in this room who knows that the young woman now beyond the power of speech was not guilty of what she was accused, to vindicate her in this presence.' After a fearful pause, a woman stood up and said: 'I am the person,' and while weeping hysterically, she confessed that she had wilfully slandered the dead girl. The friend departed on his homeward way. Such," said Mr. Whittier, "was the leading of the Inner Light."

The same writer makes, with regard to Whittier's religious convictions, the following interesting observations which accord with the spirit of his religious poems:

Mr. Whittier was a many-sided man and could adapt himself to any condition of mind. He had great warmth of affection for his friends; tenderness to the erring, and capacity for suffering with others, were marked traits in his character, — but he had always faith in ultimate good for all. He said, "Surely God would not permit His children to suffer if it were not to work out for them the highest good. For God never does, nor suffers to be done, but that which we would do if we could see the end of all events as well as He. The little circumstance of death will make no difference with me; I shall have the same friends in that other world that I have here; the same loves and aspirations and occupations. If it were not so, I should not be myself, and surely I shall not lose my identity. God's love is so infinitely greater than mine that I cannot fear for His children, and when I long to help some poor, suffering, erring fellow-creature, I am consoled with the thought that His great heart of love is more moved than mine can be, and so I rest in peace."

How beautifully are these thoughts of the poet amplified in the following stanzas from "The Eternal Goodness:"

But still my human hands are weak
To hold your iron creeds:
Against the words ye bid me speak
My heart within me pleads.

Who fathoms the Eternal Thought?
Who talks of scheme and plan?
The Lord is God! He needeth not
The poor device of man.

I walk with bare, hushed feet the ground
Ye tread with boldness shod;
I dare not fix with mete and bound
The love and power of God.

Ye praise His justice; even such
His pitying love I deem:
Ye seek a king; I fain would touch
The robe that hath no seam.

Ye see the curse which overbroods
A world of pain and loss;
I hear our Lord's beatitudes
And prayer upon the cross.

* * * *

Yet, in the maddening maze of things,
And tossed by storm and flood,
To one fixed trust my spirit clings;
I know that God is good.

Not mine to look where cherubim
And seraphs may not see,
But nothing can be good in Him
Which evil is in me.

The wrong that pains my soul below
I dare not throne above:
I know not of His hate, — I know
His goodness and His love.

* * * *

And so beside the Silent Sea
I wait the muffled oar;
No harm from Him can come to me
On ocean or on shore.

I know not where His islands lift
Their fronded palms in air;
I only know I cannot drift
Beyond His love and care.

The true mystic is further revealed in the following verses from "In Quest:"

The riddle of the world is understood
Only by him who feels that God is good,
As only he can feel who makes his love
The ladder of his faith, and climbs above
On th' rounds of his best instincts; draws no line
Between mere human goodness and divine,
But, judging God by what in him is best,
With a child's trust leans on a Father's breast,
And hears unmoved the old creeds babble still
Of kingly power and dread caprice of will;
Chary of blessing, prodigal of curse,
The pitiless doomsman of the universe.
Can Hatred ask for love? Can Selfishness
Invite to self-denial? *Is He less*
Than man in kindly dealing? Can He break
His own great law of fatherhood, forsake
And curse His children? Not for earth and heaven
Can separate tables of the law be given.
No rule can bind which He Himself denies;
The truths of time are not eternal lies.

* * * *

So heard I; and the chaos round me spread
To light and order grew; and, "Lord" I said,
"Our sins are our tormentors, worst of all
Felt in distrustful shame that dares not call
Upon Thee as our Father. We have set
A strange god up, but Thou remainest yet.
All that I feel of pity, Thou hast known
Before I was; my best is all Thy own.
From Thy great heart of goodness mine but drew

Wishes and prayers; but Thou, O Lord, wilt do,
In Thy own time, by ways I cannot see,
All that I feel when I am nearest Thee!"

Whittier stood in the midway between the departing ideals of ancient orthodoxy and the religion of the future. This is well illustrated in that exquisite poem, "The Brother of Mercy," which the reader will remember describes the death of one Piero Luca, an old, gray porter, who for forty years had wrought deeds of love and kindness. When the hour came, and the lengthened shadows marked the close of life's day, a barefoot monk seeks to thus comfort the humble, Christ-lit soul of the dying man:

"My son,"
The monk said soothingly, "thy work is done;
And no more as a servant, but the guest
Of God thou enterest thy eternal rest.
No toil, no tears, no sorrow for the lost
Shall mar thy perfect bliss. Thou shalt sit down
Clad in white robes, and wear a golden crown
Forever and forever."

The following lines in a very real way reflect the poet's aversion to the ancient and materialistic conception of God and heaven, no less than his ideals of true religion, which the Apostle James cogently summarized as consisting in visiting the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and keeping one's self unspotted from the world:

Piero tossed
On his sick pillow: "Miserable me!
I am too poor for such grand company;
The crown would be too heavy for this gray
Old head; and God forgive me if I say
It would be hard to sit there night and day,
Like an image in the Tribune, doing naught
With these hard hands, that all my life have wrought,
Not for bread only, but for pity's sake.
I'm dull at prayers: I could not keep awake,
Counting my beads. Mine's but a crazy head,
Scarce worth the saving, if all else be dead.
And if one goes to heaven without a heart,
God knows he leaves behind his better part.
I love my fellow-men; the worst I know
I would do good to. Will death change me so
That I shall sit among the lazy saints,
Turning a deaf ear to the sore complaints
Of souls that suffer? Why, I never yet
Left a poor dog in the *strada* hard beset,
Or ass o'erladen! Must I rate man less
Than dog or ass, in holy selfishness?
Methinks (Lord, pardon, if the thought be sin)
The world of pain were better, if therein
One's heart might still be human, and desires

Of natural pity drop upon its fires
Some cooling tears."
Thereat the pale monk crossed
His brow, and, muttering, "Madman! thou art lost!"
Took up his pyx and fled; and, left alone,
The sick man closed his eyes with a great groan
That sank into a prayer, "Thy will be done!"

Then was he made aware, by soul or ear,
Of somewhat pure and holy bending o'er him,
And a voice like that of her who bore him,
Tender and most compassionate: "Never fear!
For heaven is love, as God himself is love;
Thy work below shall be thy work above."
And when he looked, lo! in the stern monk's place
He saw the shining of an angel's face!

The poet's religious ideals are exquisitely set forth in these stanzas:

O Love Divine! — whose constant beam
Shines on the eyes that will not see,
And waits to bless us, while we dream
Thou leavest us because we turn from thee

All souls that struggle and aspire,
All hearts of prayer by thee are lit;
And dim, or clear, thy tongues of fire
On dusky tribes and twilight centuries sit.

* * * *

Truth which the sage and prophet saw,
Long sought without, but found within,
The law of Love beyond all law,
The Life o'erflooding mortal death and sin!

The present broadening of man's ideas concerning God is seen on every side, both within and without the Church. The realization that empty dogma and soulless creed are no more religion than they were when Jesus condemned the scribes and Pharisees of old, is taking possession of the conscience of our civilization, at least of those who hunger and thirst after truth. Whittier thus anticipated the noble ideals which to-day are coming to be so generally accepted in these lines: *

Above, below, in sky and sod,
In leaf and spar, in star and man,
Well might the wise Athenian scan
The geometric signs of God,
The measured order of His plan.

And India's mystics sang aright
Of the One Life pervading all, —
One Being's tidal rise and fall
In soul and form, in sound and sight, —
Eternal outflow and recall.

* * * *

*The Over-Heart.

Fade, pomp of dreadful imagery
Wherewith mankind have deified
Their hate, and selfishness, and pride!
Let the scared dreamer wake to see
The Christ of Nazareth at his side!

What doth that holy Guide require?
No rite of pain, nor gift of blood,
But man a kindly brotherhood,
Looking, where duty is desire,
To Him, the beautiful and good.

One would almost imagine the Quaker poet had been drinking from the fountain of Eastern mysticism, after reading these verses from "A Mystery:"

A presence, strange at once and known,
Walked with me as my guide;
The skirts of some forgotten life
Trailed noiseless at my side.

Was it a dim-remembered dream?
Or glimpse through æons old?
The secret which the mountains kept
The river never told.

But from the vision ere it passed
A tender hope I drew,
And, pleasant as a dawn of spring,
The thought within me grew,

That love would temper every change,
And soften all surprise,
And, misty with the dreams of earth,
The hills of Heaven arise.

No poet of our time has ever been a firmer believer in the present or in the splendid future to which mankind is slowly but laboriously tending than was Whittier. The very keynote of his inspired conviction was sounded in the "Chapel of the Hermits" in the following utterances:

Yet, sometimes glimpses on my sight,
Through present wrong, the eternal right:
And step by step, since time began,
I see the steady gain of man.

That all of good the past hath had
Remains to make our own time glad,
Our common daily life divine,
And every land a Palestine.

* * * *

O friend! we need nor rock nor sand,
Nor storied stream of Morning-Land;
The heavens are glassed in Merrimack, —
What more could Jordan render back?

We lack but open eye and ear
To find the Orient's marvels here; —
The still, small voice in autumn's hush,
Yon maple wood the burning bush.

For still the new transcends the old,
In signs and tokens manifold; —
Slaves rise up men; the olive waves,
With roots deep set in battle graves!

Through the harsh noises of our day
A low, sweet prelude finds its way;
Through clouds of doubt, and creeds of fear,
A light is breaking, calm and clear.

That song of Love, now low and far,
Ere long shall swell from star to star!
That light, the breaking day, which tips
The golden-spired Apocalypse!

With equal clearness were his beliefs as regards duty expressed in these lines from "Seed-Time and Harvest:"

It may not be our lot to wield
The sickle in the ripened field;
Nor ours to hear, on summer eves,
The reaper's song among the sheaves.

Yet where our duty's task is wrought
In unison with God's great thought,
The near and future blend in one,
And whatso'er is willed is done!

The poet's trust in the Over-Soul is frequently uttered, although at times there seems to be a wavering in the tones. When he is on the mountain top he is serene, and then we find him unmoved in his profound conviction. Thus, in the little poem entitled "Trust," he exclaims:

"All is of God that is, and is to be;
And God is good." Let this suffice us still,
Resting in childlike trust upon His will
Who moves to His great ends unthwarted by the ill.

To a correspondent in 1881 he wrote: "The world is growing better; the Lord reigns; our old planet is wheeling slowly into fuller light. I despair of nothing good. All will come in due time that is really needed. All that we have to do is to work — and wait." And again, in "The Grave by the Lake," after giving us an exquisite picture of lake and sky, mingled with philosophy and musings, he breaks forth much as did the elder prophets, speaking with the authority of one who is moved by a lofty inner voice:

Hear'st thou, O of little faith,
What to thee the mountain saith

What is whispered by the trees? —
"Cast on God thy care for these;
Trust Him, if thy sight be dim:
Doubt for them is doubt of Him.

* * * *

"Not with hatred's undertow
Doth the Love Eternal flow;
Every chain that spirits wear
Crumbles in the breath of prayer;
And the penitent's desire
Opens every gate of fire.

"Still Thy love, O Christ arisen,
Yearns to reach these souls in prison!
Through all depths of sin and loss
Drops the plummet of thy cross!
Never yet abyss was found
Deeper than that cross could sound!"

Therefore well may Nature keep
Equal faith with all who sleep,
Set her watch of hills around
Christian grave and heathen mound,
And to cairn and kirkyard send
Summer's flowery dividend.

It was given to Whittier to see the unity of truth. He could never have been a Calvinist, and I say this without the least disrespect for the sincere leader of a great movement which aimed to purify the Church, although, from my point of view, Calvin, in spite of the purity of his motive, dwelt in the shadow, while Whittier lived in the sunlight of spirituality. Calvin was naturally narrow in his views; Whittier also had his limitations, but in the latter there are an inspiration and breadth which lead the soul upward, and radiate that largeness of spirit for the want of which any civilization or religion must wither. Thus, in the following lines,* the poet asserts a saving spaciousness of thought which would do more than we can comprehend toward advancing brotherhood throughout the world:

Truth is one;
And, in all lands beneath the sun,
Whoso hath eyes to see may see
The tokens of its unity.
No scroll of creed its fulness wraps,
We trace it not by school-boy maps.
Free as the sun and air it is
Of latitudes and boundaries.
In Vedic verse, in dull Korán,
Are messages of good to man;
The angels to our Aryan sires

*Miriam.

Talked by the earliest household fires;
The prophets of the elder day,
The slant-eyed sages of Cathay,
Read not the riddle all amiss
Of higher life evolved from this.

* * * *

Wherever through the ages rise
The altars of self-sacrifice,
Where love its arms has opened wide,
Or man for man has calmly died,
I see the same white wings outspread
That hovered o'er the Master's head.

* * * *

So welcome I from every source
The tokens of that primal Force,
Older than heaven itself, yet new
As the young heart it reaches to,
Beneath whose steady impulse rolls
The tidal wave of human souls;
Guide, Comforter, and inward Word,
The eternal Spirit of the Lord!
Nor fear I aught that science brings
From searching through material things;
Content to let its glasses prove,
Not by the letter's oldness move
The myriad worlds on worlds that course
The spaces of the universe:
Since everywhere the Spirit walks
The garden of the heart, and talks
With man, as under Eden's trees,
In all his varied languages.

As the shadows of eventide fell over his form the things of life dropped more and more away, and the profound trust that had been his stay through life filled his soul with a great calm. In a letter to Oliver Wendell Holmes, written in 1879, we find him thus reiterating his convictions: "I realize more and more that *fame and notoriety can avail little in our situation; that love is the one essential thing, always welcome, outliving time and change, and going with us into the unguessed possibilities of death. There is nothing so sweet in the old Bible as the declaration that 'God is love.'*"

In closing this sketch of the life of a true mystic, I cannot do better than quote from Mrs. Claflin's "Recollections:"

If the worth of a life may be estimated by the number of hearts comforted, the number of lives uplifted and inspired, Mr. Whittier's measure will exceed that of most men of this or any other century. "He has given us the poetry of human brotherhood and human purity. He has given us a Christ-like example. He has sung to us of faith in God and immortality."

The beautiful life finished its earthly course on a perfect summer's morning, and he entered the life for which he longed. His last words were characteristic. He was breathing out his life; his eyes were

closed, and his friends stood around the bed about which had clustered so much loving interest, waiting and watching for the last look or the last word, when he opened those eyes which had often seemed to look into the mysteries of eternity, and said with labored breath, "My — love — to — the — world."

As we see with broader vision we appreciate more and more the catholicity of Whittier and that true spirituality which is expressed in deeds rather than in creeds, — and which is yet to redeem the world.

THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

BY CHARLES WALTER BOWNE.

In a people claiming to be first in everything pertaining to self-government, direct legislation should appeal to every impulse of nature; and the Initiative and Referendum system of law-making is no more nor less than direct legislation by the people.

Under this system, whenever a certain number of people wish a law passed or want one repealed, they present to the legislative body a petition signed by a certain number of qualified electors demanding that a bill embracing the certain provisions requested be prepared and referred to the people for their approval or rejection.

All ordinary measures could be presented at any general election, while any question of great importance requiring immediate action could be brought up at any time. Whenever it so happened that the country was in great distress from foolish or vicious legislation, as it is at present, the people would have a means of showing their displeasure and of righting their wrongs, and the majority would rule. It is sometimes said that the majority does not know how to rule, but whoever says so denies that our government is founded upon just and true principles; and if majorities cannot rule well and wisely, why have a republic at all?

When we delegate our powers to others, we lose our right to dictate their action, and it is impossible for us to ascertain the exact state of mind of the individual to whom we entrust the law-making power. In the case of the present President of the United States, the great mass of the Democratic party believed him to be in favor of the free coinage of silver, but history proves him to be one of the bitterest of foes to that measure. A great majority of the people in the Democratic party believed, before election, that Cleveland was honest, but had they the opportunity of expressing their sentiments in a vote to be taken now, Mr. Cleveland would soon have a chance to go fishing on his own time.

With the Initiative and Referendum system of law-making in force in the United States, the people of the country could

demand and enforce an amendment to the Constitution making the offices of President and of United States senators elective instead of appointive as they now are, or they could have the Constitution amended so that all officers should remain in office during good behavior, or until a certain per cent of the people demanded a new election. With such a law as that on our statute books, Cleveland, Carlisle, and John Sherman would not now be selling the people into perpetual bondage, but would be devoting their time and attention to trying to please the people; for should they make a bad law the people would immediately repeal it and send the makers of it home.

In this system of law-making it would not be necessary that the people should vote on all minor laws, as that would take a great deal of time; and the legislators could be trusted to a certain extent, especially if their tenure of office depended upon their good behavior; while the people could always demand a vote on any question.

Another great advantage in direct legislation is the fact that it would do away with parties entirely; and parties are at best but an aggregation of men who want to obtain certain legislation, and who combine for that purpose. But it is impossible for any party to have more than one plank in its platform if it pleases all the members of the party, and no truly good and honest citizen wishes to wait to make all necessary reforms one at a time. Every honest man will find some things in other platforms he wished to indorse, but as long as he must vote with a party and for a representative who is elected for the express purpose of defeating everything indorsed by the opposition, the voter is compelled to vote partly at least against his own inclination and judgment. Mr. Jones might be a Republican and still wish to vote for the free coinage of silver; but in order to vote for his party nominee he must vote for a representative who is opposed to his views, and he is thus obliged to vote against his own convictions simply because he is not in favor of the populist ideas of a legal-tender paper money.

With the power in the hands of the people to make or repeal laws, there could be no incentive to buy legislation; for should the legislature succeed in passing a law in favor of some certain class, the majority would immediately demand a resubmission and the objectionable law would be repealed.

The classes will never want direct legislation; for when the masses once get the power into their hands corporations

and monopolies will soon become things of the past; the vast estates which already outrival those of any other country will be taxed out of existence; landlordism, which is developing to an alarming extent all over our country, will give place to small holdings by individual owners and farmers, or the land will revert to the Government and be leased to actual settlers, for an unlimited number of years, upon the payment of an annual graduated land tax, allowing every man to have a home of his own not subject to foreclosure of mortgage by some grinding corporation. When the people have homes they will be patriots, and no army or navy will be required to protect property rights obtained through fraud or favoritism; Christianity will then mean something more than belonging to some certain church society; civilization will not be a state of society where individual will struggle with individual to see who shall get the most of everything good there is in sight; society will not mean a few apes of English barbarity, sometimes called aristocracy; and marriage will not be merely a civil contract between two parties for the purpose of bettering their financial or social conditions.

What we need is a levelling of the conditions of mankind; for from the extremely rich and from the extremely poor come most of our criminals and evil-doers; and knowing this, it is the duty of good citizens and of good Christians to unite in bringing about this much-wished-for and wholesome condition of affairs. Of course the classes who now enjoy the luxury of living like kings off the fruits of other people's toil will raise a great many objections, legal and otherwise. They will say it is irrelevant and immaterial, and against the Constitution, and against common honesty and ordinary decency, and will make numerous other points, just as the queen of the Hawaiian Islands did when she was deposed, and just as every officeholder does when he is ousted from office; but when it is over they will submit gracefully, and history will record the fact that they were really glad of it, and they will be, in the end, when they are called to the judgment seat.

Humanity is just alike the world over. The rich are no worse than the poor. It is merely a difference of circumstances, and we ourselves are to blame for the present state of society. It is our greed for gain which brought about this death-dealing competition, and when we compete we must take our chance of being crushed, and he who is best

prepared for the struggle must necessarily win. The fathers of this generation have educated their children in the school of competition, and now the children have succeeded in crowding the fathers out of employment. The people have used their brains to invent something to compete with human labor, and in doing so the inventions have caused untold suffering and misery. It is now the duty of the people to invent a way out of their difficulty, and the first thing to do is to free themselves from the network of law which now makes them powerless to move. The people are, nominally, the law, and they should be so in reality. Could we wipe every existing law from our statute books, and take as our guide for a common-law practice the Bible and a few elementary law books, we should soon be the most happy and prosperous nation on the face of the earth. The laws now upon our statute books were made almost wholly for the property-owner, the creditor, and the officeholder, and the officeholder is but the agent of the others. He collects debts, interest, judgments, and rents; he records mortgages and sells property on foreclosure, and he assesses the property of all the people in order to pay himself for the work he performs for the classes whom he serves. Our courts are little more than collection agencies except when run for the purpose of punishing persons guilty of some of the lesser crimes, or of whitewashing those who are charged with some of the greater ones. Those who commit crimes against the nation or against the whole people become Napoleons of finance, or are classed as great statesmen, while the masses of the people can only curse and groan under the burdens imposed upon them.

But there will be a reaction. The American spirit is not dead; it is only sleeping, and when it awakes there will be a judgment day, and the laws and the classes for whom the laws were made will be included in the judgment. If the day of judgment comes soon the sentence will be light and the people will only ask for their rights, but if the bearing-down process is continued by the classes there will be an explosion. Barriers which the law has built around property and property rights will be wiped out of existence, and the levelling-down process will be very short but very complete. Some of the Napoleons of finance may find themselves buried under the ruins of the monuments they have erected to their pride with the sweat of others' brows.

Such a levelling-down process as that would be bad, but it would soon be over for these victims of their own folly, and it would not be nearly so bad as the slow death and the abject misery of the millions who are now wasting their lives in awful poverty, not because there is any lack of wealth, but because of laws which allow one man who owns a million acres of land to say to ten thousand starving people who have no money and no credit: "That is my land. Don't touch it. You may starve, die, rot, but if you trespass but one foot or steal so much as an ear of corn I will have you arrested, and you become a criminal in the eyes of the law and before humanity."

IS A UNIVERSAL RELIGION POSSIBLE?

BY ISAAC N. TAYLOR.

My hope for the human race is as bright as the morning star, for a glory is coming to man such as the most inspired tongues of prophets and of poets have never been able to describe. The gate of human opportunity is turning on its hinges, and the light is breaking through its chink; *possibilities* are opening, and human nature is pushing forward toward them. — *Emerson.*

There can be no proper discussion of this question without first defining its several terms.

What is meant by religion? and *a* religion? and a *universal* religion? and, finally, on what conditions and when, if ever, would such a religion be possible?

For if by religion is meant what the dictionaries say — a system of divine worship or worship of some deity, or, what people generally seem to consider it — a form of doctrine and observance respecting divinely revealed things; or if by *a* religion is intended a distinctive creed, confession, and ritual, or if by *universal* is meant that all the individuals of the human race will adopt it, or if the human race as a whole is to be taken in anything like its present state of development, then on any one or more of these suppositions the only true answer is No, emphatically no. But if all these terms be accepted in that most liberal sense which alone is consistent with the nature of this most liberal inquiry, then the only true answer is Yes, emphatically yes, as I will attempt to show.

The term religion comes to us, with the change of not even a letter, from the grand old Latin *religio*, compounded of the adverb *re*, which means back or again, and the verb *ligo*, which means to hold, bind, keep in place, adjust or maintain in right position or relation. And so, whatever binds, keeps in place, or rather readjusts the human soul and human society in all true relations or is assumed to be fitted so to do, is religion, in its proper generic sense, and *the* religion, in its proper specific sense, of those who adopt it. The first syllable, *re*, which means back, again, implies what is confessedly true respecting human beings, that their true relations to all others, whether superior, equal, or inferior, have been strained, impaired, or even ruptured from some cause, or that

there is a liability and tendency thereto, and that therefore the chief function of religion is readjustment. This proper etymological sense of the word ought to be and must yet be the universally received sense in order to a universal religion. Religion must be regarded, not as a speculative moral theorem, but a real moral problem — a thing to be enacted in the human soul and in human society, and not necessarily, not wisely, not safely compromised with theological dogma, ecclesiastical rule, penal discipline, ceremonial observance, or any formulated belief in things mysterious, mythical, speculative, technical, conventional, or at all outside of the practical obligations of life and immortality. Nay more, all these would have to be discarded as non-essential, divisive, and injurious, and only that accepted which actually bonds the intelligence, the conscience, and the affections to all persons whether divine or human to treat them all according to their just demands. And such religion, so distinct from all the general classes and all the particular species that have ever existed from Adam past Moses to Ingersoll, would be *a religion* in the proper sense of our inquiry.

By the term *universal* should be understood general prevalence and acceptance among all nations to the exclusion of all supposable systems opposing it; but it does not imply that all persons would be truly religious — devout to deity and humane to humanity.

Lastly as to general definition, I do not say that such religion is possible to the present generation or any generation in the near future, but only that there are such susceptibilities in human nature and forces in human society and crises of human evolution as demonstrate the possibility of a universal religion. But to be more explicit and perfectly fair, it should be added that the term religion in this discussion should be considered in its proper twofold sense — a subjective and objective — that is, as being first internal and second external to the mind of individuals and of a community; in other words, first, as an innate element of human nature and being the conscious acceptance by the subject and actor of the reciprocal rights and obligations of all related beings, whether divine or human, whether superior, equal, or inferior, and, second, as a resultant external expression of this internal element, and being a system of doctrine, belief, and observance somewhat defined and openly confessed as a rule of life.

In a discussion of the question, Is a universal religion possible? these senses must be conjoined. For in each sense considered separately, religion, not *a* religion, but religion, always has been and always will be universal, because in the first sense it is an original ingredient in the composition of human nature, substantially the same in all ages among all peoples, as really as blood and breath are the same elementally in all animate bodies, and because in the second sense it works itself out inevitably in the same general way the world over, the subjective creating the objective, the internal ideal conception giving substance and form and action to the external real production.

But saying that religion has been and is and will be universal is not saying that *a religion* can be universal. Nor is saying that *a religion* can be found always and everywhere the same as saying that a universal religion is possible. To be entirely candid, the phrase *a religion* implies some definite form which the internal prescribes to the external, some outward demonstration of the inward proposition; and to be uni versal this proposition within implies one common understanding and agreement as to what religion in its true sense really is, and also that the demonstration shall be conformed simply and only to the proposition. Now therefore the question is whether or not such a common understanding and agreement are possible to mankind.

I begin the argument for the affirmative by asserting the undisputed truth that there exist in human nature those powers of instinct, reason, conscience, sentiment, and emotion which are the only true sources of religious character and conduct, and these are:

1. Reverence for what is grand or sublime whether in the domain of matter or in the realm of mind.
2. Approval of what is true and just, pure and good.
3. Delight in what is beautiful and lovely.
4. Disapproval of what is false and unrighteous, ugly and evil.
5. A sense of dependence on something beyond and above us.
6. A sense of gratitude for favors bestowed.
7. A sense of compassion for the suffering.
8. A sense of guilt for failure to cherish and execute any of these inborn sentiments or for any other wrong-doing.
9. And a sense of the need of atonement therefor. These

are the increated constitutional endowments of human nature which underlie all true religious character and life, and to cultivate and utilize which is practical religion. These are the essential properties which make religion, in any proper meaning of the term, possible to any human spirit or to any community or to any nation. But they pertain to all men of all nations, alike in essence, though differing greatly in degree and in the facilities of improvement. There is no exception in the wide world to the existence of these fundamental qualities, nor can there be found on the broad earth a tribe of mankind incapable of indefinite improvement of these properties. More than this, multitudes, both of individual persons and of whole communities, who seemed most devoid of these elementary conditions in one part of their history, have risen from the lowest grades of ignorance, depravity, impiety, and inhumanity to the highest planes of moral excellence. What has transpired in the most helpless and hopeless is surely possible to all.

Again, while the human soul instinctively worships the abstract qualities of wisdom, power, truth, justice, and goodness, it is rather the illustration of them in the character and acts of persons, whether human or divine, whether ideal or real, that awakens and nourishes the religious sentiment. And it is this that binds the whole of our mental and moral nature to the universe of being and regulates our treatment of all classes respectively. It is the manifestation of character and condition to our senses, our reason, our conscience, and our sympathy, that calls into active exercise all that binds us to earth or heaven, to time or eternity. Thus, our profound veneration of omniscience, omnipotence, omnipresence, truthfulness, purity, righteousness, and goodness, in the supreme impersonation of them, as displayed in the visible creation and indicated in the invisible moral government of the universe — this is adoration of the supreme, by whatever name known, and this is the soul's worship of deity, and this is, so far, real religion. And so the sight of truth, justice, and benevolence as displayed in the character and behavior of the wise and just and charitable of mankind is what nurtures these same qualities in those who see and admire, and it is the contemplation of adversity in those who actually suffer that nourishes the virtue of compassion, and it is the aggregate of all these and similar cords binding us to our fellowmen that constitutes true religion and is the only thing worthy

the name. Nor are these manifestations ever wanting in any place or time. They are as various and numerous and omnipresent as the susceptibilities to which they appeal. The religion which they suggest and demand should be and may be and will be as universal as themselves. Nor does this view of religion, showing its possible prevalence over all the earth, exclude, but rather include, that sense of guilt for failure in dutiful relation to God and man which impels us to make or have made a suitable atonement for the wrong done and to become reconciled to the parties, whether human or divine, whom we have injured. And it is the contrast of this unworthiness with the worthiness we see in others above us and around us that unseals the fountain of repentance whose waters, though bitter, nourish the graces of humility and forgiveness.

The universal conviction that religion, viewed in this light, ought to prevail over all the earth, to the exclusion of all that would hinder it, is surely an argument for its possibility. And this argument is instantly re-enforced by the universal secret longing of the masses that the prevailing systems, so cumbrous, so expensive, so mysterious, so ceremonial, so controversial, so divisive, and so distractive, would give place to one simple system of universal mutual obligations of right treatment. Sectarians, controversialists, bigots, and all ceremonialists will not appreciate the assertion, but it is nevertheless here made, that the heart of the millions aches for the change. And is that impossible to mankind for which mankind is constitutionally endowed and for which mankind unutterably longs?

Next, I draw a conclusion from the evident possibility of a universal natural science, a system of truth respecting the facts of nature, including the properties and laws of matter and the properties and laws of mind. With or without human knowledge or consent, these facts have always existed and will always exist essentially the same through all time. Different theories of philosophy have prevailed only because these facts of nature have been imperfectly apprehended. Just in the ratio of their discovery as they are, have the variant theories disappeared and the general mind rested in one belief; and the time is coming apace when there will be but one geography, but one geology, but one astronomy, but one biology, but one hygiene, and but one theory of cosmic evolution. Why? Simply because the simple facts of nature are being discerned and the properties

and laws of matter demonstrated. The same precisely is true in the realm of spirit. The properties and laws of mind are as really facts in nature as are the properties and laws of matter, only they are more hidden and difficult of exact treatment. And the same is true in the field of morals and religion, only that the facts of spiritual relationship are still more difficult of appreciation. But the analogy holds, and the march of human thought to one common camping-ground of all material, mental, and moral science indicates the gathering to one grand rendezvous of all the sacred armies of the world. Indeed, so far as yet defined, religion is a science and the sublimest of all because having to do with the sublimest facts of spiritual existence. Granted only the possible capability of the human soul to discern the underlying truths of moral obligation to the universe of spirits from the weakest infant of the lowest woman up through all grades to the Supreme Ruler and Judge, and the possibility of such a universal religion as is defined so far in this paper is fairly inferred and its destiny as the science of all sciences is assured. For, though I do not assume that religion is merely a science, my contention is that it is one of the sciences, all whose tendencies are along the lines of simplicity and intelligibility toward the goal of universal faith. The term science includes, according to the highest authorities, all those classes of knowledge which imply (1) generalization, as distinct from or opposed to particularization; (2) system, as distinct from or opposed to random arrangement; and (3) verification, as distinct from or opposed to loose assumption. But religion, if considered in both its subjective and objective senses combined — its psychological and historical characters conjoined — has all these attributes and is therefore a science in the highest sense. Nor does the element of inspiration or extraordinary divine communication make it otherwise. For a belief in inspiration, as well as a belief in anything else, is subject to the usual sources and the usual tests of our knowledge, namely our senses, our reason, and our experience.

It is objected, however, that religion is more than a science; that the definition so far given though so far correct is incomplete; that religion being a system of obligations to all related beings, including chiefly the Supreme and implying knowledge of His character and His will, implies also a revelation of truths not possible to be learned in any other way

than by actual communication from the true deity, and that therefore the human capability of advancing so far in any science that there is no place left for disagreement, argues nothing as to things beyond the reach of reason, unless indeed it be the province of that reason to decide between true and false revelations. The objection is allowed for the sake of the argument, and the necessity is conceded of divine communication across the gulf which yet lies between the visible and the invisible, as to nearly all mankind. And especially as there have been revelations and revelations, real or fancied, all along the line of human history, most of which cannot be true because contradictory of each other, although each is the origin and the end of a distinct religion. Looking back and around only, we might despair. What ground of hope is there that any future progress of the race will enable it to discriminate between the claims of Brahma and Buddha and Mahomet and Swedenborg and Smith on one hand, and of the Nazarene on the other hand? Is there a power yet latent and reserved in the human race, either passive or active or both combined, to submit to the universal reason and conscience an infallible test of the truth or falsehood of all revelations? It is a bold proposition, but I make it: there will be found and accepted such a test. Just what it will be the argument does not require me to say. Whether it will be logic chiefly, or conscience chiefly, or experience chiefly, or a person chiefly, with wisdom and power to combine all the forces of persuasion, I need not say, but prefer to think it will be the last in this list. More of this, however, further on in another connection.

Next is the argument drawn from the ever-increasing international communion of mankind. The facilities of travel and of transmitting intelligence are making every people on earth acquainted with every other people, and the nations, as such, are becoming more and more mutually helpful in all respects of commerce, art, government, and morality. The light of an advancing civilization is shining alike on all the domestic, political, and ethical institutions of mankind. The result will be the gradual elimination of error from each, the gradual ingrowth of truth in each, and finally the adoption of the one only true theory of moral obligation — supreme homage to deity by whatever name known and equal good will to humanity into whatever types divided. Already the trend of religious thought as well as all other thought is in

the direction of unity and away from diversity, toward union and away from division. Of all the tokens in the moral sky heralding the sublime result, none is so portentous as that star in the west, the congress of all religions lately held in Chicago. That transaction, absolutely new and unique in the history of the race, will stand at the head of all the chapters in the world's book of prophecy touching the question of a universal religion, an epoch in the annals of religion itself. And because that congress was made an integral part of the World's Fair and not a side show or the scheme of any sect or class of sects, and because it was enacted under the impulses of universal inquiry and in the spirit of universal charity, and because its accredited members were the ablest exponents of all the religions of our planet, and, finally, because of what was actually said and done in that grand assembly, it was, all in all, the most significant foreshadowing of the harmony of all nations in a religion which prescribes the worship of one supreme Author and Ruler according to each one's highest conceptions of His attributes and the treatment of all His subjects with justice and benevolence according to each one's opportunity.

My last and best argument is drawn from the facts and laws of evolution.

With profoundest reverence I submit that God's method as moral ruler is the same as His method as Creator, and that is the method of evolution — the gradual unfolding of all things and bringing them up from lower to higher forms. There is no room here for argument on this stupendous theme, but it is confidently asserted as a premise that the millions of our race are dismissing their former pious horror of this most appropriate and expressive and reverent term, and are looking at the universe of matter and spirit as one endless creation progressing according to certain laws, conspicuous among which is the law of crisis, literally, judgment after trial, the conclusion of one process joined to the beginning of another — an intermediate result between experiments.

Scientists perceive the virtue of this law in all world-life, in central suns and planets and satellites. Very conspicuous is it in the geological history of our little earth, and it includes the whole, the inorganic and the organic, the vegetable, animal, sentient, mental, and moral. And the leading crises in the lines of material and moral evolution have been coincident to a degree which perhaps has somewhat escaped observation

in later times. It is plain, however, that humanity itself is an evolution and that, reciprocally as means to ends, science and religion are evolutions, and in the same sense also inspiration and revelation are evolutions with crises as marked on the face of human history as the globe is marked by the crises of flood and fire. How marvellously is that Genesis pen picture of the method and order of creation verified by modern science — the six days denoting the successive periods of the grand development, the evening of each day, that is, the close of each period, marking a crisis of material evolution and showing that, on the evening of the sixth day, the grand series culminated, when the earth, having been prepared for tillage and the utilization of all its elements, was put under the dominion of a pair made in the image of the Creator himself and charged with the duty of subduing all things to the behests of knowledge and righteousness. And here began a new feature of evolution — God's moral administration over a race of intelligent, free, accountable, progressive subjects whose loyalty, in order to be loyalty at all, and whose virtue, in order to be virtue at all, and whose progression, in order to be progression at all, must necessarily be subjected to a palpable test. And so it was in the beginning, and so it is, and so it will be to the end — loyalty to both deity and humanity forever subject to temptation, and the proof in either and in both together to consist in actual behavior and treatment of each and of both together.

The inimitable allegory of Eden reveals the nature and foretokens the history of the long probation, and how one crisis after another would characterize the struggle of good and evil to the end of time. While only the *heel* of good would be bruised by evil, the *head* of evil would be bruised by good. And herein too is signified the origin and the nature and the destiny of the only true religion that is possible to be universal, but which will be universal when the children of restored womanhood shall have finally crushed the head of all evil.

After a long age comes another crisis in the earth's transformation and coincidently of God's moral administration, and a deluge and a person, a preacher of righteousness, are alike conspicuous, one the destroyer of the evil and the other the saviour of the good. And thenceforth, past Abraham and Moses and Jesus, in one line of religious development, and past other names that might be given in other lines, to

the present hour, the process of religious evolution reveals the law of crisis and promises its continuance to the end. There may be more than is generally admitted in the doctrine of the incarnation of divine teachers. However this may be, those for whom this is claimed by their disciples lived not in vain. But if Zoroaster was the light of Persia, and Confucius the light of China, and Buddha the light of Asia, Jesus was and is and is to be the light of the world. I am not required by the argument here to claim for the Nazarene all that the so-called orthodox claim for his divine paternity and essential deity, nor yet to grant the literal interpretation of his promise to come again accompanied by a band of angelic teachers. But he — the Christ of God and the Jesus of man — will come, not to revoke what he said before (for his teachings as we have them contain all the germs of the universal religion), but to quicken and nurture the seed sown in the field of the world when he was here two thousand years ago.

Consider for a moment how adapted in all respects of both matter and method the teachings of Jesus are to become the one only universal religion.

He taught mankind not so much what to believe and not to believe as what to do and not to do; and every lesson had respect only to what is due to God and man, and was enforced by a personal example that none can misunderstand.

He favored no class, unless we call the millions of the common people who heard him gladly a class. At the same time there was not one person or class of persons who could not find something exactly suited to their condition for all the purposes of the true religious life.

His yoke was easy and his burden light, for he imposed no austerities, enjoined no technicalities, prescribed no rituals, discussed no philosophies, proclaimed no mysteries.

He elaborated no system of theological or ecclesiastical dogma, but with him truth was, like the precious metals and gems of earth and sea, and like the flowers and fruits of mountain and valley, and like all the beauties and grandeurs of nature, scattered promiscuously about, isolated or in irregular groups, to be met with casually or on special search, at every point in the wide field.

Again, in his plan of instrumentality he conjoined with the sincere human endeavor the divine efficient help of the

spirit of truth and of ministering angels, and promised to continue this method on a stupendous scale at his reappearing.

To crown all, he taught the doctrine of a humble agnosticism — the confession of not knowing or caring to know things unknowable or even non-essential and unimportant. And this is manifestly a part of any religion that can possibly be universal among finite beings.

Now in order to see the possibility of a universal religion we have only to suppose the reappearing of this supreme teacher, whether in identical person or in the person of one like unto him, employing the same truth in the same way, only with such resistless power as shall comport with the nature of that grand crisis which all history and all science and all human hope and fear unite in foretelling.

As every grand crisis, both material and spiritual, has hitherto had its antecedent preparation and has cast the long shadow of its coming into the future, so in this case, while the cups of human iniquity are being filled to the brim, geological and meteorological causes are preparing those terrific vicissitudes of earthquake and storm and frost that shall desolate the globe and leave but a few to be lifted to that higher plane of spiritual development on which alone a universal religion shall be possible. At the same time and to the same degree the forces of evil and of good are in deadly conflict and the grand moral crisis comes apace. Despite the protests and prayers of the good, an army of death — intoxication, narcotization, and harlotry the centre, tyranny, murder, and pestilence the right wing, and extortion, famine, and riot the left wing — is mustering on all the plains of earth to co-operate with the rage of the elements to relieve the minority, beyond the crucial agony, to hail the dawn of the better day.

And then we have also inklings in the revelations of psychology of the new feature of the coming age — the peraerial phonography of heaven and earth and the presence of angelic teachers. For may we not expect that electricity, the cause of all the light and heat and motion of the material universe, and itself, it may be, as it would seem to us, an emanation of the infinite mind, will work its wonders in the realm of spirit as in the domain of matter?

In such condition it seems plain even to our poor faculties that nothing is needed but the reappearing of the Son of man to divest his kingdom of all the additions, subtractions,

multiplications, and divisions which his professed subjects have inflicted upon it, and to reaffirm and enforce the religion he gave the world in the person of the Christ, a religion simple, sincere, intelligible, practical, useful, complete, and of universal adaptation, and therefore the only religion that can possibly be universal. To this end the susceptibility is already in the soul of universal humanity, the system of truth and love is already in the book, and the power is already in the presence to be revealed as the lightning — conspicuous, pervasive, intense, and irresistible. For as the lightning cometh forth from the east and is seen even unto the west, so shall be the coming of the Son of man. And so I close this paper as closes the Christian book of Revelation: Even so, come, Lord Jesus. Amen.

THE RIGHT OF WOMAN TO THE BALLOT.

BY CHARLES H. CHAPMAN.

I have read Mr. Rossiter Johnson's pamphlet entitled "The Blank-Cartridge Ballot," and am very much pleased with it. It is a very clever piece of work. It is well written, logically constructed, and of excellent diction. It is, in fact, the best presentation of the argument that I have ever read. It lacks but two things to make it irrefutable, — a basis of truth and a confirmation by facts.

The gist of Mr. Johnson's argument, boiled down and stripped of all superfluous emendations, is, "Woman cannot vote because she cannot fight." In other words, the elective franchise is dependent on the capacity for bearing arms, and woman cannot bear arms. Accept this as an axiom and Mr. Johnson's deductions follow without further discussion. But the age of blind acceptance of beliefs has passed. We no longer blindly accept the authority of powers and maintain without question that the sun moves round the earth, or any other so-called axiom equally reasonable which they feel called upon to advance.

"Woman cannot fight." I seldom open a newspaper without finding some instance of a woman making a pretty good fight against a burglar, highwayman, or other ruffian. Without commenting on Jeanne d'Arc, the Countess de Montfort, and other memories of the dark ages, we can refer Mr. Johnson to the annals of our border wars where he will find many an instance where woman has fought, — fought like the savage she-wolf in her lair, for the safety of her children, husband, and home.

What is the most essential qualification for a fighter, a combatant who stands out in the face of the enemy and throws down his gage of battle with the resolution to win the cause or die?

Is it strength? Is it physical endurance? Is it steadiness of nerve? All these are well enough in their way and valuable under circumstances, but the one indispensable

element is courage. Without that, all other advantages are worse than useless.

You see the illustration of this on the college foot-ball field to-day. Watch the practice of the team against the scrub. Who is that little undersized runt of a boy running with the ball in the heart of every wedge and scrimmage, tackling and throwing those big fellows as the bulldog throws the bull? What is he doing on the team? Why is not one of those men on the scrub, or one of these dozen big men among the bystanders, big, straight-standing, strong-looking, finely developed men, playing in the place of that little caricature of humanity? You put the question to the captain or coach and he replies, "Yes, so and so is small, but he has the grit and can play, while that big, handsome man is as powerful as he looks and a wonder in the gymnasium, but he hasn't got the '*sand*' to play foot-ball."

"Where the spirit is lacking, the flesh is weak." Woman possesses courage in the same ratio as man, no more and no less. Daughters inherit the gift from their fathers, and sons from their mothers. It is as free to both sexes as honesty, intelligence, memory, or any other virtue of mankind. Many women are skilled in the use of firearms and other weapons and use them well enough to defeat the average man in any contest of expertness.

The statement that women cannot fight or bear arms is proven false by the experience of centuries. She can and will do so most desperately if forced to do so, as the female of any animal species will do in defence of her offspring. The lioness, tigress, and she-wolf are less aggressive than their consorts, but the hunter knows them for much more dangerous foes when they turn to bay in defence of their litters. The male deer flees at the mere scent of the prowling wolf, but the doe braves the combat in defence of her fawn; and even the timid hare will attack the marauding weasel to protect her progeny.

The statement that woman cannot fight or bear arms is a perversion of the truth; but when we say, "Woman, as a rule, does not fight; she leaves to man, more aggressive by nature and better qualified physically, the bearing of the brunt of actual conflict," we state fairly the facts of the case.

"But," we hear our opponent argue, "war is a serious matter. Nations in warfare call upon every resource they

can command. Why is it that woman, if she can fight as well as you claim to show, has never been called on to bear the brunt of battle?"

The answer is clear. The fighting force of a people is always in small proportion to the population. Every person in the field requires five or six at home to keep him there in fighting trim. The soldier does not live on air. He requires to be fed, to be clothed, to be nursed in sickness. His children and family and private affairs need attention while he is absent on the tented field. "An army travels on its stomach," is an axiom most thoroughly proven to every soldier who has ever had to do arduous duty on short rations.

Now this is the part of war that has devolved on woman from time immemorial, to feed and clothe the armies, to nurse the sick and wounded, and in addition to take the burden of the absent and perform the task of caring for and feeding the children and the aged and infirm, a task of double labor in the absence of her helpmate; and of the two the stay-at-homes have at times the harder, if the less dangerous part.

When Mr. Johnson argues that the franchise is dependent on the power and the will to handle the musket, to pay what Mr. Johnson calls the service tax, which tax he claims is levied on men alone, and which, if I am rightly informed, the Government pays for in monthly wages and prospective pensions, the money for which is collected by taxes levied on men and women alike, it seems to me, considering that women have been doing their share at home and bearing the burdens of men in addition to their own, besides working extensively in the hospitals and commissary departments, that the service tax is pretty equally distributed between the sexes after all. "Men must work and women must weep," writes Kingsley; but when men must fight, women must both work and weep. Yet "women cannot vote because they cannot fight."

The lame, halt, and blind and also the aged men vote, but that is "because they are so few that it has not been thought worth while to bar them out," to quote Mr. Johnson. I fail to recall any passage in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, the various State constitutions, or the writings or speeches of our most prominent statesmen, that would lead to the above inference. I have always had the impression that the ballot was the birthright of every male citizen of legal age, not wrung from the Gov-

ernment by force, but freely given by his fellow-citizens to be used for his and their benefit; and I have always held it to be the glory of the nation that this right was inalienable to the citizen be he weak or strong, great or small, and forfeitable only by crime.

We fought a tyrannical power, not for the right itself, but for the power to give the right. We gained that power, and we, the sovereign people, gave freely the right of franchise to every male citizen of the United States. Equally so can we give that right to every female citizen.

But let us see what proportion of these non-combatants Mr. Johnson thinks so small as to be not worth while barring out. The men actually under arms on both sides in the "late unpleasantness" numbered about three millions. The total vote cast for President in 1860 was 4,680,193.

Deduct from the muster of the troops the members of the regular army and navy who, although fighters, had no vote, and the prospective citizens not yet naturalized, many of whom shamed native citizens by the eagerness with which they took up arms for their adopted country, and add to the voting total the voters who shunned the polls (a large class as we know from experience), and we can safely say that forty per cent of those qualified by law to vote were incapacitated or wilfully refused to bear arms to enforce the ballot that they cast. This is the proportion that Mr. Johnson considers not worth while barring out. "But," I think I hear the objection, "these men who held back from supporting their ballots with a 'pinch of powder and a pellet of lead' were not needed at the front. If they had been they would have done their duty in the ranks." I will not refer to the draft riots and other disturbances which followed the levies of 1863, showing in what a willing spirit the stay-at-home voters answered their country's call, but will pass on to more pertinent matters.

There is no doubt that the Confederate cause needed every available man at the front. There is no doubt that it used every expedient to get them there. Men were forced into the ranks under penalty of death on refusal, driven in like cattle at the point of the bayonet, hunted down and dragged out of their hiding-places in holes and caves, and given the choice of instant death or enlistment. The country was drained of every man that could carry a musket. Boys not yet through school and grandfathers stiff with age

marched side by side, and in days of travel no able bodied white man could be found who was not a soldier.

The enlisted strength of the Confederate troops was about 600,000. The vote for President in 1860 in ten of the secession States was 857,704. South Carolina's vote was cast by her legislature and does not figure in the total, but her voting strength, calculated on the basis of her white population, was about 45,000, making the total southern vote about 900,000 in round numbers. Here are 300,000 blank-cartridge ballots, about one third of the whole, which Mr. Johnson considers not worth while barring out. "But," to quote again, "such a man [*i. e.*, non-combatant] might still be very powerful in creating a riot or suppressing one, in overthrowing a government or in sustaining one in an emergency, and this fact has to be recognized."

Women have had a chance of creating riots and of overthrowing governments in the French Revolution and elsewhere, and also in suppressing sedition and sustaining governments at various times and in various capacities, and have proved not wanting in power and wisdom, and *these* facts have to be recognized. And while we are supposing imaginary states of affairs let us suppose that woman put into use some of that power for organization that she possesses in common with man, and organized a strike against one of these wars in whose making and conduct she had no voice.

Suppose the women of the country said: "We will have none of this war. We will not feed and clothe the soldiers. We will not nurse the wounded. We will not care for our husband's, father's, brother's family and manage his business affairs while he is in the field trying to shoot some one else's husband, father, or brother." That war would come to a stop so suddenly that not even a blank-cartridge ballot would be needed to give it its final quietus.

Gen. Lee would not have surrendered in another four years if Grant's troops had amused themselves firing blank cartridges at him, but he would have yielded in less than six months if he had lacked the toil, support, and sympathy of the women of the South.

"When gunpowder came into use," says Mr. Johnson, "suffrage began to be popularized, and it has been widening ever since, but it only follows the development of the rifle." This sentence is a little obscure. It is, of course, a well-known fact that suffrage has been popularized and widened

in common with improvements in firearms, ordnance, and other military and naval appliances, as it has with the increased knowledge and use of printing, machinery, chemistry, medicine, and other modern sciences and arts. We take it, however, that Mr. Johnson means to infer that the spread of the ballot has been due to the possession of arms and the knowledge of using them; that it is a thing wrested from authority by individual force; that it is not a gift dictated by justice and right, but a concession actuated by fear and intimidation. Let us see how far this idea is borne out by facts.

Women, Mr. Johnson claims, cannot bear arms or fight, and women, we are glad to admit, do not usually enforce their demands by means of warfare and violence. In Great Britain, Sweden, Norway, Russia, Finland, Austria-Hungary, Croatia, Dalmatia, Italy, the Madras and Bombay Presidencies of India, Cape Colony, New Zealand, Iceland, Dominion of Canada, and Northwest territories, and twenty-eight States and territories of the United States, women enjoy partial or entire suffrage. In every case was it given them in recognition of their right to have some voice in making the laws and in choosing the officers to enforce the laws by which they are governed, in no instance being granted through fear of force.

Take for example the State of Wyoming, a government located in what writers delight to call the "wild and woolly West," where men are shot for breakfast, and "bad men" keep private graveyards for their victims; where every man's life is supposed to depend on his skill in using the loaded revolver he carries at his side; an ideal community, evidently, for Mr. Johnson's fighting voter, the man who enforces his ballot with his musket. Wyoming territory gave woman equal suffrage in 1870. After twenty years of trial, Wyoming thought so well of woman's "blank-cartridge" ballot that in 1889 the convention by a unanimous vote inserted an equal-suffrage provision in the State constitution, which constitution was ratified by the voters by a three-fourths majority.

Mr. Johnson claims that in Great Britain every enlargement of the franchise was wrung from the governing class by fear and intimidation. Surely this is an ungenerous criticism of the great Liberal party and its leaders, W. E. Gladstone, John Bright, and others, who have spent years trying to relieve, elevate, and enlighten the weak and downtrodden, and have time and again come to the rescue of those so ignorant and defenceless that their only appeal was, "We suffer;

help us ; " who have striven for years to give to Ireland the self-government she desires but cannot obtain, and whose work would ere this have been crowned with success but for the bigotry and opposition of certain factions of the Irish themselves.

But is it not time to do away with this worn-out fallacy, this barbarous conception of universal suffrage and representative government as being dependent only on the physical force that lies behind the ballot box, and not in the intelligence, justice, and respect for the self-made law of an enlightened people?

The ballot is the gift of the strong to the weak, the generous recognition by the strong that the weak have rights which he is bound by justice and honor to respect whether he is able to ignore them by his superior strength or not. The powerful says to humbleness, " I know that you possess equal interest in life with me although your strength does not permit you to manifest it ; I give you the right to an equal voice in this matter with myself, and, if necessary, I will add my strength to yours to maintain it." Thus, to use Mr. Johnson's own simile, if Mr. Johnson was in danger of being dispossessed of his franchise, Mr. Astor, the plutocrat, and the humble servitor would both fly to Mr. Johnson's aid, and if Mr. Astor were in like danger, Mr. Johnson and his sweeper would be on hand, even if Mr. Astor were too old, sick, or crippled to lift a finger in his own behalf. So also would they if Mrs. Astor's property were assailed, and why should they not do so if Mrs. Astor's franchise were assailed?

Free and popular government is the best form of government for an intelligent and enlightened people, and it is only safe for such. Any attempt to introduce it into barbarous and uncivilized nations has resulted and always will result in failure. The ballot must be guided by intelligence to be beneficial. In the hands of ignorance it becomes something worse than Mr. Johnson's dreaded blank cartridges. It becomes the instrument of the noisy demagogue, of the wily and unscrupulous politician, to be used for furtherment of his own selfish gain and the detriment of the public good ; the weapon of the political machine and the bane of good government. The greatest danger to the government is not in the admission as voters of intelligent and educated women who could use the ballot wisely and well, but the failure to bar the franchise from ignorant and unprincipled foreigners

who use their votes at the bidding of an unscrupulous "boss" to support open fraud and corruption in public office.

Mr. Johnson cites the case of the negro voter as an example of the uselessness of the blank-cartridge ballot. He claims their failure as voters is "not from lack of intelligence, for many of them are well educated and are quite as intelligent as some of the whites." (Query: How many, what per cent of the whole? Also how many are as intelligent as the average of the whites?) Yet in the same paragraph he prophesies, "If the time should ever come when every colored man owns a Winchester rifle, and when the race has *learned* how to organize, then the colored vote will be cast and will be counted." Now I will prophesy that when the colored race has acquired sufficient intelligence as a whole to organize, and incidentally to make a wise and proper use of the franchise already granted, then the colored vote will be cast and counted without reference to the Winchester rifle either as a present fact or possible contingency.

Mr. Johnson inquires with anxiety what would happen if eight hundred thousand men were to undertake to stand against six hundred thousand men and a million women. As George Stephenson replied to an eminent personage inquiring as to the result of a collision between his newly constructed engine and a female of the bovine species, that "it would be varra bad for the coo," so I am inclined to think that in the above very extraordinary contingency the eight hundred thousand would find themselves in a very uncomfortable position without delay. "'You are to bid any man stand,'" quotes Mr. Johnson. "'How if he will not stand?'" In these times we usually arrest such a man and imprison or fine him for breach of the peace. If we cannot do so, I agree that we must decline into a state of anarchy, not because we have asked intelligent women to share with us the difficulties and responsibilities of self-government, but because we have so degenerated from enlightenment toward savagery as to refuse to recognize and enforce the laws and obligations imposed by our own will and actions.

Mr. Johnson seems greatly concerned at the danger to the Government at every closely contested election. He says, "When we elect a President by a popular majority of less than one per cent of all the votes there must always be a temptation to the defeated party to try the experiment of not submitting, and we have seen what this led to in one notice-

able instance" (meaning, we presume, the great Rebellion). We can assure Mr. Johnson that the situation he dreads has already occurred in our history in an even more aggravated form without the condition that he predicts arising. For example, in 1824 Andrew Jackson had a clear plurality of the popular vote over John Quincy Adams, but the House of Representatives elected Mr. Adams and the people acquiesced in their choice without an attempted appeal to arms. In 1876 the country was almost evenly divided over the rivals, Mr. Hayes and Mr. Tilden, so evenly divided that the question was settled by Congress by the smallest possible majority. Yet no talk of armed resistance stirred the country, and either candidate, placing his good sense and good citizenship before his personal ambition, would have refused with scorn and horror any attempt on the part of his supporters to gain him the office by force.

In 1888 Mr. Cleveland had a clear popular majority in his favor, but the election of Mr. Harrison was accepted as an accomplished fact, without a thought of protest. Other examples could be given, but these suffice to show the non-existence of the idea that even the majority would attempt to break by force the laws that they themselves have made. As for the great Rebellion, Mr. Johnson is too well informed to claim that the divided vote of the election of 1860 was the cause of that civil struggle. The war was the inevitable arrival of that crisis long foreseen and foretold by Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and other statesmen, the inexorable result of the axiom that freedom and slavery cannot be co-existent in the same nation. The slaveholders, driven from their last stronghold, and condemned by the voice of the people, appealed to the foundation of their system, brute force, and once again civilization triumphed over barbarism.

History teaches us that governments based on military strength are not stable, for they are constantly at the mercy of any stronger force and they contain in themselves elements of discord that weaken the nation more than the trained warriors strengthen it. The very arms that it most relies on for protection may at any moment turn against it. Such governments are neither popular, representative, nor democratic. Their very foundation precludes it. Government by force can only exist by concentration of force. Concentration of force means the surrender of all authority into the smallest possible number of hands, in other words a despotism, hereditary or elective, king or dictator.

The Romans maintained a representative government in a wise and stable form as long as they retained the principle of uniform representation, but when they endeavored to govern conquered territory by force, without listening to the voice of the governed, the government, one standing alone without rival in the world, rapidly degenerated through various forms of oligarchy and dictatorship to the empire, which was riven apart by its own internal dissensions and the utter apathy of the people toward a government in which they had no representation.

The power to bear arms is not the qualification to wield the ballot even among savage tribes. In the lodges of the Indians, it is not the mighty hunter, the bold and dashing young warrior, to whom it is given to decide the policy and destiny of the tribe. It is the ancient chieftain, hoary with years and wisdom, whose tottering steps will never more follow on the trail, whose dim eyes can no more sight the rifle, whose withered arm is too weak for the mighty war-club, — he it is who enters the council lodge, and gives his voice and his vote to the welfare of the people, and the young men hearken to his counsels and obey his behests with the reverence that strength ever pays to wisdom and experience.

We need the vote of woman in our public responsibilities as we need her voice and assistance in our homes and daily tasks. Government needs many hands and many voices directed by intelligence. Too many such we cannot have, and we are foolish to neglect to avail ourselves of the intelligence and wisdom that knock for admittance.

The right of women to vote is contained in the principles of republican government, "Government of the people, by the people, for the people." It is as self-evident as her right to exist, her right to a half interest in the control of her children, her right to a share of her husband's property, or her right to a share of her parents' estate.

Not one but many politicians and statesmen have admitted that when women unanimously, or in a large majority, demanded the ballot, it would be given them; no power, they say, can withhold it. It is because so many are indifferent to their right and privilege, and a few, imitating the dog in the manger, with the statement, "We don't want to vote, so you sha'n't," bitterly oppose it, that universal suffrage has not yet been attained.

Where then is the dominating idea of the man and the

musket behind the ballot? Evidently it has no place in the experience of men whose business is politics and government. Given universal suffrage, in the event of war woman would occupy the same place that she has in the past, except that she would be more fitted by practice and experience to take the place of the soldier called to the field.

The ancient Germans possessed sufficient confidence in their women to place in their hands the decision of their legal troubles, and the female courts were the admiration of their contemporaries for their unbiassed justice and wisdom.

Can we not manifest enough confidence in our women to give them a share in our public affairs? Must we wait until the concession is wrung from us by the unanimous demand of womankind, whose voice we, as civilized men, must recognize in the household or in public, although unbacked by the armed force that pessimists deem necessary?

Cannot we refuse to lend an ear to the clique that endeavors to debar others from the right that they are too prejudiced, timorous, or unpatriotic to desire to use, and say to woman: "We give to you the ballot, as your undisputed right as an American citizen. We give it not through fear or coercion, but in recognition of your right; and we will defend you in this, your right, as we have defended you in others in the past; and we shall expect you to use this privilege for our good as well as your own and the common welfare of the country"?

If, then, in some future time, the contingency dreaded by the timorous should arise, and a number of relics of barbarism should attempt to thwart by force the will of the people, I trust there will be enough right-thinking men and right-thinking women of all parties and opinions to compel observance of the law. When there are not such, the government had better fall at once as being too civilized for a race degenerated into barbarism.

We gave life, work, intellect, and money in untold profusion to free the slaves. Are we not generous enough to do the same for the rights of our mothers, wives, and sisters?

FREE SILVER AND NATIONAL PROSPERITY.*

BY WILLIAM P. ST. JOHN, M. A.

It is among the first principles in finance that the value of each dollar, expressed in prices, depends upon the total number of dollars in circulation. The plane of prices is high when the number of dollars in circulation is great in proportion to the number of things to be exchanged by means of dollars, and low when the dollars are proportionately few. The plane of prices at present and for some time past is and has been ruinously low.

The increase of our population at about two millions a year, scattered over our immense territory, calls for increasing exchanges and thereby demands an increasing number of dollars in circulation. The increase in the number of dollars when dollars are confined to gold is not sufficiently rapid to meet the growth of our exchanges. The consequence is a growing value of dollars or a diminishing value of everything else expressed in dollars; which is to say a tendency toward constantly declining prices.

The fountain-head of our prosperity has run dry. Our farmers all over the country have endured the depression in prices, until they get about $8 or $9 per acre for an expenditure of $10 per acre and the like. Their credit is exhausted at their country stores. The country store ceases to order from the city merchant, the city merchant reduces his demand upon the manufacturer. Manufactures are curtailed.

The consequence is that employees and all elements of labor are being discharged, and wages are lowered to those who continue in employment. The sufferings of the farmers, who constitute nearly one half of our population, are thus enforced upon the city merchant, the manufacturer, and all forms of labor. These combined elements constitute

*The address delivered by Mr. William P. St. John on accepting the permanent chairmanship of the National Bimetallic party at St. Louis, July 22.

Mr. St. John, it will be remembered, was for many years a member of the finance committee of the Stock Exchange, and, until recently, president of the Mercantile National Bank of New York. He was virtually forced from this latter position owing to his devotion to the cause of the people. At present he is treasurer of the National Bimetallic party and also of the National Democratic party. It is doubtful if there is in the East to-day any one who understands finance so well, and who is so unselfish in his devotion to the cause of humanity in its great battle against plutocracy, as William P. St. John.

the overwhelming majority of voters. Their intelligent conclusion will be felt when expressed at the polls.

The banker also is without prosperity unless prosperity is general throughout the United States. He must learn to distinguish between cheap money and money commanding a low rate of interest. The dollar worth two bushels of wheat is a dear dollar, and yet it commands interest in Wall Street at present of but 2 per cent per annum on call. If the dollar can be cheapened by increasing the number of dollars, so that each dollar will buy less wheat, the increasing price of wheat will increase the demand for dollars to invest in its production.

Then the borrower of dollars to invest in the production of wheat, being reasonably sure of a profit from that employment of the money, can afford to pay interest for its use as a part of his profit. In other words, interest is a share of the profit on the employment of money. So that abundant money, money readily obtainable, which is to say really cheap money, is the money which commands a high rate of interest as a share of the profit of the borrower in using it.

As we appeal to the country, in the justice of our cause, one or two points of common inquiry must be satisfied as follows:

The experience of Mexico is held up for our alarm. We answer, first, that Mexico is conspicuously prosperous at home. Her increase in manufactures, railway earnings, and the like in recent years is phenomenal. Second, Mexico is no criterion for the United States, for the reason that she has a foreign trade indebtedness of about $20,000,000 annually in excess of the value of her exports of cotton, sugar, coffee, hides, and the like, which must be paid for in the surplus product of her mines. Her silver, therefore, goes abroad as merchandise and at a valuation fixed by the outside world.

The United States, on the other hand, is a nation of seventy millions of people, scattered over a territory seventeen times the area of France. A single one of our railway systems, the Erie, exceeds the aggregate railway mileage of all Mexico. We offer an employment for money to an aggregate greater than the world's spare silver will furnish us. Hence our silver money, at home and abroad, will be valued as the money of the United States.

The opposition threatens us with a flood of Europe's silver upon our reopened mints. We answer, Europe has no silver

but her silver money. Her silver money values silver at from 3 to 7 cents on the dollar higher than ours. Hence the European merchant or banker must sacrifice from 3 to 7 per cent of his full legal-tender money in order to recoin it at our mints. Europe's silverware, like America's silverware, carries in it the additional value of labor and the manufacturer's profit.

They threaten us with a flood of silver from the far East. We answer that the course of silver is invariably eastward and never toward the west. British India is a perpetual sink of silver, absorbing it, never to return, by from $30,000,000 to $60,000,000 worth every year. And India's absorption of silver will be enlarged by the steadiness of price for silver fixed by our reopened mints.

They threaten us with a "sudden retirement of $600,000,000 gold, with the accompanying panic, causing contraction and commercial disaster unparalleled." We answer that our total stock of gold other than about $10,000,000 or $15,000,000 circulating on the Pacific coast, is already in retirement. Practically all our gold is in the United States Treasury or held by banks.

The gold in the treasury will remain there if the Secretary avails himself of his option to redeem United States notes in silver.

The gold in the banks constitutes the quiet and undisturbed portion of their reserves against their liabilities. It will continue to do money duty as such reserves after free coinage for silver is enacted. Hence a premium on it will not contract the currency. The utmost possible contraction of the currency will be the few millions circulating on the Pacific coast, and this will be retired but slowly.

A similar threat of a flight of gold was made for the Bland Act of 1878. President Hayes was urged to veto it, but Congress passed it over the veto. Instead of a flight of gold, as had been predicted, we gained by importation $4,000,000 the first year, $70,000,000 the next, and $90,000,000 the third year. During the twelve years that the act was on the statute book we gained $221,000,000 of foreign gold.

Instead of the destruction of our credit abroad, as had been predicted, the United States 4 per cent loan, which stood at 101 on the day of the enactment, sold at 120 per cent within three years, and at 130 per cent subsequently.

Instead of defeating the resumption of specie payments on Jan. 1 of the following year, the 24,000,000 silver dollars which were coined in 1878 and circulated by means of the silver certificates, reduced the demand upon the Government for gold. Hence the threat of disaster now is without historic foundation.

This, then, is what will follow the reopening of our mints to silver: The gold already in the treasury will remain there, if common sense dictates the treasury management; that is, if the Treasurer exercises the option to redeem United States notes in silver. A premium on gold will not occasion a contraction of the currency, bank hoards of gold continuing to serve as a portion of bank reserves against bank liabilities. A premium on gold will tend to increase our exports by causing a higher rate of foreign exchange; that is to say, by yielding a larger net return in dollars on the sale of bills of exchange drawn against goods exported. A premium will tend to diminish our imports by increasing the cost of bills of exchange with which to pay for goods imported.

The tendency of increasing our exports and decreasing our imports will be, first, to set our spindles running, swell the number of paid operators, increase their wages, thereby adding to the number and paying capacity of consumers, and thus enlarge our home market for all home products and manufactures, with prosperity in general as the result assured.

The tendency of increasing our exports and decreasing our imports will be, second, to establish a credit balance of trade for the United States. A credit balance of trade means that Europe has become our debtor and must settle with us in money. Europe's silver money is overvalued in her gold, compared with ours, by from 3 to 7 cents on the dollar. The European merchant or banker will therefore make his trade settlements with us in gold more profitably by from 3 to 7 per cent than in his silver. And the instant that European trade settlements with the United States are made in gold, parity for our gold and silver money is established in the markets of the world.

Therewith, the 371.25 grains of pure silver in our silver dollar and the 23.22 grains of gold in our gold dollar become of exactly equal worth, as bullion, in New York.

A REMARKABLE STATISTICAL REPORT.

BY JAMES MALCOLM.

A statistical report on taxation which bids fair to revolutionize both public and private investigations of that character has within the last year been issued by the Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics, of which George A. Schilling is secretary.

It purports to be an *exposé* of taxation methods in Illinois, with especial reference to their effect upon labor interests, and to recommend such reforms in the tax system of the State as may tend to ameliorate the condition of the laboring class.

Although the details possess a peculiar interest for the people of Illinois, and especially for residents of Chicago, they will be read, pondered over, and made the basis of countless speeches, treatises, and books all over the English-speaking world. Nothing like it, either in scope, thoroughness, or fundamentality, so far as the presentation of taxation data is concerned, has ever before been published. As a source of convenient and authentic material, it will be to tax reformers what a dictionary is to rhetoricians — a storehouse of facts with infinite possibilities, a magazine of economic dynamite.

An evidence of the popularity of the report is the fact that the original edition of 45,000 copies was inadequate to supply the demand of the first three months. Governor Altgeld thereupon co-operated with the Bureau in an appeal to the Board of Public Contracts to issue a second edition of 20,000 copies, which are now ready for distribution at ten cents a copy, the amount necessary to defray postage. This is the first time in the history of the Bureau when the demand for its report necessitated the publication of a new edition.

So quickly has the report influenced political opinion in Illinois that the Democratic State convention, held at Peoria, June 23, declared for an amendment to the State constitution permitting home rule in taxation. Such an amendment was urged by the Bureau as the first step toward revenue reform. Home rule in taxation, or the application of the democratic principle of local self-government to the raising of public

revenue, is now for the first time in the United States an issue in a political campaign.

At the outset the Bureau declares its purpose "to search for the cause of the lamentable condition of the industrial class, which its previous reports have demonstrated."

"If the Bureau," the report continues, "may skim the surface to account for causes of industrial poverty, if it should go beneath the surface at all, it should go as far beneath as the necessities of the search require."

This determination to probe for bottom causes, and to avoid the besetting sin of statisticians — irrelevant elaboration of effects — has been faithfully observed and is the keynote of the report. History is quoted to show that taxation has always been the chief instrument of tyrannical power. Among the political revolutions cited as being due to this cause is that of Wat Tyler in England, the South German peasant war of the sixteenth century, Hampden's ship tax that brought Charles I to the block, the French Revolution, the American war for independence, and the British corn-law agitation.

Emphasis is laid upon the fact that unjust taxation flourishes in republics as well as in monarchies; that though it may be more subtle in its outreachings, it may be none the less oppressive.

Then follows a disquisition on the leading principles of taxation, in which public and private taxes, direct and indirect, are distinguished. Protective tariffs, profits from franchises, and ground rents are all denominated private taxes. Public taxes are considered under two heads. The first deals with the directness and indirectness of the tax; the second refers to the principle of apportionment, *i. e.*, whether taxes should fall on the individual according to his *ability* to pay, or according to the value of the *benefits* he receives from the public. These two principles are declared to be confused in present practice; but it is argued by the Bureau that taxation according to benefits is not only exactly conformable to the standard of justice, but that it alone is expedient and practical.

The first series of tables presents examples of how the personal-property tax is evaded in Illinois, especially by the wealthy. Cook County (in which the city of Chicago is located) is compared with twenty-two other counties in the State. The recapitulation tables given below will give an idea of how the moneyed institutions in Chicago are favored as against their competitors in the smaller towns.

MONEYS OF BANKERS, BROKERS, ETC.

COUNTIES.	Population U. S. Census of 1890.	Moneys of Bankers, Brokers, etc.	Amount per capita.
The State	3,826,351	$3,120,555	$0.816
Cook	1,191,922	$43,925	$0.037
Twenty-two counties	935,054	1,871,488	2.00
All counties except Cook . . .	2,634,429	3,076,630	1.168

MONEYS OF OTHERS THAN BANKERS, BROKERS, ETC.

COUNTIES.	Population U. S. Census of 1890.	Moneys of others than Bankers, Brokers, etc.	Amount per capita.
The State	3,826,351	$7,769,358	$2.03
Cook	1,191,922	$434,244	$0.364
Twenty-eight counties . . .	977,850	4,550,082	4.653
All counties except Cook . . .	2,634,429	7,335,114	2.784

CREDITS OF BANKERS, BROKERS, ETC.

COUNTIES.	Population U. S. Census of 1890.	Credits of Bankers, Brokers, etc.	Amount per capita.
The State	3,826,351	$1,563,583	$0.408
Cook	1,191,922	$10,000	$0.008
Forty counties	1,370,990	1,367,197	.997
All counties except Cook . . .	2,634,429	1,553,583	.59

CREDITS OF OTHERS THAN BANKERS, BROKERS, ETC.

COUNTIES.	Population U. S. Census of 1890.	Credits of others than Bankers, Brokers, etc.	Amount per capita.
The State	3,826,351	$11,343,365	$2.965
Cook	1,191,922	$522,110	$0.438
Thirty-nine counties	1,439,416	8,723,725	6.06
All counties except Cook . . .	2,634,429	10,821,255	4.108

Twenty-four pages of the report are devoted to exhibits of this kind, adding incontestable evidence to prove the fact, long ago established, that the personal property tax is a

scheme by which the rich may escape their share of public burdens and a greater load may be indirectly added to the oppressions of the poor.

To illustrate the manner in which large tracts of valuable vacant land in Chicago are assessed the Bureau relates the following bit of history concerning what a year or two ago was known as the Garfield Race Track owned by Judge Lambert Tree, a well-known Chicagoan:

It is unimproved, held for a rise, an eyesore and obstruction to the growing neighborhood, and worth at the present time not less than one million dollars. This property was patented in 1835; in 1836 it was sold for $580; in 1870 it was sold again, the price being now $50,000. At the next sale, in 1875, the true price was veiled — $1,000 and "other good and valuable property" being the consideration expressed. In 1870, the year the property sold for $50,000, it was valued by the assessor at $39,960, and by the Board of Equalization at $37,562, and taxed $8,245.50. Since that time the valuation has been slightly increased and the tax slightly reduced, as follows:

Year.	Assessor's valuation.	Board's valuation.	Taxes.
1870	$39,960	$37,562	$8,245.50
1880	40,530	49,042	2,430.75
1890	101,200	119,416	7,737.05
1893	88,600	106,320	7,768.59

It will be observed that the highest valuation, that of 1890, is but little more than double the price paid in 1870, long before the thick population that now surrounds the property had begun to drift in that direction. The valuation for 1893 does not exceed ten per cent of the true value.

The famous tall buildings or "sky-scrapers" of Chicago figure prominently in the report. Upon seventy of the most expensive business structures and their sites the assessor placed an average valuation of but 9.67 per cent of their true value, his valuation upon the buildings alone being 12.38 per cent, and on the ground 7.36 per cent, of the real value. Contrary to popular opinion the total value of the land upon which these towering and elegantly equipped office buildings stand, by far exceeds the value of the improvements, even when the latter are perfectly new. This will be a revelation to farmers who are inclined to oppose the single-tax plan; for are not the improvements on the average farm worth from two to four times as much as the bare land? Comparing the total value of seventy of the largest office buildings with the value of the land they occupy, the report shows that the former represents 44.51 per cent of the whole, while the sites are worth 55.49 per cent.

As much as the large property-owners of Chicago are favored in the assessment of business blocks, the figures reveal a still greater discrimination so far as they relate to costly and magnificent residences. Thirty mansions, located in various parts of the city, ranging in value from $20,000 to $1,300,000, are tabulated as examples. Nearly all of these residences are owned and occupied by members of the Civic Federation, an organization which has posed for some time past as the great municipal reform agent of Chicago. The following comment of the report will best explain the situation:

The highest assessment shown is only 12.23 per cent of true value. That is the assessment valuation of the residence, No. 112 Lake Shore Drive, worth $130,000. The residence, Nos. 87–102 Lake Shore Drive, worth $1,300,000, is assessed at only 5.54 per cent of true value; its millionnaire owner pays considerably less than half the tax for his home, in proportion to value, that is paid by the owner of the $130,000 home. The owner of the least valuable home in all the list, the residence at No. 2829 Indiana Avenue, pays on a 9.5 per cent valuation — nearly double the proportion paid on the millionnaire residence. And homes worth but little more than the minimum limit of the list — those at Nos. 2241 and 2243 Michigan Avenue — are taxed upon 11.03 per cent of true value, or proportionately within a very small fraction of double the tax upon the millionnaire home. Some of the comparatively modest places are taxed at a low valuation. One worth $50,000 is taxed upon only 4.86 per cent of its value; one worth $67,500 is not much worse off with a tax upon 6.30 per cent of its value; one worth $60,000 is assessed at 4.08 per cent of its value, and one worth $90,000 is assessed as low as at 4 per cent of its value. The average valuation of the thirty properties is but 7.78 per cent of real value.

How can the fraudulent character of these valuations be doubted? Make all possible allowance for differences of opinion, and still assessors cannot explain the valuation of $50,000 property at $2,430; of $90,000 property at $3,600; of $175,000 property at $7,980; of $1,300,000 property at $71,960, and so on. And what explanation can the owners make? They may say it is no part of their business to object to under-valuations of their property; but they would not try to satisfy a merchant with such an explanation of purchases from his clerks at prices so monstrously out of proportion to real value. Why is their standard of honor and honesty so radically different when the issue is with the people instead of a merchant? and over a question of shirking taxes instead of purloining goods? This question is the dilemma of those owners who passively acquiesce in under-valuations; those who actively promote them have a worse moral problem to deal with.

As a typical instance of how the assessors systematically ignore rapidly increasing land values the Bureau cites the following history of high-priced residence land situated on the Lake Shore Drive, Nos. 103 to 130:

In 1882 Potter Palmer bought the vacant land of the Catholic Bishop of Chicago for over *ninety thousand dollars* ($90,696), as appears by the deed recorded in the Recorder's office. He divided his purchase, and sold it off in building lots. An actual sale made in 1885 indicates, as shown by the consideration expressed in the deed, that in three years the land

alone had increased in value to nearly *two hundred thousand dollars* ($198,187); and opinions of the best posted and most conservative real-estate dealers in Chicago agree that as bare land, without allowing a penny for cost of improvements, the tract was worth in 1893 more than *half a million dollars* ($595,500). Thus the percentage of increase in ten years, 1882–93, appears to have been 556.59 per cent. All this is tabulated as follows:

Years.	Value of twenty-two lots.	Increase of value of lots.	Per cent increase of value of lots.
1882	$90,696.00	——	——
1885	198,187.00	$107,491.00	118.52
1893	595,500.00	397,313.00	200.47
Increase 1882 to 1893		$504,804.00	556.59

Now observe the assessment valuations of this tremendous increase for the same years — 1882, 1885, 1893 — as shown below:

Years.	Assessor's valuation of lots 1 to 22.	Increase of assessor's valuation of lots 1 to 22.	Decrease of assessor's valuation of lots 1 to 22.	Per cent increase of assessor's valuation of lots 1 to 22.	Per cent decrease of assessor's valuation of lots 1 to 22.	Per cent assessor's valuation of real value of lots 1 to 22.
1882	$19,700	——	——	——	——	21.72
1885	10,080	——	$9,620	——	48.83	5.09
1893	34,780	$24,700	——	200.47	——	5.84
Increase 1882 to 1893	$15,080	——		76.55	——	——

Instead of assessing the land in 1882 at about the amount Mr. Palmer paid for it, the valuation required by law, the assessor returned it at $19,700 — only 21.72 per cent of actual value. This assessment valuation was high as assessment valuations run, but it was over 75 per cent less than the law required.

In 1885, instead of taking any notice of the increase of 118.52 per cent in the value of this land, the assessor actually reduced the valuation almost one half — down to $10,080.

In 1893, the land being now occupied with residences, an increase of assessment valuation was made. But the total amount of assessment valuation of the land alone, as shown by the assessor's field book, was even then less than *thirty-five thousand dollars* ($34,780), although its real value at that time had mounted to over *a half million dollars* ($595,500). The improvements also were greatly under-assessed, but not nearly to such an extent as the land.

Following the table of expensive residences is one showing the assessment on low-priced houses, their original cost having been $4,000 and under. Instead of taxing these at 7 per cent of their real value, as he did the wealthy residence-

owners, the assessor reached an average valuation of 15.9 per cent on the cheaper holdings, more than double the amount levied on the millionnaires.

That portion of the Bureau's report dealing with the centralization of landownership, as an inevitable result of the present revenue system, is, perhaps, next to the chapters on remedies, the most important feature of the document. About eighty pages of the report are devoted to the tabulation of the land and buildings located on the wealthiest spot in Chicago, known as the down-town district, bounded by the river on the north and west, by Twelfth Street on the south, and Lake Michigan on the east. Measuring only one and a quarter miles long and about three quarters of a mile wide, it is said to contain more wealth than any piece of land of like area in the United States.

These down-town owners, 1,198 in number, have been divided by the Bureau into nine classes, according to the area of their ownership. The following table gives the total assessments on ground and buildings for each of the years 1892, 1893, and 1894:

Class Owning.	Per cent of total square feet owned.	For Year 1892.		For Year 1893.		For Year 1894.	
		Assessments on ground and improvements.	Per cent of total assessments.	Assessments on ground and improvements.	Per cent of total assessments.	Assessments on ground and improvements.	Per cent of total assessments.
Five hundred or more front feet . .	17.52	$8,224,560	21.84	$8,341,120	21.58	$8,144,670	21.46
Four hundred or more and less than five hundred feet .	5.13	1,910,850	5.07	1,911,250	4.94	1,917,550	5.06
Three hundred or more and less than four hundred feet .	6.04	2,749,150	7.30	2,876,850	7.44	2,844,300	7.50
Two hundred or more and less than three hundred feet .	8.95	3,760,650	9.98	3,823,300	9.89	3,670,250	9.67
One hundred or more and less than two hundred feet .	23.49	8,467,105	22.48	8,834,415	22.86	8,704,345	22.94
Seventy-five or more and less than one hundred feet .	10.00	3,749,165	9.95	3,909,795	10.12	3,822,565	10.07
Fifty or more and less than seventy-five ft.	10.46	3,470,460	9.21	3,519,110	9.10	3,438,670	9.06
Twenty-five or more and less than fifty ft.	13.52	4,085,880	10.85	4,147,520	10.73	4,120,470	10.86
Less than twenty-five feet . . .	4.89	1,251,680	3.32	1,291,240	3.34	1,282,930	3.38
Totals . .	100.00	$37,670,100	100.00	$38,654,600	100.00	$37,945,750	100.00

The 1,198 persons above referred to own in this central business section about 266 acres, the value of which, exclusive of buildings, is estimated at $319,000,000, or over a quarter of a million dollars' worth of bare land to each owner. This estimate is made the basis of an interesting comparison of city land values with the value of farms. According to the Bureau's report for 1890 it had been ascertained that the value of the average Illinois farm of 62 acres was $2,000, including improvements. It is therefore reckoned that 133 of such farms, or an area of nearly 13 square miles, would be necessary to equal in value the bare land of the average ownership of each person in central Chicago. Taking all of the 1,198 owners into account, the startling showing is made that it would take 159,334 improved Illinois farms to equal in value the 266 unimproved acres in Chicago's business centre. It is agreed among statisticians who have examined the subject, that upon the whole the value of buildings and other improvements together with chattels amounts to about the same as the value of the bare land. Eliminating, therefore, half of the farm values, estimated in the Illinois Labor Bureau report of 1890 as representing buildings, implements, and other chattels, and then comparing pure land values in the city with pure land values in farming districts, the conclusion is reached that the 266 acres in Chicago have a value equal to the value of 19,757,416 acres of average Illinois farm land, more than half the area of the State. Forty-two thousand square miles in Illinois are said to yield wheat, corn, and oats. According to the figures gathered by the Labor Bureau more than three quarters of that area would be required to equal the value of the speck of land in the heart of Chicago.

A striking illustration of the rapid growth of land values in that great business centre is furnished by the Bureau in a table entitled the "Economic History of a Quarter Acre." This land is situated on the southwest corner of State and Madison Streets in Chicago, and is considered the most valuable site in the city. The table is as follows:

Date.	Changes of Barometer.	Population of Chicago.	Annual increase per cent.	Value of quarter acre.	Annual increase per cent.	Annual decrease per cent.	Number of average Illinois farms at $2,050 necessary to buy the quar'r acre	Number of days' work at $1.50 a day necessary to buy the quarter acre.	Number of y'rs' work at $1.50 a day and 300 days to the year necessary to buy the quar'r acre
1830	Clearing	50	——	$20	——	——	0.009	13.33	——
1831	Fair	100	100	22	10	——	0.011	14.67	——
1832	War storm	200	100	30	40	——	0.015	20	——
1833	Rising	350	75	50	67	——	0.024	33.33	——
1834	Rising	2,000	467	200	300	——	0.098	133.33	——
1835	Rising	3,265	60	5,000	2400	——	2.44	——	11.11
1836	Booming	3,820	17	25,000	400	——	12.2	——	55.56
1837	Panic	4,179	10	3,000	——	88	1.47	——	6.67
1838	Depression	4,000	—4	2,500	——	17	1.22	——	5.56
1839	Depression	4,200	5	2,000	——	20	0.97	——	4.44
1840	Depression	4,470	6	1,500	——	25	0.73	——	3.33
1841	Depression	5,000	12	1,250	——	17	0.61	——	2.78
1842	Depression	6,000	20	1,000	——	20	0.49	——	2.22
1843	Rising	7,589	25	1,100	10	——	0.54	——	2.44
1844	Rising	8,000	6	1,200	10	——	0.59	——	2.67
1845	Rising	12,088	50	5,000	20	——	2.44	——	11.11
1846	Booming	14,169	16	15,000	200	——	7.32	——	33.33
1847	Panic	16,859	18	12,000	——	20	5.85	——	26.67
1848	Showers of Gold	20,023	25	13,000	9	——	6.34	——	28.89
1849	Mirage of wild cat	23,047	15	15,000	15	——	7.32	——	33.33
1850	Rising	28,269	22	17,500	17	——	8.54	——	38.89
1851	Rising	34,000	22	20,000	14	——	9.76	——	44.44
1852	Rising	38,754	14	25,000	25	——	12.2	——	55.56
1853	Rising	60,662	60	30,000	20	——	14.63	——	66.67
1854	Drought	65,872	9	35,000	17	——	17.07	——	77.78
1855	Buoyant	80,023	23	40,000	14	——	19.51	——	88.89
1856	Booming	84,113	5	45,000	12	——	21.95	——	100
1857	Panic	93,000	11	35,000	——	22	17.07	——	77.78
1858	Depression	91,000	—2	30,000	——	14	14.63	——	66.67
1859	Depression	95,000	4	29,000	——	3	14.15	——	64.44
1860	Depression	109,000	15	28,000	——	3	13.66	——	62.22
1861	Great war clouds	120,000	10	28,000	——	——	13.66	——	62.22
1862	Great war clouds	138,000	15	32,000	15	——	15.61	——	71.11
1863	Great war clouds	160,000	16	33,000	3	——	16.1	——	73.33
1864	Great war clouds	169,353	6	36,000	13	——	17.56	——	80
1865	Calm	178,900	6	45,000	25	——	21.95	——	100
1866	Rising	200,418	12	57,600	28	——	28.1	——	128
1867	Rising	220,000	10	65,000	12	——	31.71	——	144.44
1868	Rising	252,054	15	80,000	23	——	39.02	——	177.78
1869	Rising	272,043	8	90,000	12	——	43.9	——	200
1870	Rising	298,977	9	120,000	33	——	58.54	——	266.67
1871	Very hot	325,000	9	100,000	——	17	48.78	——	222.22
1872	Booming	367,396	13	125,000	25	——	60.73	——	277.78
1873	Panic	380,000	3	100,000	——	20	48.78	——	222.22
1874	Depression	395,408	4	95,000	——	5	46.39	——	211.11
1875	Depression	400,000	1	92,500	——	3	45.12	——	205.56
1876	Depression	407,661	2	90,000	——	3	43.9	——	200
1877	Depression	420,000	3	90,000	——	——	43.9	——	200
1878	Depression	436,731	4	95,000	5	——	46.39	——	211.14
1879	Gold rays	465,000	7	119,000	25	——	58.05	——	264.49
1880	Rising	503,298	8	130,000	10	——	63.41	——	288.81
1881	Rising	530,000	5	145,000	12	——	70.73	——	322.22
1882	Rising	560,693	6	175,000	21	——	85.37	——	388.89
1883	Rising	590,000	6	238,000	36	——	116.1	——	528.89
1884	Stormy	629,985	6	250,000	5	——	121.95	——	556.56
1885	Rising higher	700,000	11	275,000	10	——	134.15	——	611.11
1886	Rising higher	825,880	18	325,000	18	——	158.54	——	722.22
1887	Rising higher	850,000	3	*435,000	34	——	212.2	——	744.44
1888	Rising higher	875,500	3	600,000	38	——	292.2	——	1,333.33
1889	Rising higher	900,000	3	750,000	25	——	365.85	——	1,666.67
1890	Booming	1,098,570	22	900,000	20	——	439.02	——	2,000
1891	Columbian sunshine overcomes panic	1,200,000	10	1,000,000	11	——	487.8	——	2,222.22
1892	Columbian sunshine overcomes panic	1,300,000	9	1,000,000	——	——	487.8	——	2,222.22
1893	Columbian sunshine overcomes panic	1,400,000	8	1,000,000	——	——	487.8	——	2,222.22
1894	——	1,500,000	——	1,250,000	——	——	609.76	——	2,777.78

*Authority of Real Estate Board Valuation Committee.

The chapter in which evils and remedies are discussed goes exhaustively into the consideration of tax systems in operation and reforms proposed. Quotations are made from the writings of such well-known authorities on taxation as David A. Wells, Professor Ely, Henry George, Thomas G. Shearman, and Professor Laughlin arguing for the practicability and justice of direct over indirect taxes. The Bureau, however, has a specific remedy for the evils disclosed by its statistical investigation, which it denominates "site-value taxation." This remedy is elaborately explained and its general economic effects are summed up as follows:

To adopt the site-value method of taxation is to invite general prosperity. With personal property exempt, its increased consumption would increase the demand for it, and consequently multiply business opportunities in connection with making, carrying, and selling it. With landed improvements also exempt, larger and better homes would be demanded, to the stimulation of all branches of the building industry. With vacant lots taxed the same as if improved, and so much that it would be unprofitable to hold them long out of use, speculative values would decline and business be no longer obstructed by exorbitant prices for location.

Workingmen would pay in taxes only what their ground-rent privileges were worth. Farmers would pay in taxes not more than their farms would rent for if wholly denuded of buildings, fences, and drains, and turned back into raw prairie. Every one would be benefited through reduced taxes, or better incomes, or both — every one except the mere monopolizer of public benefits.

And the cry of fraudulent taxation, on any other account than an occasional personal dereliction, like a post-office embezzlement or a bank robbery, would be heard no more.

Simple, practicable, natural, scientific, and just as the site-value tax doubtless is as a method of raising public revenues, it is at the same time recommended by its supporters as the solution of the labor question, or, more correctly, as the natural way of reinvesting every laborer with power to settle his own labor question for himself. For it is not the power of employers, but the necessities of the unemployed or the inadequately employed, that makes employment precarious and wages low. It is not the clubs of policemen, nor the weapons of soldiers, that defeat strikes; it is the underbidding of men in worse plight than the strikers. The simple remedy is, by freeing business from monopoly and tax burdens, to open the way for unlimited opportunities for employment, so that none need take another's place in order to get remunerative work himself. This, it is claimed, the site-value tax would do. Reversing present conditions in which men continually hunt for employment, so the argument runs, the site-value tax would, by removing obstructions, cause employment to continually hunt for men.

MODEL "MODEL TENEMENTS."

BY WILLIAM HOWE TOLMAN, PH. D.

With the awakening sense of responsibility toward all the component parts of the municipality public attention is being directed, among other problems, to that of housing the poor. The usual panacea is the model tenement. In nearly all our large cities there are a few dwellings that justify the name model, but many of the so-called models only deserve the title from their outside. There must be model conditions within, if there is to be the proper development of the home. Model tenements may be built either by private capital or by the municipality. In response to the awakening conscience of our cities there is a demand that the city shall make possible homes for the self-respecting and self-supporting poor. From the optimism leading so frequently to indifference in our municipalities, the housing of the poor has been left to philanthropy or neglected altogether. The time is now at hand when the problem is attracting an attention that will demand results and not theories. Accordingly this article will present some of the results attained by English and Scotch cities where, from the long continuance and the need of immediate action, the authorities have been compelled to take these problems under serious and active advisement.

In a discussion therefore of improved dwellings, the query arises almost instinctively as to the practice in other countries, especially that of Great Britain. In London, the problem of the housing of the poor may be dealt with by the London County Council. For a better understanding of the situation, a very brief summary of the laws under which the local authorities, and failing them, the county council, must act, will be necessary. There have been a number of acts concerning housing, but they have been consolidated and amended under the *Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890*. Till this date the county council was hampered by a conflict of authority between itself and the local boards. By the act of 1890 the medical officer of the council is given the necessary power to act whenever the local boards will take no cogni-

zance of complaints. The primary duty to report and investigate unhealthy areas lies with the local authorities, but in case no action is taken, then the county council must make suitable provision.

The act is divided into two parts, the first concerning itself with large areas which need betterment. An unhealthy area within the meaning of Part I of the act is one containing any houses, courts, or alleys unfit for human habitation, or narrowness, closeness, and bad arrangement, or the bad condition of the streets and houses or groups of houses within it, or the want of light, air, ventilation, or proper conveniences, or one or more of such causes, dangerous or injurious to the health of the inhabitants either of the buildings in the area or the neighboring buildings; evils connected with such area cannot be effectually remedied otherwise than by an improvement scheme for the arrangement and construction of the streets and houses within the area of some of them. On representation of any of the above conditions, the local authority must prepare an improvement scheme, to be confirmed by the Home Secretary. If they make no report, a local inquiry may be ordered by the Secretary. Upon the determination of the local authorities that the area in question is unhealthy, the proposed scheme of improvement is advertised in the newspapers, and notice served to every owner, lessee, and occupier. After the Home Secretary has made the necessary investigations, he issues a provisional order, to be confirmed by act of Parliament. Compensation is determined by arbitration. Part II of the act concerns areas which are much smaller than those of Part I, but the authorities who may act in the initiation of the necessary steps are the same. An area is an unhealthy area within the meaning of Part II of the act when it appears to the local authority that the closeness, narrowness, and bad arrangement or bad condition of any buildings, or the want of light, air, ventilation, or proper conveniences, or any other sanitary defect in any buildings is dangerous or prejudicial to the health of the inhabitants, either of these buildings or the neighboring buildings, and that the demolition or reconstruction and arrangement of the buildings, or some of them, is necessary to remedy the evils, and that the area comprising those buildings, and the yards, outhouses, and appurtenances, and the site of the buildings, is too small to be dealt with as an unhealthy area under Part I.

If the local authority decides that an improvement scheme

is necessary, the local government board is petitioned for an order sanctioning the scheme. Upon inquiry the board may confirm or modify the order. Then the local authorities may buy the area if they can agree with the owners; if, however, no terms can be made, the order is published in the London *Gazette*, and notice served on the owners. Unless the local government board is petitioned against the order within two months after its publication, it is confirmed and becomes operative; otherwise it is provisional, unless confirmed by Parliament. The compensation is determined by arbitration. There are found to be several advantages in Part II as opposed to Part I of the act. An improvement scheme can be initiated without the publication of notices. In case there is no petition to the local government board, parliamentary action is unnecessary, and no rehousing on the same area is compelled if accommodation may be found elsewhere; "elsewhere" need not be in the immediate vicinity.

A complaint in writing by any four householders, of any dwelling-house in a condition so dangerous or injurious to health as to be unfit for human habitation, compels inspection and a report by the medical officer. After a house has been ordered closed, and the owner has taken no steps to have it made suitable for habitation, the local authorities may order its demolition, but the owner must be given three months in which to comply; failure on his part then to act necessitates action by the local authority. The same authorities may likewise deal with what are called obstructive buildings, that is, those which, while not unfit for habitation, are so situated as to stop ventilation, or otherwise make, or conduce to make, such other buildings to be in a condition unfit for human habitation, or dangerous or injurious to health, or prevent proper measures from being carried into effect for remedying any nuisance injurious to health, or other evils complained of in respect of such other buildings.

Under the provisions of Part I of this act the purchase of the Boundary Street Area, Bethnal Green, was sanctioned in 1891. The area contained four and a half acres of streets and courts, the majority of the streets less than 27 feet in width. It is proposed, under the improvement scheme, that there shall be a central open space with radiating streets, the superficial area of the new streets to be five and a quarter acres. From the condemned area 143 houses and business premises were bought at their full value, and the

insanitary houses, 585 in number, were bought at less than their full value, the arbitrator allowing, in the case of the worst, only the value of the land and materials. The total cost of purchase and claims was £371,000, but of this it is estimated that £106,000 will be recovered by the sale of the land. There was no little complication in this betterment scheme, caused by the difficulty of rehousing the displaced population. A site was purchased which would provide for the rehousing of about 500, but the vestry desired that two thirds of the area should be made an open space, whereby accommodations could be provided for only 190 instead of the proposed 500.

In addition to clearance and building of model houses, the county council is discussing the problem of cheap fares of workmen's trains. The chairman of the committee on public health and housing writes me:

> We are trying to deal with overcrowding by decentralization, that is, by increasing cheap and quick means of transit to and from the suburbs. If we are successful, it will help us very much solving the pressing problem, as land is comparatively cheap away from the centre. We find that disease, crime, and death are in proportion to the number of people in a given area.

Conferences have been had on this subject of cheap trains, with the various railway companies, as it is desirable to make it possible for the workingmen to get away from the city. The committee recommended a zone system, with a limit of distance of 20 miles, to be subdivided into three zones, the tariff to be one fifth of a penny a mile, as opposed to the present rate of one third of a penny. Some of the companies have already made concessions, and some have gone so far as to accept the recommendation of the committee. In the same letter from the chairman of the housing committee of the council, he says:

> We have found that the abolition of slums by buying the slum area outright, as our law allows us to do, is not entirely successful. There is such a large net loss on the operation financially, that the ratepayers would not stand it long. On a large scale it leads to overcrowding in the neighborhood of the displacement. We have just completed a large scheme of fifteen acres, displacing five thousand people at a loss of £300,000. It is not usually possible to rehouse more than one half the persons displaced. The other half crowd other places. We have come to the conclusion that it is more satisfactory to use the law severely as far as closing insanitary houses is concerned, and to get the law so amended that it will be illegal to rebuild any house worn out or burnt, unless it is put back 20 feet from the centre of the road (sidewalk). This will prevent the perpetuation of our slums. Time will do the rest.

In dealing with any kind of a menace to human life in a

great city, it is all-important that the civic authority should be delegated ample power to deal effectively with the threatened or threatening danger. Life is always of more moment than property, and the widening scope of power delegated to the municipality is a direct recognition of this fact. In American cities there is no authority allowed whereby the municipality may purchase and clear insanitary areas with a view to schemes of betterment, but there is ample provision on the statute books for the effectual betterment of insanitary houses. Till, however, the indifference of the dwellers "above our fourteenth streets," the influence of vested interests, and the greed of the landlord or the money-getting machine are negatived, the slum will be with us.

Another method of dealing with model tenements is by means of stock companies, of which the Improved Industrial Dwellings Company (limited) is an example. This company was founded in 1863 with a subscribed capital of £50,000, with the object of providing homes for the workmen at about the same rental which they were paying for insanitary and ill-planned tenements. It was designed that the object should in no wise be a charitable one, but that in every possible way the independence of the workman shall be maintained. The present condition of the company will show its success. For the year ending February, 1893, the paid-up capital was £500,000 stock, 50,000 preferred shares of £1 each, and loans of £348,364 from the Public Works Loan Commissioners. The total expenditure on the capital account is £1,094,942. The company controls 45 estates of its own, subdivided into 26 tenements of six rooms, 320 of five, 1,678 of four, 2,946 of three, 374 of two, and 28 of one. The translation of these figures means that 5,530 families, or 30,000 people of the working class, find *homes*. Particular attention is directed to the very small number of one-room tenements, only 28 out of a total 5,124. There can never be the proper development of the family life when it is housed in one room. The above estates contain 117 shops and 41 workshops. In addition to the above, the company manages 259 dwellings and 150 houses belonging to private houses. Each of the company's tenements is self-contained; that is, all the domestic conveniences of kitchen, laundry, water-closets, closets, and coal-bins are supplied to each family. The gross receipts for the year ending February, 1893, were £106,158, and the expenditures £43,290. The balance was transferred redemption and loan accounts,

leaving a sum of £27,500 to be distributed in dividends. The mortality returns for the year ending 1892 indicated 13.3 in the 1,000, as opposed to the metropolitan death rate of 21.2. The birth rate was, in the company's buildings, 32.1 in the 1,000, to 31.1 for the metropolis. These estates are provided for the better grade of workingmen, and no attempt is made to plan for the very poor. That is a problem which has not yet been solved, although its solution has been attempted by municipal lodging-houses.

In 1866 the City Improvement Trust was established by an act of Parliament for the moral and material improvement of the *citizens* and Glasgow. In view of the density of the population, with the consequent overcrowding, the trust was granted power to levy a tax not exceeding 6*d.* in the pound on the rental of the city for the first five years after the passing of the act, and a tax of 3*d.* in the pound during the succeeding ten years. The trust was authorized to acquire by compulsory purchase property which was situated within certain defined areas, in order that it might be used in the formation of new or widening of old streets and the increasing of air space between buildings. This compulsory purchase must be exercised within five years from the passage of the act. By an amendment in 1890 the tax to be assessed was fixed at an amount not to exceed 2*d.* in the pound, with no limit to the period. For the last few years the assessment has been at the rate of a halfpenny in the pound. By this means the trust had funds for the purchase of property within the compulsory areas, to the amount of £1,616,000, and in outside areas, £125,000. The first expenditures were made in the formation of new streets and open spaces, sewers, and in covering over two streams flowing through old Glasgow. In addition a large estate was purchased and made into the Alexandra Park. It was the thought and the wish of the trust that the improvement of the streets and the acquisition of property in what had been slum quarters should be utilized by private enterprise for the building of business blocks and homes under the most improved sanitary conditions. These sites were of value because of their central location. The disposal of this property in such a way would yield a revenue to the city which would reimburse the taxpayers for the assessment. The hopes of the trust were only partially realized; so it was decided in 1870 that the trustee should build on ground which had been cleared. Two tenements were accordingly built at a cost of £3,426. The tenements contained 12 apartments

of 2 rooms, renting from £8 10*s.* to £9 15*s.* per annum, and 7 one-room apartments at a rental of £5 14*s.* to £6 10*s.* These houses are similar in their construction to the others in the city, with this exception: one end of the common stair projects through the outside wall, so that the stairway has an ample supply of light and air. The next tenement built by the trust was block No. 1 of Saltmarket model, followed in 1890 by two more. The rental from the first two is higher than that paid by those who were displaced by the compulsory purchase, but in block No. 3 the rental is the same. It is a brick building, the outside walls being of white glazed brick, and is situated in a back court, entering from the west side of Saltmarket. It contains 36 one-roomed houses, averaging 12 feet 6 inches by 15 feet, with ceilings 10 feet high. One side of room is screened off to a height of 7 feet by a corrugated iron partition, and subdivided into two parts, each of which contains a bed; each room is calculated to contain four adults. A water-closet entering from the common stair landing and built outside the main wall of house is provided for every two rooms. The rent is £6 16*s.* per annum exclusive of rates, or 11*s.* 4*d.* per month. These houses are occupied by natives of the United Kingdom and Jews almost in equal proportions; the former including men earning 20*s.* weekly as laborers, and a compositor who earns as much as 35*s.* per week. The latter are almost exclusively employed as cigarette makers, and their earnings vary in amount from 25*s.* to 40*s.* per week.

Blocks Nos. I and II in Saltmarket contain:

24 one-roomed houses at rent of £8 per annum.

58 two-roomed houses at rent of £9 18*s.* per annum.

8 three-roomed houses at rent of from £13 to £17 per annum.

The one-roomed houses have fixed screens extending nearly to the ceiling, somewhat similar to arrangement in block No. III above described, and although ranked as one-roomed houses, having two separate compartments, and containing 3,000 cubic feet of space, are larger and more commodious than many of the old two-roomed houses. All the houses have sculleries opening off a living-room, and water-closets built out from the main walls and entering from common stair landings; otherwise the arrangement is similar to common tenement houses in Glasgow, with superior conveniences. The houses are rented to mechanics, policemen, corporation servants, clerks, and small shopkeepers.

In 1893 three new blocks were completed, but, from their very central location, the rental was higher. Many of the rooms are used for business or professional purposes. In Glasgow, just as in other large cities, it was soon found that there were many of the semi-criminal classes who were driven out of the slums, but could not afford to live in the models. The rental was high because of the cost of the land and the central location. Another reason deserves most careful attention because illustrative of civic pride. In the words of the manager, "The desire is to have every part of the structure of most undeniable and enduring stability and approved material, and *worthy of being exhibited as the work of a great corporation.*"

The city is now giving its attention to the provision of decent homes for the above class, and has just approved one plan for what are called "Family Homes." These will contain 176 dormitories large enough for a widow or widower with one or two children, whose parent may be obliged to leave them during the day while he is at work. These family homes will have day and dining rooms, kitchen, *crèche*, and playgrounds, all of which can he used by the residents. The second plan contemplates the purchase of land at a less value and the construction of a cheaper tenement, so that the tenants can pay less rent. Two rooms will be thus rented for the same price as that of the one-room tenement of the better construction.

In Liverpool, an area comprising 22,487 yards was cleared in pursuance of the Artisans' and Laborers' Dwellings Acts. By this clearance, 1,100 working people were displaced from tenements in the worst sanitary condition. The site was filled in to a level, and the land was then offered at auction, but no bids were received. Private capital would not invest, so the corporation was compelled to undertake the building of model tenements in 1885. The first block of dwellings was known as the Artisans' Dwellings, Victoria Square. The buildings are five stories high, and so divided by party walls as to form 13 dwellings, 75 feet front by 36 feet deep. The buildings back on a quadrangle, admitting a foot-walk, a 15-feet carriage-way on all sides, and a large playground in the centre. There are five entrances to the court through gates of ornamental iron-work. Each of the 13 dwellings has a separate entrance from the quadrangle, and a common staircase leads to the tenements on either side. Two of the

blocks have shops on the ground floor. The following is the disposition of the rooms in the 13 blocks:

86 suites of 3 rooms . . .	258
164 " " 2 " . . .	328
21 " " 1 room	21
Superintendent's house . . .	4
	611

The three rooms comprise a living-room 13 feet by 12 feet 4 inches, a large bedroom 15 feet 3 inches by 9 feet 7 inches, and a smaller bedroom 13 feet by 8 feet 6 inches. Each bedroom may be subdivided by a movable screen, with separate entrances to each half. The single rooms are 12 feet by 12 feet, and all the rooms are 9 feet high. Two water-closets, slightly projecting beyond the main line of the buildings, open out from the corridor, but are thoroughly disconnected from the living-rooms. The two closets are for the joint use of the four tenants on each floor. A shoot in the room with the water-closet, provided for the disposal of ashes and refuse, terminates in a receptacle placed on the ground floor. Each tenant has the sole use for a fixed day or for parts of days of a laundry which is centrally located on each floor. By this plan all the laundry work can be done outside of the living-room. On each side of the laundry is what is called a scullery, or sink-room. A special combination dresser, larder, coal-box, and closet are provided in each living-room. From this description it will be seen how the most ample provisions have been made for the comfort of the tenants.

The following statement shows receipts for a term of years:

CITY OF LIVERPOOL.

VICTORIA SQUARE.

(272 tenements and 12 shops.)

Cost of buildings . . .	£58,000
Estimated value of land — 9,000 square yards @ 22/6 . .	10,125
	£68,125

Say £68,000.

Net receipts for	1888,	£1,837, =	£2	14	0%
" "	" 1889,	1,903, =	2	15	11%
" "	" 1890,	1,761, =	2	11	9%
" "	" 1891,	1,772, =	2	12	1%
" "	" 1892,	1,572, =	2	6	3%

N. B. An allowance of £100 per annum in each case is made for outside painting.

Other blocks have been erected by the corporation on the land adjoining Victoria Square, and in some cases land is sold to private capitalists on the condition that single houses for workingmen shall be built. These houses command a rental of from 5*s.* to 6*s.* per week for single houses of four rooms. The corporation cleared the land in the first instance of buildings which were unfit for human habitation. Regarding these models in Liverpool the Lord Mayor writes me:

I may mention that, in my opinion, the laborers' dwellings prove a great success, inasmuch as there is rarely one "to let," and they seem much appreciated by the class for which they were erected. There is no doubt that a great work has been done toward providing improved dwellings for the laboring class, and a work which I think on the whole has been much appreciated.

From the results actually accomplished in these cities it will be observed that the municipality is compelled to make provision for the proper housing of its citizens, not only by legislation, but by becoming landlord and agent; that such model tenements in the majority of cases yield a fair return on the invested capital; that when private capital will not come forward, the municipality must; and that such provision by the municipality is not philanthropy, but justice.

INHERITED WRETCHEDNESS. SHOULD CONSUMPTIVES MARRY?

BY PAUL PAQUIN, M. D., V. M.

In studying the statistics of mortality one is appalled at the woful, continuous, and merciless grip that consumption, or better, tuberculosis, has on humanity. No malady in existence causes such painful devastations, and none can compare with it in the number of victims that it sends to the grave annually. No plague of this century at least, and perhaps no plague of old, has left in the world such universal and cruel traces of sorrow and ruin.

Consumption is one of the few contagious, infectious, and fatal maladies which with cruel tenacity has run in the veins of generations of families to the present age. In the present condition of things it continues its ravages throughout the universe, and, as the population grows denser, threatens to invade almost every home in our land. In both hemispheres we cannot but note its tenacity, its vast distribution, and the wretchedness and misery that it causes. Fully one tenth of the deaths are due to it.

Since the dissemination of knowledge of the properties of microbes, consumption in England and a few other European countries has been checked somewhat locally, and has even declined a little, solely by the application of better sanitary measures preventing to a considerable extent the transmission of the disease from animals, which occurs by using tuberculous milk and meats, — and perhaps, too, that the popular exposition of its contagiousness has had some influence in preventing wreckless exposure to its dangers in meeting consumptives in every-day life.

But in this country not more than a half dozen, perhaps, of the largest cities have gone so far as to try to limit tuberculosis through good sanitary systems precluding in a measure tuberculous meats and milks from the markets. Travel where you may you will find towns and populous cities selling these articles of food uninspected and from promiscuous sources, and the babes as well as adults are constantly fed with

more or less dangerous milk. But considering all the countries of the two worlds, nowhere can we find an apparent resolute endeavor to strike systematically at the very root of the evil so far as its congenital origin in mankind is concerned. Whilst limiting it slightly from outside sources, the people breed it and transmit it to their descendants, propagate it within families, and even from family to family. This, to my mind, is the most prolific source of transmission. The question then is complicated. Besides the propagation of the plague by contagion as understood in the general acceptance of the word, the nations keep on multiplying its sources among their people.

Is there no remedy? In these days of progress in every branch of science is there no hope? Must mankind always accept the infliction as inevitable?

No. But salvation will be delayed so long as we find family physicians with prejudiced minds rejecting without study, or after superficial consideration, the assertion and even the most *conclusive* evidences of the *contagiousness* of tuberculosis and making light of its hereditary character.* Without any argument to sustain their notions, many doctors treat the subject of consumption carelessly, to the immediate injury of their patients and the more remote danger of the people.

Indeed, I have met physicians of high standing who would sneer suggestively when contagion in tuberculosis was mentioned before them. And yet one cannot but be impressed by the unanimous verdict of the thousands of noted medical teachers of the whole world who have critically observed the affliction in the last quarter of the century, and that of the numerous experimentalists of note in all the civilized nations, with Koch as their head in Germany. All of them say — and bring absolute proofs of the assertion — "that tuberculosis is not only hereditary but also contagious among mankind, from animal to man, and between animals." Indeed, this point is so clear and so well settled among a vast portion of the medical fraternity — the part that reads most and studies the new discoveries conscientiously — that discussion seems superfluous in the year 1896. To the *few* who still *conscientiously* doubt, I would say, Glance over the reports of the Congress of Tuberculosis of Paris in 1888,

*The predisposition to tuberculosis, the field for the development of its germs, is transmitted to descendants.

and consider the stupendous amount of affirmative evidence there given from all parts of the globe.

It is not, however, on the question of contagion in itself that I desire to dwell particularly, but on the question of hereditary tuberculosis no matter by what *actual means* it occurs.

In approaching this question, one is confronted by two propositions as to the specific mode of transmission from parents to offspring. Does it occur by the germs of the disease (bacillus tuberculosis) being transmitted directly to the young at the moment of conception, or during the period of gestation, or does it occur only by the inheritance of a weak constitution predisposing the young to the disease? In a practical sense, from a medical standpoint, the solution of this problem was of some importance and it was solved. The disease is transmitted by *these various ways*, as was proven at the congress above mentioned, but chiefly by contamination after birth.

Thus we are in possession of not only the proof of transmission, but also of the knowledge of the means of propagation in detail. We know that a tuberculous mother frequently transmits a weakened constitution and her malady, some way or other, directly to her offspring; we know that a tuberculous father exerts the same influence to a degree not much less; we know further that to consumptive parents can be traced a large number of deformities and incurable, pitiable nervous diseases; we know, too, that to them can be traced several forms of mental disorders and idiocy; we know, in a word, that besides the contagion *after birth*, millions of souls annually depart this world prematurely because of *inherited* consumptive taints from their progenitors, and millions more drag a miserable, loathsome existence to middle age, or until they feel that death would be a relief.

I am not guessing; I base the statement on figures. Indeed, the baneful results of procreation in tuberculous people are not less marked in the variety of defects, specific ailments, and puny constitutions than are the results of procreation among the sufferers of alcoholism and syphilis, and they are incomparably more common and more fatal.

To give some proof of the above statements, I submit a few cases selected from a variety bearing on the subject, presented mostly in tabulated form at the Congress of Tuberculosis in Paris.

Of a total of 88 families which had in several generations 1,070 descendants, tuberculosis has been transmitted:

From mother to children in 57 families.
From father to children in 21 families.
From grandmother to grandchildren in 4 families.
From grandfather to grandchildren in 1 family.
From aunt to nephews and nieces in 14 families.
From uncle to nephews and nieces in 7 families.

Of 59 families in which tuberculosis existed, the lesions were in the lungs or glands, or bones or intestinal organs, or meninges, or in several of these parts, in 181 cases; there was convulsions, or epilepsy, or eclampsia, or chorea (St. Vitus's dance), or paralysis, or idiocy, or puerperal mania, or somnambulism in 84 cases; 20 had cancers; 18 had varicose veins; 38 had hip disease; 33 had deviations of some bone or other; 23 had chronic throat diseases; 18 had rupture; 8 were dwarfed.

And yet how is this terrible affliction considered by the people? Lightly, flippantly. The majority seem to disbelieve in the transmissible nature of it in any sense, and where the malady exists, in families made wretched by its appearance among one or more members, a routine mode of treatment is prescribed to prolong if possible the unfortunate life or lives. From appearances it seems that scarcely a thought is given to contagion even by most of the family doctors, and far less, as a matter of course, by the patients or kinsfolk.

When a tuberculous man or woman arrives at the age of marriage, no thought is given to the disease, and this sacred contract is sealed, perhaps with one free from the disease, and thus one more life is exposed to the virus. In the course of time children are born into the world, perhaps already diseased, or with a predisposition to the awful plague. They are apt to be afflicted early and grope through life in emaciated, deformed, scrofulous condition, or they may be stricken to death in babyhood, childhood, or when budding into manhood or womanhood. Few children born under such influences escape some taint or other, and most of them are to some degree lifelong invalids — be their lives short or prolonged.

And now if we add to that the dangers of contagion after birth, the children that are born only weak and therefore predisposed have few chances of escape. The tuberculous parents coughing and spitting disseminate the germs in the homes. The sputum dries on the floors, carpets, in cuspidors,

everywhere, and becomes a powder holding the relentless parasites ; then the broom, the shaking of the carpets, and various household practices raise them in the atmosphere. The air of the rooms becomes polluted with the virulent, infectious dust, which all the human beings exposed must inhale. Thus the germs penetrate the lungs, and if there they find a weakened spot, a place to stick as when one has a cold, a proper nidus offering food fit for their growth and propagation, they will establish one, two, or more little colonies, and from these the whole organism is soon invaded by the destructive microbes.

Human beings suffering from leprosy are ruthlessly consigned to pesthouses or exiled to die in the agonies of their loathsome disease, and marriage of a healthy person with one of these unfortunates is almost entirely out of the question, even if no law intervened, — for the usually repulsive appearance of a leper is sufficient safeguard. Syphilitic persons, at certain periods, present even in their faces such traces of their horrible affection that a healthy subject would make inquiries before considering the question of marriage. The pronounced bloated drunkards are at times sufficiently loathsome to afford by this very fact warning to the opposite sex. But there are periods in all these maladies when the disease signs are so concealed that deception is possible and only the man of science can decide. The physician then wisely gives counsel against marriage ; the leper is condemned forever ; the syphilitic is condemned for years, or until a cure is effected ; the sufferer from alcoholism is induced perhaps to sign the pledge, and go and "boil out the liquor" at some hot spring.

But now comes the tuberculous. Does he or she or his or her parents consult a physician when marriage is contemplated ? No. The people do not think that there is any occasion, and if the doctor were consulted, perhaps he would say, "This germ theory is all bosh," and he would not consider seriously even the matter of hereditary transmission, which every intelligent and honest disciple of Esculapius must admit in some degree. And thus it is, unknowingly in most cases, so far at least as the people are concerned, that the world breeds disease, perpetuates misery, and weakens the physical and mental capacities of the nations.

If it is wrong for a leper or a syphilitic to marry, is it right for a tuberculous ? Syphilis, for instance, which exists

in this country, is a disease less fatal than tuberculosis, and were it not for its usually disgraceful origin it would be held in less abhorrence than it is. I do not in the least mean to imply that mankind looks upon it with too much severity. It is a foul pest that cannot be too much sequestered from the land. But I mean to imply that in its fatality, in the extent of its dissemination, in the intensity of the sufferings and ruin and sorrow that it produces, in the variety of horrible deformities and afflictions that it produces in mind and body, tuberculosis is as bad if not worse than syphilis.

Who will hold that mankind has a right to cause the advent into the world of innocent babes precondemned to suffer all their lives and become the source of infection for other beings already born, or which in their turn they may bring forth later? If one is a tuberculous and is aware of the nature of the disease, what right has he or she to marry and bring children into the world condemned before their birth to be subjects of pain and sorrow? None. And if one is a tuberculous and is not aware of the nature of the disease, whose duty is it to inform him or her fully? The family physician's.

By the way, — and for this reason if for no other the medical schools ought to combine and elevate the standard of medical education to the highest notch practicable, — nowhere as in the United States do we find colleges taking uneducated men, and some of them unfit for any education, and making of them physicians in two sessions of four, five, or six months. This unfortunate condition of things has existed since the establishment of medical schools, because these were built largely to enrich their professors, and the results have been, and are, that outside of those specially favored, and who inhabit the larger towns and cities, the medical fraternity of this country, though very practical, is not advanced as it should be in matters of specific maladies and infections. The young M. D. of ten months' study, whether gifted or not, is forced by the very crude knowledge that he has been able to gather in that short space of time to perfect himself as he practises, and has little time or opportunity for such achievements as require sound, general education, thought, and deep study.

Do not say that such a system is democratic and on a par with our educational system which gives every man a chance to enter any position or profession. If it be so, it is no

excuse; for it is not within the right of any man or set of men to tamper with human lives under any guise or under any would-be principle.

Consumption to-day would be as universally understood in all its phases by every country doctor in the United States as it is by specialists in large cities of this country and Europe, if our standard of medical education had been broader from the beginning.

The question of tuberculosis for us is one of national importance; for the world it is one of universal importance. It is time that it be seriously considered by the people as well as by the medical profession; it is time that means be devised to afford mankind a chance of leaving their descendants something better in bodily inheritance than wretchedness; it is time that sanitary systems be perfected everywhere to eradicate *all* the sources of tuberculosis; and, finally, it is time to ask ourselves the question: Should consumptives marry?

THE NEGRO'S PLACE IN HISTORY.

BY PROF. WILLIS BOUGHTON OF OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY.

During the life of mankind every generation has been confronted with one or more grave social questions the solution of which seemed, at the time, to be of vital importance to the progress of civilization. So, too, every age has had its alarmists, who have preached wars and desolation and the utter destruction of existing institutions. But civilization has moved onward. Every age and every generation has indeed proved equal to its emergencies. Though the champions of a principle be tried by the crucial test of wars, though French revolutions and American rebellions enact their bloody scenes, the fittest survives, the most vigorous principle conquers, the world advances in culture. Only the extreme pessimist will deny that the world is to-day better than it has ever been before, that people are more cultured, more humane, more Christ-like. The nations of our day are better able to grapple with difficult social problems than were their ancestors. Under the most threatening portents there is no occasion for undue alarm. Regulated by the laws of universal progress, the right principle will, in the end, prevail, for mankind will not rush madly onward to the destruction of cherished institutions.

Honest agitators are necessary to the solution of any social problem; but the negro question has been the hobby of the American alarmist ever since the first cargo of black slaves was landed at Jamestown. There is, however, a bright side to the entire history of the American negro. The African is brought to our shores as a rude, uncultured savage; he is forced into the most intimate social relations with a highly civilized class of whites; he imbibes much from contact with the culture of one of the most enlightened nations of the world; the females become the mothers of numbers of half-white slave children; the race itself, under the moulding influence of peculiar environment, becomes a new race, lighter in color, stronger in intellect, superior in culture — "the Afro-American race."

By the abolishment of slavery our country made a great stride in the line of progress. That cursed institution removed, the whole land seemed to rise from the ashes of war with phœnix-like vigor, to flourish with a lusty strength unknown under the blight of slavery, and to lead the world in enterprising undertakings. But what a great change for the negro! Just at the right moment, when the slave had risen as high in culture as he could under the restraining laws of bondage, when the dusky savage had become a new being, the fetters of servitude were stricken asunder, and a future was opened to the Afro-American whereby he might aspire to the highest attainable condition of enlightenment.

Having been made a free man and an American citizen, the progress of the negro has been phenomenal. Without original capital even to the amount of that unfortunate one talent, many individual members of this despised race are accumulating fortunes; forbidden to learn to read or write, thousands are becoming as proficient in those accomplishments as are their white neighbors; taught that laws of marriage and of morality had no place in the social creed of the slave, there are now thousands who are leading purer and more moral lives than are numbers of our own proud, superior race; born, every one of them, bastards, there is now not a greater percentage of illegitimate births among the negro population of the black belt of Alabama than there is among the inhabitants of the kingdom of Bavaria. (Mayo in Mohonk Conference Report, 1890, page 44.) Surely the alarmist must look elsewhere for material with which to intimidate the thoughtful.

But pass for a moment into details. It may be said without charge of hyperbole that the progress of these negroes during their quarter of a century of freedom has been phenomenal. "The colored people of the South," says Judge Tourgee in a recent speech, "have accomplished more in twenty-five years, from an industrial point of view, than any people on the face of the earth ever before achieved under anything like such unfavorable conditions." Biddle University, North Carolina, was built under the management of a colored master carpenter. Though both white and colored laborers were employed, he was of all by far the best workman. As a penman the negro excels. One of the two teachers of penmanship employed in the Cincinnati public schools is a colored man, and he is universally liked and

respected by the white pupils who come under his instruction. There is a very successful colored physician in Nashville. In Atlanta there is a colored dentist, many of whose patrons are prominent white people. W. E. Dubois has not only won the first oratorical prize, but a three-hundred-dollar scholarship as well — and this too at Harvard, "where the contestants are the *élite* students of the white race in that ancient seat of learning." But still more encouraging is the astonishing fact that there are sixteen thousand negro school teachers employed in the South in the work of educating their fellows. These are only ripples, but they harbinger the flood that is to follow, or rather prove the current that flows deep and strong beneath.

In the midst of such proofs of the progressive tendency of the race arises the question of the fitness of the negro for United States citizenship. The ballot has undoubtedly been one of the greatest educators of the colored people. In order to cast the ballot with a degree of intelligibility equal to that of the whites, numbers have been induced to sacrifice many comforts in order to learn to read and write. Others, realizing that the avenues to power are open to the educated only, have sought a preparation that would fit them, as well as members of the more favored race, for positions of honor or of power. Great numbers are now qualified intelligently to exercise the right of suffrage, while the masses are just as capable of voting as are the ruling elements in our great cities. Indeed, it can be no more galling to the white man of the black belt of the South to submit to negro rule, than it is for the truly conscientious American citizen in our great cities to realize that his precinct is controlled by the votes of the vicious from the scum of European life. The policy of our government in giving the negro the ballot has not been a mistaken one. It was best for these colored people to receive at once their freedom and the ballot; it is still best for them to remain full citizens of our country; it will ennoble their future and make them a race of men. They are deserving of the full rights of citizenship. "You cannot find one dynamiter among them, you cannot find a single socialist or an anarchist among them, nor a secret society of any kind whose object is to undermine our Christian institutions. You have these classes all over your northern country. These eight million colored men are loyal to our government." (Mohonk Conference Report, 1890, page 17.)

In our own country, then, the negro race has proved itself progressive without limitation. Advancement in culture has been continuous ever since the first handful was landed on our shores — and that too under discouragements such as no other people have encountered. Thus far we can rejoice in the happy solution of one of our most difficult social problems. The hand that has guided these people has not led them astray. Their paths have been dark, but the day dawns. The alarmist, however, does not care to recall the past; he prefers to view, with a disordered imagination, the future, and his visions are painted with the gloomiest forebodings. Let us, then, look into the future. But in order to realize the capabilities of the negro race, we must fully understand the remote past history of the blacks as a race.

The question "Has the negro race at any period of time or in any country on the globe been a factor in the history-making of the world?" has, in the course of the agitation of the race question, been asked repeatedly. Most assuredly he has been an important element in the history-making of the entire globe. Though such a statement be surprising to some and contrary to the commonly accepted belief, it is nevertheless true. Whenever the above question is asked, the imagination of man forthwith pictures the naked savage in the heart of the African continent as an example of the negro at the summit of his attainments in all that goes to make what we call civilization. So even, with just as great a claim to reason, may the Chinese mandarin point to the semi-savage Galchan of the Hindu Kush region to illustrate the highest type of Aryan culture, because this child of the mountains may have redder hair and whiter skin than the ordinary representative of the Aryan race in southern Europe.

The black race has a history. In fact all history is full of traces of the black element. It is now usually recognized as the oldest race of which we have any knowledge. The wanderings of these people since prehistoric history began have not been confined to the African continent. In Paleolithic times the black man roamed at will over all the fairer portions of the Old World. Europe as well as Asia and Africa acknowledged his sway. No white man had as yet appeared to dispute his authority in the vine-clad valleys of France or Germany or upon the classic hills of Greece or Rome. The black man preceded all others and

carried Paleolithic culture to its very height. But the history of all lands has been only a record of succeeding races. Old races have often been supplanted by those of inferior culture but of superior energy. More often, however, by fusion of different racial types and by the mingling of various tribes and peoples, have been evolved new races superior to any of the original types.

The blacks were a fundamental element in the origin not only of the primitive races of southern Europe, but of the civilized races of antiquity as well. History may be said to begin in ancient Egypt, and recede into the dim past just as far as records and inscriptions lend us light; still in the Nile valley we find a civilization that has drawn from all succeeding ages expressions of wonder and admiration. This first example of a civilization was an isolated one; it had evolved right there in that wondrously happy region. Surely these ancient Egyptians were a remarkable people; but who were they? The ruling tribes are called Hamites — the "sunburnt" family according to Dr. Winchell; of Negritic origin, says Canon Rawlinson. But back of these ruling Hamites were a "light-hearted" people, — "gay," "good-natured," "pleasant," "sportive," "witty," "droll," "amorous," — such are the descriptive terms used in telling the story of those primitive tribes who, Dr. Taylor says, lived peaceably in those regions for two thousand years before the advent of Asiatic invaders. Suggestive as they may seem, such terms are truly descriptive of the inhabitants whom we would expect to find in the Nile valley in ancient times. They were probably as purely Negritic as are the great mass of our own Afro-Americans.

If the colored Egyptian, beginning at the zero point of culture, could independently evolve a civilization, having had no model, what can we not hope from the American negro, who has for a model the highest civilization that the world has ever seen and who has already proved himself such an apt scholar? Let no one, then, visit Egypt and view her pyramids, her obelisks, her temples, her tombs, her sphinx, and still claim that the blacks have no place in history. They furnish the almost isolated example of a civilization developed without a model, even though other racial factors may have entered into that civilization.

When the Hamites and their kindred were at the height of their power, their influence extended to far greater limits

than is ordinarily supposed. They pressed toward the confines of Europe; they entered and took possession of the land. "The Iberians," says Dr. Winchell (*North American Review*, September, 1884), "entered by the Pillars of Hercules. They came from northern Africa at a time when the Hamitic Berbers were gaining possession. They overran the Spanish peninsula, founded cities, built a navy, carried on commerce, extended their empire over Italy, as Sicanes, when Rome was founded, long before the sack of Troy, and from Italy passed into Sicily. . . . The Pelasgic empire was at its meridian as early as 2500 B. C. This people came from the islands of the Ægean, and more remotely from Asia Minor. They were originally a branch of the sunburnt Hamitic stock, that laid the basis of civilization in Canaan and Mesopotamia, destined later to be Semitized. . . . Rome itself was Pelasgian from the fourteenth century to 428 B. C. But in Italy and Greece the Hamitic stock was displaced and absorbed by Aryan, as in Asia it had been by Semitic."

The Hellenes were the Aryans first to be brought into contact with these sunburnt Hamites, who, let it be remembered, though classed as whites, were probably as strongly Negritic as are the Afro-Americans. These Hellenes were savages or barbarians. But Aryan strength and energy were thus brought into contact with Hamitic culture. Then occurred that great struggle of centuries for social equality between the blond Aryan and the Pelasgian, the dark child of the soil. Greece thus had her race social question to settle, and it was settled by *fusion*. Had it not been for that mixture of dark blood in the Greek composition, that race of poets, artists, and philosophers would never have existed.

Rome, even, had her race social problem. There was also a struggle between the white and the dark races. The oppressed Plebeians finally seceded to the Sacred Mount until their wrongs were in a measure redressed. Intermarriage, or fusion, at last settled the question. Such, too, is the story that Spanish ethnology tells. "Clearly there does not exist in Europe a nation of tolerably pure ethnic character, nor do national boundaries mark the limits of such ethnic strains as remain discoverable. The figment of a German nationality or a French, in any ethnic sense, is as baseless as that of an Austrian, a British, or an American. The mix-

ture is a conglomerate, not an alloy. Ethnic peculiarities are everywhere protrusive; they refuse to be obliterated." (Dr. Winchell, *ibid.*) Those drops of cursed black blood were just as necessary to produce the ethnic character of the Spaniard or Roman as were the white, and generations probably passed away before it was noticeable as to which element predominated. Still it would be deemed the height of discourtesy sneeringly to inquire, What makes the Greek, the Italian, or the Spaniard dark in color? It is fitting that we realize, however, how great a factor the negro has been in the history-making of the world.

In our own country this race social question began under conditions somewhat different. Ignorant and even barbarous blacks, from the uncultured regions of Africa, were made the slaves of an enlightened race of whites. In slave times fusion became so rapid that, at their emancipation, there were great numbers in whose veins the blood of white and black mingled in about equal proportions. Nor has this fusion ceased. "The number of light-complexioned people of color," says the *Spectator* (May 25, 1889), "one sees everywhere in the South suggests painful reflections; and the fact that many of the light-complexioned are children shows that the process of miscegenation still goes on." There is nothing strange or surprising in this; it is simply God's way of creating a new race. Two races have never yet dwelt together for any length of time without commingling; and fusion will no doubt be the final solution of the race problem in our country.

Though the above view of the question is unpopular and even repulsive, though some one has said that the "horror of amalgamation may be dismissed as a misbegotten goblin of folly and prejudice" (*Andover Review*, December, 1889), theory points to the experiences of the past, while practice seems to be confirming the inevitable teachings of history. There is no occasion, however, for sounding the alarm. Fusion has thus far gone on simply at the will of those parties who have found pleasure in such mingling. It is very evident that a great many otherwise respectable white men have not found the idea of illegal fusion repulsive. Is that man who could, in slave times, so deaden the instinctive tenderness of the parent as to send his own half-breed children to the auction block, degraded by becoming the lawful companion of the negro woman whom he compelled to minister

to his brutal nature? Is that man who can, shamelessly and often openly, pass his leisure in the presence of his colored mistress, too supreme a being to be that woman's legal husband? Is it more honorable for him to rear about him a brood of bastard offspring than to be the husband of the woman of his choice and the legal father of his children? Which is the more repulsive?

In this matter of fusion there is no compulsion. In a country like our own it is optional to every white man or woman to associate with the negro or not. If any one finds gratification in such an alliance, why should those who differ from him in taste become horrified at his seeming depravity? Even carrion is not repulsive to the buzzard.

Still the cry of the alarmist sounds in our ears, and he would have us believe that fusion will be complete within a generation or two. Nothing of the kind. It is a slow process; it has been in operation in this country less than two and a half centuries; it has been in operation in southern Europe for twenty-five centuries, and still it is incomplete. Eternity is long enough to produce this result. Five centuries hence, no doubt, the census enumerator will find thousands whom he shall be obliged to designate as "black," though it is hoped that the stigma attached thereto shall have been removed. There is evolving in our land an American race — a race that shall be the product of more peoples mingled than have ever before met in any region of the earth. Perhaps this alloy of negro blood is an essential element in our race formation, and has been placed here by the Creator to be used in producing a people that shall, in its day, be as peculiarly gifted as were the Greeks or Romans in their time.

In their ignorance and foolishness those who most deplore the social degradation of the times are removing the natural barriers against fusion. In some of the southern States "there still exists an immoral and absurd law making penal the marriage of a white man with a colored woman — immoral, because it encourages concubinage; absurd, because it utterly fails to hinder that mixture of races which it is designed to prevent." (*Spectator*, May 25, 1889.) The very social ostracism into which it is intended to cast these unfortunate people will operate against those who profess to despise the negro. So long as the negro race is made to feel that it is "despised and rejected of all men," so long will

the colored woman feel that she is socially elevating herself and her children by association with a white man, no matter if the connection be irregular according to the dictates of our Christian institutions. So long as a "cultured Christian woman," chagrined at the knowledge that negro blood flows in her veins, can exclaim, "I would lie down and be flayed without a murmur, if I might only rise up white," so long are the whites holding out the strongest possible temptation to every colored woman, for her children's sake, to seek an alliance, however illicit, with a white man.

The barriers are being removed, though unconsciously, in other ways. The negroes are becoming, through education, fitted for all positions and departments of life. Individuals are even now attaining positions of rank and distinction. Let a colored man reach a position of influence, and the road is open at once, if he so chooses, for his marriage with a very respectable white woman. Recall, if you will, a few years since, in our national capital, the marriage of the greatest of Afro-Americans. Such examples are rare, but others of scarcely less note are known.

Were the alarmist to seek for a sign more foreboding than any other, he might find it in the rapidity with which this despised race is accumulating property. Gold will remove even the curse of blood. Let the negro become wealthy, and the doors of social equality will soon be thrown open for his entrance. Had the colored maiden a dower of a few thousand dollars, there is many a white man who would fall at her feet and offer her legal marriage. Individual negroes are rapidly accumulating fortunes, and the above conditions are extremely probable. The time may come when the American white girl, proud of her pure Teutonic lineage, will find the wealthy brunette of doubtful lineage a winning competitor in the purchase, for a husband, of a broken-down foreign nobleman. So long as money is the chief consideration, such misalliance in either case would be revolting to the true American.

Foreign immigration will have a tendency to break down the barriers between the races. The foreigner does not feel, naturally, an aversion toward such an alliance as does the American, who remembers the days of slavery. Even the English emigrant who returns to his native land with a colored bride does not seem to be socially ostracized. The Afro-American, modified by the peculiar environment of our

civilization, bleached by a semi-fusion already completed, educated, enlightened, above all possessed of some property, will become a fit subject for the cupidity of the great bulk of foreigners who become immigrants to our shores. The one forms an alliance with a more highly respected race; the other obtains at once the gold for which he is so greedy.

Is there anything alarming or horrifying in this view of the question? It is simply a matter of choice on the part of every individual who forms a misalliance. Our own generation or the next will see no great change. Let the work of education and enlightenment go forward; let the negro be fully prepared for places of distinction; let all laws forbidding the marriage of whites and blacks be swept from the statute books, so that whatever unions are formed may be legal and whatever children are born may be legitimate. Then, should fusion take place, the colored element need not be totally degenerating. This great question will be solved only when all men can say with Dr. Hall (Mohonk Conference Report, 1890): "I do not care whether a man is black or white or yellow or chocolate-colored, if he has in himself the idea of Christ, of doing as Christ did when He sat by the well in this low world of ours. If he has time to visit the hungry and the weary and the sad, he is good enough for me."

COMPULSORY ARBITRATION A PRACTICABLE REMEDY.

BY NORMAN T. MASON, A. M.

The two most serious objections to the plan of compulsory arbitration in labor disputes are, first, the practical difficulty of making the decision of the arbitrators compulsory, and second, the necessary consequences of its compulsory character. The force of these objections has been felt by the advocates of the plan, and they have consequently tentatively confined it to questions arising between certain classes of corporations only and their employees on the ground that as a corporation is itself a creature of law, its rights and duties are likewise born of, and therefore wholly subject to, the law.

I believe the plan can be modified so that these objections will be overcome, and so that the proposed remedy will at the same time be made applicable to all classes of employers alike, — to individuals and associations as well as to corporations.

The argument in favor of compulsory arbitration is, in effect, the same as that in favor of ordinary courts of justice Courts are justified, first, by the greater probability of their arriving at a fair decision than if the dispute were left for settlement between the interested parties themselves, and, second, by their ability to enforce their decisions in favor of the weak, if need be, and against the strong. The first of these reasons prevails in favor of arbitrators in labor disputes; they are more likely to arrive at a just decision than either employer or employee; though with greater opportunity for errors of judgment than in the case of courts as now constituted, because the parties involved are more numerous, their rights less certain and plainly defined, and the natural laws governing them less capable of ascertainment and application. As it is more difficult to anticipate the future than it is to determine the past, and as it is more difficult to say what will be right under conditions existing next month or next year than it is to say what was right under the conditions of last month or last year, so will the difficulties of the labor tribunals in arriving at a just decision exceed those of the ordi-

nary courts. Their decisions, if unjust, would also be followed by more widespread evil than the unjust decision of an ordinary court, because involving more parties, fixing a false standard of supply and demand, and occasioning unhealthy competition. Neither the difficulty of reaching a just decision nor the evils of an unjust decision are sufficient, however, to condemn compulsory arbitration. The greater probability that the decisions of a labor tribunal will prove more nearly equitable than those arrived at by the parties themselves is sufficient to demand, as well as to justify, the creation of such a board, since the same difficulty of reaching a just conclusion and the same evils of an unjust conclusion must and do likewise exist under the present system, in addition to the loss and misery attendant upon strikes and lockouts.

But does the second reason, the ability to enforce their decrees against the strong, exist in favor of labor arbitrators as it does in favor of the ordinary courts? They could certainly be vested with authority and power to compel either party to appear and answer concerning the complaint of the other, through process similar to that now employed by the courts. There is no difficulty either in the practical application of the process or in the result of its application, so far as compelling the submission of disputes to a labor tribunal is concerned. The difficulty arises when it comes to compelling the parties to abide by the final decision of that tribunal. Suppose the decision is really just; it would rarely be the case that both parties would consider it just; otherwise they would have come to an agreement upon the same lines without resorting to the tribunal for its decision; if it were against the employees, it would, therefore, compel them to work for less wages, or for more hours, than they deemed just. It is one of the best settled principles of law, and the reason of the rule is as well established as the rule itself, that no court will undertake to compel the specific performance of a contract which calls for personal service or labor involving skill or judgment. Even if the court shall undertake to constitute itself a special overseer or superintendent, it could not compel that to be properly done which requires the exercise of independent intelligence or volition. Neither would it be possible to personally supervise the many workmen in the many departments of even one large business enterprise, without taking into account the many such establish-

ments which might require its oversight. How could a court or any tribunal compel unwilling employees to the proper exercise of their duties, say as railroad engineers and firemen? To do so would require the tribunal to resolve itself into as many skilled workmen as its decree was intended to affect, and to practically itself take charge of and run the entire department, — a most evident impossibility. Furthermore, it could not compel employees to work for a particular employer upon the terms fixed by the decree, without at the same time refusing to allow them to better their condition by seeking or accepting other employment at better wages or of less exacting nature and conditions. On the other hand, if the decision were against the employer, it would require him to continue operations, buying raw materials and paying wages upon what he might consider losing or even ruinous rates. For his complete protection it would be as necessary to regulate the prices to be paid for new machinery and for raw materials as to fix the price of the labor to be hired by him.

Such would be the practical effects of a compulsorily enforced decree in case the decision of the arbitrators were perfectly just. But if it were unjust, as it must sometimes be from the constitution of men and of things, the party against whom the decision was given would not only be compelled to expend his labor or his capital upon what he deemed to be disadvantageous terms, and contrary to his inclinations, but he would be required to labor and to employ upon terms which were actually disadvantageous. Such a decree would amount to a confiscation of labor in the one case and of capital in the other. To the employer it would be a taking of the capital invested in his plant, and of the skill and labor devoted to its equipment and organization, without any compensation or pretence of compensation therefor. To the workman it would be chains in any event, because it would be labor enforced against the inclination and without choice of masters; if unjust, it would be slavery as well, because in addition it would be labor enforced without just compensation.

The objections to the specific enforcement of a final decree of labor arbitrators are, therefore, as before stated, two-fold in nature: first, the remedy is impossible of practical application, and, second, if it could be applied it would be subversive of all liberty and the source of new discontent more universal and more overwhelming than any we have yet experienced.

By what plan then can we secure the benefits of the decision of a disinterested tribunal which shall be practically enforced neither by the necessities of the weaker, as under the present system, nor by the lash of the bondmen's taskmaster, as would be the case if the decree were to be specifically performed?

The occasion for a strike or a lockout is some unsettled grievance, whether real or imaginary. Its object is to compel an adjustment of such grievance, and its effectiveness lies in the inability of the one party to readily find new labor or employment in place of the old. If any one of these elements could be permanently removed, it would be the practical end of strikes and lockouts; for neither labor nor capital will voluntarily deprive themselves of their natural products or income, unless there is both something to be gained and some hope of gaining it thereby. It is apparently conceded that the first element in a strike or lockout, that is, the unsettled grievance, would be at least partially removed by compulsory arbitration, because it would furnish a method of settlement much more likely to be just and satisfactory to both parties than any that could be arrived at between the disputants themselves, or in any other way. The decree would, therefore, be self-enforcing to a certain extent, that is, when and so far as its justice should be mutually conceded and recognized by both parties. Besides this, if the tribunal were so composed as to command the respect of the public generally, public sentiment would exert a strong influence, in addition to the influence of the tribunal itself, toward compelling both parties to abide by its decision.

In many cases, however, it is probable that one or even both parties would consider the decree unjust or oppressive, as is frequently now the case with defeated litigants in ordinary court proceedings. In such cases it is plain that both the occasion, an unsettled grievance, and the motive, the hope of compelling a satisfactory settlement, for resorting to a strike or a lockout would remain.

But suppose the labor tribunal should be given authority to embody in its decree a prohibition upon the master's employment of any labor unless he first gave preference to the application of old employees upon the terms prescribed by the decree, and prohibiting the employees from applying for work of their old employer without first accepting of the terms of the decree. This would leave the employer at liberty to operate

or close his plant as he saw fit. If he deemed the decree so unfair as to amount to a confiscation of his property and an invasion of vested rights, he would not be compelled to continue operations. At most he would but lose the interest upon the capital invested in his plant while it remained idle, — a loss which would not be compulsory, excepting upon the supposition that the decree of the tribunal was unfounded and grossly unjust, and this is a supposition which, though possible, is not in accordance with the probabilities. While such an unjust decree would necessarily work injury for which there would be no redress, it would be no more than an unjust decision of our courts as now constituted, which likewise necessarily occasions damage to the individual for which he has no recompense. The probability of even-handed justice to the many must more than counterbalance the possibility of injustice to the few, in the case of the proposed labor tribunal as well as in the case of the ordinary courts of law.

A decree thus conditioned would also permit the laborer to seek employment elsewhere if he deemed himself able to better his condition by so doing; or he could refuse to work at all if he so desired. The only compulsion upon him would be the condition that if he desired to work at all for the old employer he must accede to the terms laid down by the decision of the labor tribunal.

But if the employer is left at liberty by the decree to close up his plant, and if the employees are left at liberty to refuse to work, how could the decree have the desired effect of preventing lockouts on the one hand and strikes on the other? As already suggested, the fact of its furnishing a settlement of the dispute, the probability of its being a just settlement, the respect due the labor tribunal, and, above all, the force of public opinion, would have much to do toward compelling acquiescence in any decision that might be rendered. The same motives for accepting the decision as final would exist in this case as exist in the case of real arbitration, where the findings of the arbitrators have nearly always been respected, especially in controversies of such general importance as to attract public attention and create a public sentiment.

The real compulsory effect of such a decree, however, would consist in its removal of the second element above pointed out; that is, of the motive for a strike or a lockout. There would no longer be any object in resorting to such methods, since the parties would still be required to resume

operations or work upon the terms laid down by the decree, whenever they should resume at all. A refusal to employ or a refusal to work could not change the terms of the decree; it could have no possible effect toward compelling an adjustment more satisfactory to the complaining party than the decree itself. The parties would be compelled either to resume at once upon the terms of the decree, or, in the case of the employer, to allow his plant to stand idle indefinitely; in the case of the employee, to take chances of finding work elsewhere. If the employer adopted the latter alternative, letting his plant remain idle, it would be a hardship to the employees directly proportioned to the difficulty of finding suitable work elsewhere; but the loss to the employer would be in the same proportion, since his works must remain idle, either until all his old workmen have found other employment or until he is willing to take back the unemployed upon the terms prescribed by the decree, with the additional probability of his works being again closed by the old decree being extended, upon complaint, to the new employees.

There could, then, be no possible gain to the employer by refusing to resume operations; on the contrary, there would be the certainty of loss whether the decree were just or unjust. If it were so unjust as to entail loss upon resumption of operations, the employer ought to have the right to decide for himself which loss he could best sustain and to govern himself accordingly.

If the workmen adopted the latter alternative, refusing to return to work under the decree, it would likewise be a hardship to the employer directly proportioned to the difficulty of finding help elsewhere; but the hardship to the workmen would be greater, since the more easily the employer found help elsewhere, the more difficult it would be for his former employees to find employment elsewhere, their old places having been filled, and there being a lively demand for similar positions. In short, the workmen would be compelled to comply with the terms of the decree by the desire of gain and by the necessities of life; the employer, by the desire of gain and by the necessities of business and invested capital. Not only could nothing be gained by a cessation of operations by either party, but the very element which makes a strike or lockout effective would with equal force make effective the decree of the labor tribunal; that is, the inability to readily find labor or employment elsewhere, and the consequent loss

of time and profits; this would be a powerful positive incentive toward acquiescence in the decree, as powerful and effective as any lawful strike or lockout could possibly be under the same conditions.

It seems plain, therefore, that compulsory arbitration would result in the prompt and equitable settlement of disputes between capital and labor; it would cause the abolition of strikes and lockouts; its decrees would be partly self-enforcing; they would be supported by public opinion, would themselves remove all motive for non-compliance with them, and would be enforced by all that ever made a strike or lockout effective. Certainly this would be a long step in advance over the present system, if system it can be called; it would materially lessen the bitterness of feeling between the two greatest contending forces of modern times, and would alleviate the misery and minimize the loss attendant upon difficulties and disputes which cannot but arise under the present constitution of man and of society. It would not be all, but it would be something. It would be a practical remedy which could be practically applied until the time is ripe for a complete and radical readjustment of the relations between labor and capital.

THE TELEGRAPH MONOPOLY.

BY PROF. FRANK PARSONS.

IX.

§ 3. *The Remedy is Public Ownership.* We have seen that the law of economy condemns competition in the telegraph business,[1] and that experience proves it to be substantially impossible. The alternative is monopoly, of which there are two sorts, public and private. We have seen that monopoly involves the power of taxation, which is an attribute of sovereignty, wherefore monopoly must belong to the people, in whom alone dwells the right to sovereignty,[2]— to permit a private corporation to hold a monopoly is to permit a transfer of sovereignty from the people to a private corporation. We have seen that *private* monopoly confers upon private individuals and corporations the power of exacting payments beyond the value of the service rendered, the power of exacting tribute, the power of taxation without representation and for private purposes, a power beyond the limits even of sovereignty itself in a free country, a power that is of the very substance of despotism, a characteristic attribute of imperialism, the right hand of tyranny.

We have seen that private monopoly means antagonism to public interest plus power to make the antagonism effective. While A, B, and C are fighting each other for the market, they cater to the public; but when the sellers combine and bury their antagonisms in a monopoly, the antagonism between seller and buyer comes to the front.[3]

---

1 See Part VIII. The law of economy condemns competition in any business. Competition means antagonism, struggle, waste, — friction, collision, wreck. Competition means helter-skelter, haphazard, planless production with its innumerable needless undertakings and useless duplications. Competition means the devitalization of the great mass of workers by denying them the stimulus born of an interest in their work and the profits of it.

2 Congresses and legislatures exercise the powers of sovereignty, but not in their own right, — they simply act as agents of the people, who alone own sovereignty, possess its attributes in their own right, and have just power to use them for their own purposes. Legislatures must use the sovereignty intrusted to them for the benefit of the people and not for their own personal advantage or the advantage of any individual or association, and the deepest, rashest, most insidious breach of trust they can commit is to crown and sceptre the soulless greed of a great corporation.

3 While out for an airing one day P saw B and W rolling over and over on the turf in fierce endeavors to strangle each other. They cried out to him, "Dear P, do

The monopolists do not want the antagonism of seller *versus* seller, — the people do not want the antagonism of monopoly *versus* the public,— the right thing is for both parties to recognize the fact that each antagonism is bad, and come together on a plan to abolish them both. The antagonism between A, B, and C has been overcome through a union of ownership and control among A, B, and C,— and the antagonism between this union and the public must be overcome in the same way. The old antagonism no longer exists, because A, B, and C are part owners of one enterprise and its profits. When A, B, C, and P (the whole people) are partners in the enterprise and its profits the antagonism between seller and buyer will vanish in respect to that enterprise, and it never will vanish until such a partnership is formed, — antagonism will exist until the opposing interests are harmonized, which can only be done by welding them into a union or partnership with a common control in the interest and for the profit of all concerned, — such a partnership with a city, State, or nation as a party is public ownership.

A combination, trust, or monopoly is very advantageous to those inside, but very disastrous to those outside of it, — let the people get inside.

We have seen that regulation cannot cure the evils of private monopoly, because it does not destroy the antagonism of interest that is the root of those evils. Regulation is a wrestling match — the people may get the monopolist down sometimes, but he will be forever on the squirm, ready to flop his antagonist at the earliest opportunity. Regulation is clumsy, costly, ineffective, unreliable; and if by any miracle it should accomplish its purpose of getting the business done as the public wishes it done, it would be unfair. It isn't fair for P, who does not own the business, to compel M, who does own, it to run it for P's benefit or according to P's interest. The man who controls a business for his own interest is the real owner, and P ought to buy the business before he assumes the privileges of ownership; if not he is guilty of confiscation or theft. A monopoly will be run in the interest of the people only when the people control it. To whatever extent public control, or control in behalf of the people, does not oust private control, or control in behalf of individuals

---

save me from this heartless villain; he'll choke the life out o' me 'f you don't come to my aid. Oh, dear P, I'll do anything for you if you'll only save my life." P, being of benevolent disposition, went to the rescue, prevented the threatened catastrophe, and gave orders that B and W should each be comfortably housed and well cared for. A little while afterward P was walking along the same road, when a couple of ruffians, armed to the teeth with clubs and guns, commanded him to halt and deliver his purse. P looked at his assailants and saw with astonishment that they were B and W, whom he had rescued a few weeks before. "Why, gentlemen," said he, "don't you know me? I saved your lives not long ago. You surely will not rob me in return for my kindness." To which they replied, "No use talkin', old boy; jest han' over the dust, that's all. We're in the same gang now, — there hain't but one deal, no more, an' you ain't in it. Shell out an' move."

or corporations, to that extent the business will not be run in the interests of the public, but in the interests of individuals and corporations.

If the people buy or build the business they have a right to control it in their own interests; but if they oust private control by legislation, transforming the managers into public agents bound to run the business in the public interest, they have practically confiscated the business to public use. As a rule, in America to-day a business will be run in the interest of him with whom rests the final control of it. If it is to be run in the public interest the public must control it, — control in one's own interest is ownership — public control in public interest is public ownership — the condition of business for the public benefit is public ownership. It may be public ownership by creation or purchase,— honest, stable, well-based ownership, — or it may be dishonest, insecure, and dangerous public ownership by confiscation through carrying regulation to complete success, if such a thing were possible, — but public ownership in some way, public control in public interest by some means, it must be, if public and not private interests are to be subserved by a business not in the hands of altruists.

The private monopoly of a business means that the terms of all contracts relating to that business are determined by one party. So far as regulation does not exist or does not take effect, the monopolist makes the contract and fixes the price, and the public has nothing to say about it, — so far as regulation does take effect, the public makes the contract, becomes itself the monopolist (without compensation to the ousted party), and the former monopolist has nothing to say about it. It is rare, however, that a monopolist is so condescending as to permit a regulative statute to take effect except upon the surface, for the sake of appearance and to lull the dear public to sleep.

The possibilities of regulation were thoroughly canvassed in England during the struggle between the companies and the people, 1865–8, and the conclusion was that nothing but public ownership could be relied on to give the whole population the benefit of efficient telegraphic communication at minimum rates.

The argument for a national telegraph does not rest solely on the ground of unifying interests and removing private monopoly with its power of taxation for private purposes and without representation, but also on the ground of experience demonstrating its superiority, the movement of civilization in the direction of national co-operation in the conduct of affairs of national extent, the trend of thought and events in that direction in the United States, the overwhelming public sentiment in favor of a national telegraph, the constitutional duty of the Federal Government to use the telegraph in the conveyance of the people's correspondence, the aid a national system will give toward a better diffusion of

wealth, a fuller development of business and social life, and a more perfect national coherence in peace and in war, the economies it will effect, the lower rates, improved service, wider facilities, better condition of employees and the press, cessation of telegraph discrimination, fraud, and corruption, the impetus that will be given to civil-service reform, and many other advantages that will appear when we come to that part of the subject. Let us first put some questions to history.

§ 4. *The Experience of the World* affords conclusive evidence in favor of public ownership of the telegraph.

Belgium, Holland, England, New Zealand, etc., tried private ownership of the telegraph, found it unsatisfactory, changed to public ownership and found the transfer beneficial in every respect.

France, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, etc., began with public ownership and have seen no reason to desire a change, — economy, good service, and general satisfaction have characterized the national telegraph service beyond the sea.

In the United States the telegraph is still in private hands, and its history has been the history of waste, extortion, poor and inadequate service, and public dissatisfaction vigorously expressed in a multitude of bills, petitions, speeches, investigations, and memorials that have besieged Congress for fifty years.

Do not fail to grasp the full significance of these tremendous facts — every country, kingdom, or republic that began with public ownership has had unbroken telegraphic peace and satisfaction, while the countries that have made trial of the private system have found it so imperfect that they have abandoned it for public ownership or made a strong effort to do so, backed by a public sentiment that nothing but the money and influence of a gigantic corporation could have resisted.[4]

[4] This all-important fact, that the stern logic of experience is pushing the peoples into public ownership, is further illustrated by the history of the telephone and the railway. Belgium began with private telephones in 1884, but found it best to transfer them to public control, and Jan. 1, 1893, all the telephone lines in the State became public property. Great Britain has ciphered out the same sum in social economics, and after many years of private telephony, reached a similar conclusion and established a national system of telephone lines in 1895. Austria has moved along the same path, and since January, 1895, private telephone companies have ceased to exist in Vienna. Norway also has decided (1895) to take possession of all the trunk telephone lines. When the State owns the trunk lines and the municipalities own the local exchanges you have the very best possible telephone system. Trondhjem in

England tried private ownership for a quarter of a century, and she too had a telegraph war and waste, extortion, delay, error, inadequacy, and oppression until she changed to public ownership, when the trouble ceased, and for twenty-six years her postal telegraph has been a pride and a glory, while our disease has gone from bad to worse. The fact that Great Britain began with the private telegraph and gave it twenty-five years and more to show what it could do, that she found it unendurable and changed at large cost to the public system, which proved a great success, and after a trial of more than twenty-five years is acknowledged by all to be incomparably superior to the old plan — this fact of the thorough testing in the same country of both methods of dealing with the telegraph, and the further fact that the said country is very like our own in government, language, customs, sentiment, etc., give the history of the English telegraph a peculiar value for us, and after a few words about the telegraph in other foreign countries, we will return to Great Britain and give its experience with sufficient detail to make its teachings emphatic.

The results of public ownership of the telegraph and telephone may be briefly stated thus.[5] The rates are much

---

Norway has bought up its telephone system. Other cities like Rotterdam, Amsterdam, etc., are constructing municipal plants, and many more are discussing the subject. In America the call for a postal telegraph includes the telephone. On the other hand, France, Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, the Australian Republics, and other countries that have had public telephones for years, show no disposition to transfer them to private corporations. So with railways. Prussia at first adopted the private system almost wholly, the State contenting itself with building lines in out-of-the-way districts where private enterprise would not condescend to go, — in southern Germany, on the other hand, the nations considered the making of the railways an exclusive function of the State, — for years the two systems worked side by side, with the result, not of showing south Germany the need of a change to corporation railways, but of showing north Germany the need of a change to the public system, so that the Prussian Government bought up the private railways, and now owns nearly all (about nine tenths) of the mileage in the State; Saxony learned the same lesson and bought all the railways belonging to private companies; Belgium tried both systems, with the result that in 1870 the Government decided to buy out most of the private lines; in Austria-Hungary, Holland, Norway, and other countries the movement of history is from private railways to a State system, gradually enlarging its scope and absorbing the private lines; in Russia and France the reversion of the private railways is in the State, and they will become public property when their terms expire; in Australia the same double experiment with public and private roads has been made with the same results — continuance of public ownership wherever adopted, and change from private to public, until now nearly the whole system belongs to the Governments, — some colonies having no private roads at all; — such illustrations could be continued indefinitely, but enough has been said to reveal the law of the movement.

[5] A number of careful and comprehensive studies of European and Australian telegraph systems have been made. Frank Ives Scudamore examined them thirty

lower than under the private system, and the facilities better. A Government telegraph goes where private enterprise will not go. The popular use of the telegraph is vastly greater than with us. The proportion of social business is six, eight, ten times what it is in the United States. The general service is more efficient, swift, and accurate than with us. The public telegraph has proved of incalculable value in the apprehension of criminals, being used much more freely by the Government than the very costly service of a private system is apt to be. So marked is this utility in Europe that the criminal classes know the telegraph as "the fingers of the police." The employees are better treated, and the aim is to improve their condition from year to year. There is no telegraph discrimination, no telegraph lobby. There are no watering of telegraph stock, no dividends on real or fictitious stock, no strikes of operators, no blackmailing lines or wasteful construction. There are no telegraph millionnaires. There is no manipulation of market reports. There is no gambling in telegraph stocks. The various Governments display a progressive spirit, adopt new inventions, and lower the rates from time to time as fast as it seems to be practicable. As a rule there is a margin of profit in spite of low rates, and the sum total of yearly results in Europe generally shows a surplus of receipts above the cost of operation in spite of the low rates and extended lines. At the least calculation the people of Europe save twenty-five millions of dollars a year through Government ownership of the telegraph; *i. e.*, judging by the experience of England and the United States, the telegraphing done in Europe would cost her at least twenty-five millions more with a private system than it costs under pub-

---

years ago for the British Government (Eng. Reports, 1866–8), the Washburn committee (H. Rep. 114), Postmaster-General Cresswell (1872), R. B. Lines (Tenth Census, Vol. 4), Bronson C. Keeler (*Forum*, 1890, Vol. IX, p. 450), and some others have furnished valuable data at various periods. Numerous discussions of more limited extent are to be found in the various cyclopædias and scattered through the congressional investigations and leading reviews. The governmental reports of Europe and Australia furnish certain data as to lines, messages, receipts, etc., and now and then a general discussion. The statistics published by the International Bureau at Berne are also of value. The files of electrical journals, English, French, German, and American, contain important information on the subject; and the observations of distinguished travellers in foreign lands may be referred to with great advantage. Counsel has availed himself of all these sources of information, but he is not going to deluge the honorable court with the details of his studies of the German, Belgian, French, and other systems. He hopes hereafter to state, with some fulness, the one most important case of the English telegraph, but contents himself here with a few general observations.

lic ownership, — twenty-five millions saved that would have gone to private corporations for the manufacture of millionnaires and the further disturbance of the proper equilibrium of wealth diffusion.

Such are some of the conclusions abundantly sustained by the authorities above referred to. A few citations may be useful. After studying the public telegraph systems of France, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Great Britain, New Zealand, and other countries of Europe and Australia in 1890, Bronson Keeler says:

> So far as investigation has been made, the results show that throughout the world the Government telegraphs are conducted efficiently, economically, and honestly. The users are everywhere satisfied with the service, and there is no country which would any more consider a proposal to sell its lines to a company, than the people of the United States would entertain one to transfer the postal department to private enterprise.[6]

R. B. Lines, though very sparing of comment, says that the Swiss telegraph is "remarkably well managed and efficient." It is built with "wrought-iron posts and porcelain insulators," yet the "rates are low."[7] In Germany the wires are under ground, and still the rates are low.[8]

Sabine says that overhead wires are giving place to the underground system all over Europe. The overhead wires are unsightly, easily tampered with, and exposed to atmospheric influences that necessitate their continual repair. Scarcely a storm of any magnitude passes over the country that does not play havoc with the overhead wires. The Belgians have buried their wires in iron tubes with good effect; the English, the Germans, and the French have all made commendable progress in underground work.

Of the latter the historian says:

> The difficulties of the underground system (careless laying, decay of insulating materials, etc.) have been met, perhaps, more completely in France than elsewhere. The prejudice which the French have against wires crossing their streets in all sorts of dangerous spans and inelegant angles has necessitated the employment of the underground system in their towns.[9]

Prescott says:

> The construction of the English telegraph lines is uniformly excellent and reflects great credit upon the engineering staff in whose hands the

---

6 *Forum*, Vol. IX, pp. 453-4.

7 Tenth Census, Vol. IV, Postal Telegraph.

8 Vrooman's Public Ownership, p. 74.

9 "Telegraph History and Progress," Sabine, p. 253.

work is placed. . . . The telegraphic system of Germany comprises some of the most thoroughly built and well-designed examples of line construction to be found in Europe. . . . The Swiss use iron poles grounded in blocks of stone. . . . The Bavarian administration has, within a few years, commenced replacing the wooden poles in use in that country by a very substantial and elegant system of iron poles.[10]

The Washburn committee says, "The telegraph system of France is exclusively under the control of the Government, and is perfect and complete in every respect."[11] The telegraph systems of Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, Great Britain, and other countries are also exclusively governmental; *i. e.*, the Government has a monopoly of telegraphing for compensation. Private persons may build lines for their own use if they wish, but telegraphing for hire belongs to the Government. The federation of the telegraph with the post office in all these countries has been productive of great economy and convenience. In Germany the railways, telegraphs, telephones, and postal service are all co-ordinated, and many workers have blended duties in connection with two or more of these services.[12]

After speaking at considerable length of the governmental telegraphs of European countries, the Washburn committee says, "In all it has proved a perfect success and given entire satisfaction to the people."[13] In Belgium the Government permitted the establishment of a private line for the common carriage of telegrams in 1846, but bought it back in 1850.[14] In New Zealand, where the telegraph was originally in private hands, "its assumption by the Government and reduction to a uniform rate brought a large class of customers for the telegraph to whom it was before unknown, and the confidence in its management in Government hands led thousands to patronize it freely who seldom or never used it when in private hands."[15]

We have already noted in previous parts of this discussion the testimony of Prof. Ely and President Walker to the superiority of the telegraph service in Great Britain, France, and Germany; we have cited the facts that show the improved condition of telegraph employees under public ownership;

---

10 "Electricity and the Electric Telegraph," Prescott, pp. 307, 315, 319, 320.

11 H. Rep. 114, p. 3.

12 Ency. Brit., art. "Post Office," and the various countries.

13 H. Rep. 114, p. 5.

14 Tenth Census, Vol. IV.

15 Statement of William Gray of the Australian mail service. H. Rep. 114, p. 6.

and we have shown that the rates cut our tariff in two, — a tabular statement of telegraph rates may be useful here.[16]

	Ordinary Rate per Word in cents.	Ordinary Minimum Ch'ge per Message in cents.	Average Receipt per Message in cents.
Great Britain	1	12	15½
France	1	10	15½
Germany	1¼	12	
Belgium	⅘	10	8½
Switzerland	½	12	
Austria	1	11	
United States	2 to 7	25	31

We are paying double rates. England gets 71,589,000 telegrams for less than 15½ cents each. France gets 45,300,000 telegrams for less than 15½ cents each. Belgium gets 8,320,000 messages at 8½ cents each.[17] And the United States is said to get about 68,000,000 messages at 31 cents apiece.

[16] For these figures see 41st Report Eng. P. M. Gen. 1895; Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia, 1893, 1894, 1895; 10th Census, Vol. IV, Postbuch zum Gebrauch für das Publikum in Berlin; Rapport par le Ministre des Chemins de fer, Postes, Télégraphes, etc., de Belgique; Sullivan's Direct Legislation in Switzerland, p. 50; Wanamaker's Reports; the Western Union Reports, etc. Counsel has not been able to obtain the German, Swiss, or Austrian telegraph receipts separate from the telephone, wherefore the blanks in the above table. In Belgium 8,320,000 despatches were sent in 1894, — 2,920,000 of them were on public business, and 5,400,000 private, of which 2,085,000 were international, 2,731,000 inland, and 384,000 in transit, — the receipts for the 5,400,000 paid messages were 3,548,400 francs, or about 13 cents per message, — the receipts from the inland paid messages averaged a little less than 12 cents a message of an average length of 15 words. The cost of sending the entire 8,320,000 messages appears to have been about 3,500,000 francs, or 8¼ cents each. I say appears, because the expenses are not entirely separable from the telephone account; but apportioning the blended expenses in proportion to the volume of business in each department gives the result stated. The total receipts of the telegraph and telephone in 1894 were 5,873,581 francs, and the total expenditure 5,405,795 francs, leaving a profit of 467,786 francs, after carrying 2,920,000 despatches and unnumbered telephone messages on the people's business free of charge. (Rapport par le Ministre, etc., de Belgique, 1895.) It is said that Italy has concluded to reduce the charge per telegram to 5 cents. (Journal of the Franklin Institute, Vol. CXL, 1895, p. 476.)

[17] A reference to the preceding note will show why the average receipt per message in Belgium is below the ordinary minimum charge. Nearly one third of the total business is public matter, free of charge, which brings the 12 or 13 cents for each paid message down to 8¼ cents for each message in the whole business done, — it is all done for the people of Belgium, and they pay an average of 8½ cents for each message, private and public. We in America have to pay an average of 31 cents for each message, private and public. In England, by the 41st Rep., 1894-5, the free messages number 1,320,700. The press messages number 5,401,783, of an average length of 120 words, at a charge of 9 cents per 100 words, or 11 cents a message. Aside from the press there were 66,188,000 messages, averaging about 15 words each, at an average cost of 15.6 cents per message. Foreign correspondence, 5,937,715, at an average of

The Western Union looks up at the ceiling and says that Europe loses money on her telegraph business. On the contrary every country named in the table reports a profit on its telegraph business, although the precise amount of it cannot be stated, because the telegraph and telephone accounts run together on certain items and are not stated separately in the reports. In Switzerland the profits of the telegraph and telephone system in 1894 amounted to 694 thousand francs; in Belgium the profit was 467 thousand francs after carrying nearly 3 million official telegrams free, etc., — the case of Belgium, explained in the note, will show how the accounts of the two services are kept. The public telephone rates are as much below private rates as in the case of the telegraph, so that the profit reported on the combined business of telegraph and telephone tells the story of economy in public ownership just as well as if we could separate the accounts.

The Western Union twists uneasily in the box and remarks that wages are low in Europe, — yes, and they are lower here, *i. e.*, telegraph wages — wages in general are lower there. Compare a private enterprise here with a private enterprise there, and the advantage is generally with us, bad as we are, and the same is true when we compare a Government pay-roll here with a public pay-roll there; but when we compare a private enterprise here with a Government enterprise there the story has a tendency to run the other way.[18] Western Union scratches its ear and says it is distance, — the distances are greater here. We have seen in Part II that this excuse is no better than the other — the whole expense due to excess of distance in this country is not more than one or two cents a message,[19] — differences of distance,

---

24 cents. Inland ordinary paid messages, 58,907,408, at an average of 15.4 cents each. Total traffic, paid and free, 71,589,000 messages, of an average length of 22 words, at an average charge of 15.5 cents per message. In France the official telegrams number 5 millions, or one ninth of the whole; the average receipt per paid message is about 17 cents, and the average receipt per message on the whole business is 15½ cents; — the cost per message to the people is less than this, for France makes a good profit on her telegraph business. The Western Union does some business which it calls free for railroads, etc.,— these ought not to be included in estimating the average receipt, *because they are paid for by the railroads, etc., in transportation, etc.* If they were included in the number of messages forming the divisor, and the dividend was formed from the cash receipts for messages without adding the value of the services rendered by said railroads, etc., the quotient obtained was below the truth, and the people of the United States really pay more than 31 cents per telegram.

[18] For the details see Part II. In Part XII we shall see how beautifully the Blair committee cornered President Green when he pleaded this wage defence.

[19] See Part II, note 2. The method there followed was to take the amount reported by the Western Union at various times for maintenance and divide it by the number

etc., do affect cost, but their influence accounts for only a very small fraction of the difference between our telegraph rates and those of Europe. There is another way of testing these matters. If it is not private ownership, but distance and wages, that make our rates double what they are in Europe, then our postal service ought to cost us double the European cost — more than double, for the contrast of wages and distance is greater in the case of the post office, since postal wages here are higher than Western Union wages, and the post goes into all the out-districts where the Western Union will not go. And again, if the main cause of our high rates is not private monopoly, as we claim, but distance and wages, as the Western Union claims, then private enterprise and public enterprise side by side in the same business in Europe should make substantially identical rates. The

---

of messages; this would give the distance cost per message, and half of it would be the cost per message due to excess of distance in this country on the supposition implied in Western Union arguments that double rates are caused by double distances. We have seen that the Western Union reports 790,000 miles of wire and 58,632,000 messages for 1894. The same report gives $2,024,000 for maintenance and reconstruction, or about $2.50 per mile of wire, supposing the whole amount to be distance cost. It is in evidence that the wire leased out to private persons amounts to about 50,000 miles. This leaves 740,000 miles to be maintained for the 58,632,000 messages, indicating a distance cost per message of a little more than 3 cents, so that the cost due to excess of distance, as above explained, would be about 1½ cents.

The distance cost per message is not determined by the size of the country, but by the length of line and wire per message and the cost of maintaining the said length. A very small country may have a large distance cost if the messages per mile of wire are few; and a very large country may have a small distance cost if the messages per mile are many. An extension of the wires into rural districts tends to make the distance cost high even in a small country, and a confinement of the wires to lines between the cities and larger towns tends to make the distance cost small even in a very large country. France reports 197,000 miles of wire to 45,328,000 messages, or about 250,000 miles for 58,632,000 messages. Taking this from 740,000 miles leaves 490,000 miles excess at $2.50 a mile, $1,225,000 excess of cost on our 58,632,000 messages, or about 2 cents a message as compared with France. Germany reports 288,000 miles of wire and 33,000,000 messages; giving by proportion a little over 500,000 miles for 58,632,000 messages, or 240,000 miles excess, or a trifle over 1 cent a message due to excess of distance per message over the German system.

We saw in Part III, however, that there is reason to believe 400,000 miles of wire is all the Western Union really needs for its message service. This, with the leased wire, divided into 2 millions maintenance and reconstruction expenditure reported by the Western Union, would make the maintenance cost per mile about $4.50, which agrees more nearly with the figures given by electrical experts (P. B. Delany says it is estimated that the cost of maintaining lines in this country is $4 per mile of wire), an agreement which tends to confirm the former conclusion as to the amount of wire actually in use by the Western Union. If that conclusion was correct, there are a few more messages per mile here than in Germany, and the excess of cost due to distance is a minus quantity; while in comparison with France our excess of cost due to distance would be but a little more than 1 cent per message. So that, either way, on the probable truth, or taking the Western Union's own figures, the difference due to distance is not over 2 cents a message.

question of distances and wages being eliminated in such case, therefore the cause of difference in price, according to Western Union philosophy, is also eliminated.

Now it happens that some of the telephones in Europe are public and some are private, so we can apply the test without going outside the business of communicating intelligence. Here is a table of telephone charges:[20]

TELEPHONE SUBSCRIPTION RATES.

	Ownership.	Yearly Rental per telephone in £.	Yearly Rental in $.
Germany	Public,	7 to 1	36 to 5
Belgium	"	6 " 3	30 " 15
Switzerland	"	7½ " 3	38 " 15
France	"	2 —	10 —
Holland	Private,	10 " 3½	50 " 17
Spain	"	11 " 3	55 " 15
Trondhjem (Norway)	Public,	3 " 1⅗	10½ " 8
Sweden	"	4 " 1½	20 " 6
Sweden	Private,	13 —	69 —
Austria-Hungary	Public,	8 " 2½	40 " 12
Bulgaria	"	6 —	30 —
Luxemburg	"	3⅕ —	16 —
England	Private,	20 " 9	100 " 45
England	Public,	7 —	30 average. (See note.)
New Zealand	"	5 —	24 average receipts per subscriber.
United States (Bell Co's.)	Private,	45 to 7	240 to 36
United States (Inter. Dept.)	Public,	2 —	10 —

The "Bell" prices in America run above and below the "National" prices in Great Britain. The average income per phone is probably not very different in the two countries, being estimated at $50 to $60, tolls and all.

Run your eye down the £'s column — it takes two figures every time for a private company's standard price. Pick out all the high charges and put them together and you'll have all the private systems in the group, — pick out the low rates and you'll have all the public systems in your

[20] Trondhjem, the third city of Norway (30,000 population), is the banner city in the growing movement for municipal ownership of the local telephone system. The original exchange was a private one established in 1882. The rates were low, but the service was unsatisfactory, so that in 1889 the town bought the property and reconstructed it in the most thorough manner. The town rates are:

	Per Year.
For a business place within 1½ km. (about 1 mile) of central station	$16.65
For a second business connection by the same person or firm	13.31
For a private house (same distance)	8.33
For each 100 metres beyond 1½ km.	1.37

group. Is it distance? Switzerland is larger than Holland and the country is vastly rougher and more difficult to traverse, yet the standard rate in Switzerland is only a third of the Holland rate. Austria-Hungary is very much larger than Spain, and more than twice the size of Great Britain, and yet the rate in Austria is less than half the Spanish charge, and about one quarter of the English private rate. France is sixteen times the size of Holland, but the telephone maximum

---

The town builds all lines, supplies the instruments, and maintains the system, the above charges being the only ones subscribers have to pay. There are 780 exchange lines and 8 private lines. The average rental received for an exchange line is 49.1 kr., or $13.25 per year. The subscribers speak to surrounding towns (there are eleven of them) within fifty miles at the rate of 4 cents for 5 minutes. The non-subscribing public pays 6½ cents per conversation inter-urban, and 2½ cents for a local conversation. Each subscriber makes an average of 8 or 9 calls a day, so that the cost of a local conversation to a subscriber is about ½ a cent. The Trondhjem telephone receipts afford a surplus after covering all working expenses, interest on the capital invested, a reserve of 5% a year on the capital, and insurance of employees against death, accident, and sickness.

In Germany the standard charge is $35.70 within the city postal delivery, beyond that $11.90 for each kilometre. Additional telephones will be put in the same building or the same piece of property for a second, third, etc., participator on the same wire for $11.90 each; so that subscribers can by combining get a rate of $23.80 per telephone year. And if the same subscriber desires an additional telephone in the same property it will cost him but $4.76 a year. You can talk all over Germany for 24 cents, and conversations between neighboring places cost 12 cents.

In Luxemburg a local station pays $20 a year for connection with the State system, and the individual subscription is $16, which entitles the subscriber to talk all over the duchy, 44 by 30 miles. No other charge is made upon one within 1½ km. of a wire, which is almost always the case, so thick are the wires, — for one outside the limit the only additional cost is an initial construction fee of $20 for each kilometre.

Bulgaria charges $30 a year irrespective of distance.

In Austria-Hungary the ordinary charge, city or country, is $25, though it is $40 in Vienna, and higher also in Budapest.

Switzerland charges $24 the first year, $20 the second, and $16 each year afterward for connection of a communal station with the State system — 800 calls free, a small charge afterward. The local authorities charge $20 the first year, $14 the second, $8 the third, within 1¼ miles, plus 1 cent for each conversation beyond the free calls. This makes the first-year charge about $38, and the third year rate will average $20 to $25.

In France last year the Government decided to reduce the rate to $10 a year even in Paris, and the charge for conversations to 5 cents for a non-subscriber talking locally in Paris or any other city, and 7 cents for a conversation between two exchanges within 16 miles of each other. (*Elec. Engineer*, Oct. 16 and 30, 1895.) For greater distances it is 10 cents for the first 62 miles, and 10 cents more for each added distance of 62 miles. (*Journal Télégraphique*, March 25, 1895.)

The English Post Office Guide for 1895, pages 450–1, states that the department will construct and maintain telephone lines connecting dwellings and business places with a postal telegraph office and with each other at a charge of $25 (on the roads, and $40 underground) per year, per mile of double wire. The charge for a set of instruments (transmitter, receiver, bell, and battery) is $12.50. For telephone exchange wires with telephones the rate is $40 per annum for a quarter of a mile, $50 half a mile, and $70 a mile. A number of persons joining and taking a circuit together can obtain a low rate, the average being stated on unofficial authority to be about $25 or $30. The postal telephone has about 12 or 13 hundred subscribers.

Owing to the preoccupation of territory by the National Telephone Company, and its success in maintaining a monopoly through the control of patents, the dislike

is one fifth as much, and only one tenth of the English city rate. The size of the country does not seem to be the determining fact, — it would be hard to see how it should have much influence on *local* telephone charges at any rate, and yet the contrast of high and low charges confronts us here as in the case of the telegraph. Is it wages? Wages are higher in Switzerland than in Holland, and in Austria they range one fourth more than in Spain (Mulhall's Dictionary of Statistics). According to the "New Zealand Year Book,

---

of the post office to grant new licenses for duplicate plants (which would make the nationalization and municipalization of the telephone needlessly costly), and the power of vast capital to break down or buy up opposition, the English people have not secured either from the post office or from competition the universal low-rate service to which they are entitled. In London the National Company charges $100 a year; in the principal towns, $50; in a few small towns, $45. Mr. A. R. Bennett has been calling attention to the fact that these rates are double the rates that prevail on the continent. The National Company's answer is that the continental systems are built of cheap material, pay small wages, and do not make any profit. Mr. Bennett has shown in rebuttal that some of the systems where the rates are lowest are of the best construction, equal and in some cases superior to the National Company's system; that the wages they pay for construction are, as a rule, nearly the same as in England, while the wages of operating clerks are higher than in England, and that these continental systems realize a profit above interest, depreciation, and cost of operation, in spite of their low rates. At the hearings of the recent Select Committee on the Telephone, the National Company admitted that its stock was watered to the extent of £1,292,000 or about $6,460,000 on 73,338 lines. Mr. Bennett says those who have studied the subject estimate the water to be much more than this, but accepting the company's own figures, the water is $87.75 per line. The Dundee and District Telephone Company's lines in England cost $75 each. The Mutual Telephone Company's lines (double wires) in Manchester cost $84 each. The Christiania Telephone Company's lines cost $60 each, and the Trondhjem municipal lines cost $50.50 each, including the purchase money paid to the original company, which was nearly all waste. It appears, therefore, that the water in the National, on its own showing, is more than the actual cost. A similar condition of affairs exists in the United States, the Bell and subsidiary companies being capitalized at more than double the estimated cost of their construction and equipment.

In England there have been some attempts at competition. The Dundee Company started with a yearly subscription of $27.50 for any distance, and it paid 9% dividends for the 4¼ years of its existence. The National was resolved to buy it out regardless of cost to preserve its high tariff, and it had to give the Dundee capital plus 40% to obtain the sale. The Sheffield Company paid good dividends on a $35 rate. The Globe began with a $50 rate, but was bought out at an early stage in order that the $100 rate might be maintained. The Mutual in Manchester started in 1891 with a $25 rate for shareholders and $30 for the general public. The average subscription after deducting the 10% postal royalty was $23, and it paid 2.29% dividends per year after putting away 5% as a reserve. This company, too, has been bought off to maintain the monopoly rate of $50 in Manchester.

The New Zealand rate in the table is an average found by dividing the total income of the public phones by the number of subscribers as given on page 128 of the "New Zealand Official Year Book," 1894. As a number of subscribers probably have more than one phone, the actual yearly rate per telephone is probably under $20. The receipts more than cover operating expenses and depreciation.

In Cochin China the telephone charge is $30 to $45 in the public system, and $100 in the territory occupied by private companies.

In the United States, until recently, the field has been entirely controlled by the Bell Company and the subsidiary companies organized by Bell interests, forming

1894," wages are higher there than in the United States, yet the people obtain their telephone service for one third to one twelfth of the Bell telephone rates. And the distances between subscribers are greater there than here. The tendency of public enterprise to make reasonable rates based on the cost of the service, and the tendency of private monopoly to use its arbitrary power of writing tariffs and levying

---

altogether, for all practical purposes, a single giant monopoly. The standard rate for metallic service, unlimited, is $240 in New York; $75 to $156 in Boston within a mile of an exchange; $100 to $250 in Philadelphia. Recently what is called "measured service" has been introduced into these cities and some others. For example, in Philadelphia, within a mile of an exchange, the following charges are made for measured service with metallic circuit:

No. of calls.	Yearly rate.	Extra calls, each.
800	$90.00	8 cents.
1,000	102.00	7 "
1,200	112.00	6 "
1,800	136.00	5 "
2,400	156.00	5 "

Intermediate service at intervals of 200 calls may be had at proportional rates, and beyond 2,400 calls the charge is $6 for each 200. For a two-party circuit each subscriber pays about 1-5 off the above rate for the same number of calls. Extra calls are charged at 5 to 8 cents each. The lowest rate in Philadelphia is $60 for 600 calls a year on a two-party circuit within one mile.

In New York the measured service is as follows:

No. calls.	Yearly rate, subject to rebate for unused calls.	Rate not subject to rebate.
1,000	$120.00	
1,500	150.00	$145.00
2,000	175.00	165.00
2,500	200.00	180.00
3,000	225.00	195.00
3,500	250.00	210.00
4,000	275.00	225.00

This table gives all the rates not subject to rebate, but column 1 in the tariff makes a rate for each 100 calls, $6 up to 1,500 calls, with 8 cents for each added message, then $5 a hundred up to 4,000, with 7 cents for each extra call above the number agreed for.

In Detroit the rates are: $36 house, $40 office, $50 business. In Germantown and Chestnut Hill, $72 to $90, or if three or more persons take the same circuit, $51 each for a residence, and $66 for a place of business. In small towns the usual charges are $36 house and $48 business, for local service within 10 miles, $75 or more for connection with a city if one is near.

The enormity of these charges becomes clear when it is known that responsible parties are offering to supply telephone service in this country at $1 to $2 a month in towns, and $2.50 in the largest cities.

The Bell Company proper reports as follows:

BELL PROFITS, IN THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS.

	1895.	1894.	1893.	1892.
Gross receipts,	$5,125	$4,848	$5,781	$5,100
Expenses,	1,911	1,724	1,855	1,689
Net profit,	$3,214	$3,124	$3,926	$3,411
Regular dividends,	$2,502	$2,400	$2,214	$1,927
Extra dividends,	630	700	1,125	992
Total dividends,	$3,132	$3,000	$3,339	$2,919

taxes to realize the largest obtainable profit regardless of the value of its service, constitute the only possible explanation of the phenomenal contrasts in telegraph and telephone rates above set forth. Further evidence is afforded (1) by the fact that in spite of their low rates the public telephones of Germany, France, Belgium, Sweden, Switzerland, Luxemburg, Austria, and New Zealand yield a profit above all operating expenses, maintenance, and depreciation; (2) by the fact that *two thirds* of the Bell Telephone Company's receipts are clear profits according to the company's own statements; and (3) by various facts showing the low cost of operating the telephone ser-

---

A profit amounting to two thirds of the gross receipts is pretty "fair" in one sense. It is right that an invention should yield a profit, especially if the inventor gets that profit, but nearly 14 millions in four years is too much. The nation should have bought the patent for $100,000 (as it could have done in the early eighties) and thrown it open to public use by establishing postal trunk lines and leasing franchises to municipalities or to private persons under proper guarantees as to charges, service, etc., where the municipal authorities refused to undertake the work. This would have saved the people many millions, and given them a far more ample telephone service, aiding thereby the development of the country.

In an investigation in New York, the sworn testimony of the officers of the Metropolitan Telephone Company showed that the net profit of that company was 474% in 6 years on the cash capital invested, — 116% in the year 1885, over 147% in 1886, more than 145% in 1887 — pretty good net profits. While the rate was $60, then raised to $150 and again to $180, the company realized $2,843,454 net in 6 years on an original cash investment of $600,000. Last year (1895) there were in New York 9,500 subscribers paying an average of $175 a year. Half the number pay the standard rate, $240; 3,000 pay a rate based on the service rendered, and 2,000 pay rates below $240 and down to $150. (*Electrical World*, March 9, 1895, p. 309.)

High as the rates are in America, the subscriber has to put up with a far less valuable service than the European subscriber enjoys. There is no such co-ordination of the telegraph and telephone service here as exists across the sea.

In Germany a message can be sent to the telegraph through the telephone from any house or property having an instrument, at a cost of 2½ cents a message, or ¼ cent a word, or 5 cents for 10 words, 7½ cents for 20 words, and so on, — this charge covers the receipt of the message at the central telephone office and its transfer to the telegraph. Telegraph messages are sent to destination over the telephone at the same rates. In England the postal regulations providing for the renting of postal, telephone, and telegraph privileges, say: "The advantage is that the renter is placed in direct communication with the public wires in all parts of the kingdom or abroad, messages being received from and sent to the postal telegraph by wire instead of by hand. The renter has also the privilege of sending messages over his private wire, to be forwarded from the post office as ordinary *letters*, or of calling a messenger for the express delivery of a letter or parcel, . . . local messages to the renter handed in at the post office into which the wire is led, are sent to the renter over his wire free, and messages sent by him and called for at the postoffice are also delivered free. Messages to be forwarded as letters are subject to a charge of 2 cents, in addition to the ordinary postage." The English people have not derived the benefit they should from these provisions, owing to the fact that years ago private companies leased telephone privileges from the post office and occupied the best of the territory; and when such a system is once established it is difficult to start a new one even with much lower rates, because the first subscribers to the new system have to forfeit the wide connections afforded by the old-established plant, and the natural inertia of men inclines them to put up with high charges rather than go through the transition period in the formation of a new system and incur the enmity of a power-

vice [21] — public telephones being operated at a cost estimated in some cases as low as $10 a year; and even private companies celebrating the expiration of the Bell patents by organizing telephone exchanges at the rate of $1 to $2 a month for each subscriber — in some cases even less. Public enterprise brings rates down to the cost of production, or if the rates are above cost, it amounts to the same thing to the public, because the profits belong to the public. Private

ful corporation with the kingdom in its grasp. The establishment of the postal telephone trunk lines last year will help to develop the local business of the postal telephone system.

The Swiss telephone stations act in unison with the telegraph, and in Belgium also telegrams are received and transmitted by telephone, the two systems being thoroughly co-ordinated. The report sent me does not state the charges, if any, but the number of telegrams so received and transmitted in 1894 was 957,291. The *Journal Télégraphique*, March 25, 1895, p. 51, says that as a rule in Europe the telephone subscriber has the privilege of transmitting and receiving telegrams over the telephone wires free of charge. In the United States you pay a good deal more for your telephone and get a good deal less out of it.

Telephone data will be found in Poor's Manual of Railroads, etc., The United States Statistical Abstract, The Statesman's Year Book, Hazell's Annual, 1896, p. 639 (European rates), P. M. Gen'l's Rep. 1892, p. 29 *et seq.* (German system), the various cyclopædias, electrical journals, and technical works, Bennett's "Telephone Systems of the Continent," "Telephoning in Great Cities," etc. These books and Mr. Bennett's articles in the English electrical journals are especially valuable. We are indebted to him for the facts about Trondhjem, and he is also a joint authority for most of the statements concerning telephone rates in Europe. Many data will be found in the *Journal Télégraphique*, published by the International Telegraph Bureau in Switzerland — the issue of March 25, 1895, is particularly interesting to students of the telephone question. Care must be taken in dealing with the authorities to note the date, for telephone rates have a tendency to change.

[21] Public ownership of the telephone is an accomplished fact in one of the departments of the Federal Government. The Department of the Interior kindly furnished me with the following facts: In 1894 the Department paid the Bell Company $60 to $125 each for 65 telephones, the total rental being $4,283. The Department employed a lady to attend the main exchange at $600 a year, making a total cost of $4,883, or an average of more than $75 per phone per year. In July, 1895, the Department put in a system of its own — 140 telephones connecting widely scattered buildings in Washington, with four switchboards, the main exchange being in the Patent Building and attended by the same lady who had charge of the Bell phones. In addition to her salary of $600 the Department pays an electrician $300 a year to keep the system in repair, making a total operating cost of $900 a year, or $6.43 per phone. At 3% interest and 5% depreciation the Department estimates the fixed charges at $3.80 per phone year, which gives a total cost of $10.25 for what used to cost $75 a year under the Bell *régime*. The three subordinate switchboards are tended by persons already employed by the Government before the telephones were put in, and involve no additional wage cost. The instruments cost about $20 a set, and are of very fine make. (A very good telephone is put in by the Kenedy Company opposite the Treasury Building at a cost of $10.75, battery and all complete.) The facts in regard to these Government phones and the Trondhjem system ought to be printed by every newspaper in the country so that the people everywhere may be led to think a few practical thoughts about the telephone.

We have seen in the last note that the cost of construction of the ordinary exchange telephone line is $60 to $75. The cost of operation in a fifty-mile radius does not exceed $8 a year. That is a little more than the operating cost in Trondhjem, — interest (4½%) and depreciation (5%) amount to $4.37, — total cost about $12.33 per telephone year. Co-operative societies in France have successfully carried on the

enterprise in a free field of competition brings rates within sight of the cost of production, — cost plus a moderate profit. But private *monopoly* does not care to keep the cost of production in view — it soars aloft and floats its tariff (except when restrained by law) at a height proportioned to what the boys would call the "gall" of the managers. The

telephone service for some time at a $10 rate, and the rate established for this year by decree of the French Government looks as though the Department had good reason to believe that charge sufficient, even in Paris.

The municipal ownership of the telephone has proved so successful that towns and cities in various parts of the world are beginning to think and move in that direction. The town council of Rotterdam is constructing a telephone system of its own. The city of Glasgow has carefully investigated the subject, reached a conclusion favorable to municipal ownership, and decided to ask for a municipal telephone license. Other Scotch towns are on the road. In this country the *Electrical Engineer* says that the people of Duluth, under the leadership of the Commercial Club, have declared for a municipal telephone system.

Now that patents no longer protect the Bell Companies, competition will lower rates wherever the political or other influence of the great company is unable to exclude the new investors. Here are some of the transactions and coming events noted in the electrical journals during the last year:

	Yearly Rates.	
	House Phone.	Business Phone.
Big Fight in Richmond.		
Present Bell charges	$40.00	$64.00
New company	24.00	36.00
New company in Philadelphia offer	50.00	75.00
Present Bell charges for same service,	100.00	250.00
Lansdowne and vicinity will have cheap long-distance service to Philadelphia,	18.00	30.00
Ironton, Ky., new exchange offers	18.00	—
Grand Rapids, Mich., is to have	20.00	30.00
Schoolcraft, Mich.	8.00	12.00
Sedalia, Mo.	18.00	24.00
Rochester new company	24.00	36.00
("About halving present Bell rates.")		
Ionia has an offer	15.00	20.00
Cleburne, Tex., to have city telephone	18.00	36.00
Penn Yan, N. Y., rates to be	18.00	24.00
Chester, Pa., rates to be	20.00	30.00
("Bell rates have been $66 upwards.")		
Southern Bell says rates will fall to	10.00	18.00
Wabash, Indiana, Central Union Telephone Company offer service at	8.00	12.00
Chillicothe, Ohio, has rates	18.00	24.00
Columbus, Ind., has rates	8.00	12.00

In Chillicothe 200 phones are in operation, cost of construction, $10,000 ($50 a line); 150 phones at $18, and 50 at $24; $3,900 a year in rentals. The Bell Company has left the field. (*Electrical Engineer*, Aug. 28, 1895.) It is reported that the Western Union Telephone Company will furnish telephone service in *Chicago* at $30 a year. (*Elec. Rev.*, Aug. 30, 1895, quoting from *Financial News*.)

At the lowest estimate, the Bell Companies receive an average of $45 per phone in rentals, and $5 more in tolls; $50 per phone for a service that ought not to cost over $15 per phone under present conditions, or $20 at the outside, with the best possible service, and an 8-hour day and good wages for all employees.

strength of the monopoly, its freedom from restrictions, and the amount of "gall" possessed by its management are variable quantities, wherefore private monopoly makes very different charges at different times and places for substantially the same service under substantially similar conditions of productive cost.

Europe also affords some instances of cheap telephone service by private enterprise, where by reason of public spirit or vigorous competition between companies of nearly equal strength, the business did not fall into the hands of a powerful, selfish, thoroughly intrenched monopoly. For example, Jutland is well telephoned at charges ranging from $13 to $21 a year. Many of the exchanges in Holland also have rates that run from $13 to $25 a year. The private company of Stockholm charges but $22 per telephone year. The competing English companies, spoken of in note 20, afford other examples of what can be done even by private enterprise when untainted with overmastering greed.

From the telephone reports, which will be found in the *Electrical Engineer* (April 8, 1896, Bell Rep. for 1895) and in Poor's Manual, the United States Statistical Abstract, etc., we learn that (excluding the American Telegraph and Telephone Company or long-distance phone) the average daily number of toll connections in this country was 38,324, or 12,000,000 a year, and the toll revenue $2,355,488, or about 20 cents for each local and neighborhood conversation. We are further told that for 1895 the Bell subscribers' calls averaged 2,351,420 daily by count at most of the exchanges, or 757,000,000 yearly, 1 to 16⅓ per station, 8¼ on an average to each subscriber every day, at an average cost to the subscriber of 1 to 10.2 cents a call. For 1894 the Bell calls were said to be 670,000,000, — 2⅓ to 24 per station, 8½ on an average for each subscriber.

According to these figures a subscriber averages 2,700 calls per year. The data of this note and of note 20 show that $10 to $25 will cover the average total cost per telephone (operating expenses, interest, depreciation, and all), so that *the real cost per call averages only about half a cent to one cent.*

Major-General Webber presented to the British Association last year (see his paper in *Electrical Engineer*, Sept. 27, 1895) a plan for rural telephone service to be constructed and managed by the county authorities. He took the county of Suffolk as an example, and showed that a charge of 4 cents per conversation in the local exchange and 6 cents anywhere in the county would cover all expenses, including interest and depreciation, even on the basis of a very low estimate of telephone use in a country district. If the service became popular a much lower charge would suffice.

It is sometimes said that the telephone rate in a large city must be much higher than in a town of moderate size and that it is not fair to use such cases as Trondhjem in comparison with the cities of England and America. It is true that the complexity of the service is far greater in a city of 1,000,000 people than in a place of 15,000 or 50,000. If there are 20,000 subscribers in the same locality each may call for communication with any one of 19,999 stations; whereas, if there are but 100 subscribers, 99 connections for each is the limit of the service that must be provided for. On the other hand, if the rates are reasonable, the number of subscribers in a given area is apt to be vastly greater in a big city than in a country town, and this tends to reduce the cost per phone. Whatever the result of these opposing tendencies may prove to be when low rates shall be established in an American city alive to the value of telephone service, we are at no loss in the mean time for reliable comparisons. Berlin and Vienna are very large cities — the first as large as Chicago, the second as large as Philadelphia — yet the telephone rates in these cities of ours are three times as high as in their European counterparts, and the rate in Vienna is not the result of applying a uniform rate throughout the empire, but is a special rate for that city, $40 a year within 2 miles, in Philadelphia $100 to $150 within 1 mile.

Paris is also a large city, larger than any of ours, having about 2½ millions of people, yet the telephone rates, as we have seen, are mere trifles compared to those of New York, and are lower indeed than the Bell charges even in the smallest towns.

Before we leave the telephone, let us call up Europe, and see what the charges per conversation may be over there.

TELEPHONE CONVERSATION CHARGES.

Public Phone.	Local conversation by non-subscribers.	Rate between neighboring places.	Rate between distant places.
Germany . . .	6 cents	12 cents	24 cents
France . . .	5 "	7 to 10 "	20 to 80 "
Belgium . . .	5 "	5 to 7 "	20 "
Switzerland . .	2 "	6 to 10 "	15 "
Austria-Hungary .	4 "	12 "	20 to 40 "
Trondhjem . .	2½ "	4 to 6½ "	———
Great Britain (Postal Rates.)	6 "	6 to 12 "	12 cts. to $1.00
Private Phone.			
United States (Bell)	10 to 15 "	15 to 25 "	30 cts. to 10.00

Our own capitalist experts have clinched the argument for the possibility of cheap telephone service in large cities by offering exchange lines at $30 a year in Chicago, a rate which of course includes a provision for profit.

Stockholm, the chief city of Sweden, is a place of 260,000 inhabitants, and its telephone system operates over a radius of 43¼ miles. It is run in a sort of co-operative way in connection with the State lines. It has a 14,000-wire exchange, and its charge is $22 a year, — half the monopoly charge even in the small towns of England and America, to say nothing of the cities.

Christiania, the chief city of Norway, with 150,000 inhabitants, has a telephone system in the management of which the city exercises considerable influence, being the owner of a block of the telephone stock, and having effective representation in the managing council and on the board of directors. In September, 1895, there were 5,000 exchange lines. The yearly cost to each subscriber is $22.25, and the system pays 5½ per cent on the capital invested, after putting aside large reserves, writing off values of buildings and lines, and providing benevolent funds for employees.

The Trondhjem municipal plant in Norway charges $8⅓ to $16⅔. The city has 30,000 inhabitants. The English and American monopolists charge $36 to $50 or more for less efficient service in places of the same size.

At the British Association last year Mr. Bennett made an interesting comparison between Luxemburg and the county of Dorset in England (London *Engineering*, Oct. 4 and 25, 1895). The duchy and the county have the same area, 998 square miles, and practically the same population, 211,000 persons. Lux. has 59 switchrooms all connected by trunk lines, and 1,315 exchange lines (1 to 160 inhabitants), at a cost to each subscriber of $16 a year for the privilege of communication through all the exchanges over the whole duchy. Dorset has only 3 exchanges and 70 subscribers (1 to about 3,000 people), and the charge is three times as great as in Lux. The English journal above cited comments as follows: "It might be thought that Mr. Bennett had selected the most glaring contrast he could find, but this was not the case. Dorsetshire and Luxemburg were chosen for comparison because of their similarity in size and population; and indeed, as Mr. Bennett said, many counties are worse off than Dorset." The reason is that the English telephone service has been controlled by a great private monopoly that does not care to bother with country districts, while Luxemburg has had the benefit of enlightened public control — state management of trunk lines, local exchanges in the hands of local authorities, administration for the people without competition, — the very best and most economical system possible. Country districts in America are about as badly off, in respect to telephone service, as the agricultural counties of England, and for the same reason.

Here again it is clear that the arbitrary power of private monopoly is the only explanation of the tremendous difference in rates. The charges for local conversations in our towns and cities average fully three times as much as for places of the same size in the public systems of Europe; and the rates for inter-urban communication are from 2 to 6 times greater here than in Europe for the same distances.[22]

---

22 In Paris or any city of France you can go into a telephone office and talk 5 minutes over any telephone line in the city for 5 cents. The same is true of Belgium; Hungary, lower; Trondhjem, 2½ cents for 5 minutes, and Switzerland, 2 cents for 3 minutes. In Luxemburg no charge at all is made up to 2,000 calls — that is the telephones in hotels, restaurants, clubs, depots, etc., are open to the use of the general public, either for local or inter-urban conversations up to 2,000; beyond that a charge is made of 7 cents per conversation, either local or distant.

In our large cities 15 cents is the minimum charge for the local use of the telephone by the general public, — three times the charge in Paris. In our small towns 10 cents is the minimum Bell Company conversation rate for the public, twice the ordinary European charge where cities and towns are averaged in one uniform rate, and four times the Trondhjem rate established by the municipal management.

In France the inter-urban rate is 7 cents for 5 minutes within 16 miles; 10 cents within 62+ miles; 20 cents within 125 miles, and so on, — 10 cents for each 62+ miles. In Austria the rate is 12 cents within 30 miles, 20 cents within 62+ miles, 30 cents within 94 miles, beyond that to any distance, 40 cents. In Switzerland the rate is 6 cents within 30 miles, 10 cents within 62+ miles, any distance beyond that, 15 cents. For distances within 30 miles in the United States the charge runs from 15 to 25 cents; 30 to 60 cents or more up to 60 miles; for longer distances the charges run up out of sight.

From Berlin to Breslau is 218 miles, or a few miles more than from Philadelphia to Norwich, Conn., — the rate in the first case is 24 cents, in the second $2.25 a day and $1.15 night. The rate to Pittsburg, only a few miles further, is $3 day and $1.50 night; to Niagara, double the German distance, $4 and $2; to Boston, 304 miles, $3 and $1.50; to Cincinnati, about three times as far as Berlin to Breslau, $6.50 day and $3.25 night; to Chicago, 820 miles from Philadelphia, $8 and $4. Conversations are held in Germany over distances of 500 miles. In France the charge for 304 miles would be 50 cents, instead of $3 as between Philadelphia and Boston; and 70 cents for 436 miles, instead of $4 as from Philadelphia to Niagara. There is a nominal time limit of 3 minutes between distant places in Germany, and 5 minutes in this country and in France, but these limits are not enforced except when the wires are rushed.

The English "Post Office Guide" says, "Where telephone exchanges in different towns are connected by trunk lines, such lines may be used for conversation by local subscribers and the general public on payment of the following charges:

Between any two towns —

within 20 miles of each other — threepence;

" 40 " " " " — sixpence;

and so on at the rate of 6*d.* for every additional 40 miles or fraction thereof.

The charge to the general public for conversation with post-office telephone subscribers in the same town is threepence for three minutes."

From ——, where these words are written, to B—— is 7 miles, and the telephone rate is 15 cents; to P—— is 18 miles, and the rate is 25 cents; — in each case the English postal telephone rate would be 6 cents. From Boston to New York, 200 miles, $2, — English rate 60 cents; New York to Philadelphia, 90 miles, $1, — English rate 36 cents. *Here we have two tariffs, one public and one private, both expressly framed on the scale of distance, and the public tariff is about one third of the private tariff for the same distances.* The English postal tariff, moreover, is pretty high; — the people of

Do you wish more proof? Let us recur to the proposition that if the responsibility for our lofty telegraph rates does not rest upon private monopoly, but upon distances, wages, and other elements of difference betwen this country and Europe, then the postal service (which is subject to the said elements of difference, but eliminates the factor of private ownership, being public on both sides of the water) should be more than twice as costly here as in Europe. Well, here are tables of postal charges and expenses made up from the official returns of the various countries represented:

POSTAL CHARGES.

	Letters.	Postals	Newspapers and Periodicals.	Books and other printed matter.	Merchandise.
United States	*2c. 1 oz.	1c.	*1c. 1 lb. to 1c. 4 oz.	1c. 2 oz.	1c. per oz.
Germany .	2½c. ½ oz.	1¼c.	———	¾c. 1⅔ oz. 2½c. ½ lb. 5c. 1 lb. 7½c. 1 to 2 lb.	Samples of goods, 2 to 4c. ½ lb. Parcels 6c. 11 lb. 11 miles; 12½c. 10 lb. any dist.
France .	3c. ½ oz.	2c.	———	⅕c. for each ⅕ oz. 1c. ⅔ to 1⅔ lb. 1c. for each 1⅔ lb. thereafter.	Parcels not over 7 lbs. 4c.
Great Britain	2c. 1 oz.	1c.	1c. each	1c. 2 oz.	Samples 2c. 4 oz., 3c. 6 oz., 4c. 8 oz. Parcels 6c. 1 lb., and 3c. more for each further lb. up to 11.
Switzerland	*2c. ½ lb.	1c.	———	⅔c. 1 oz. 1c. ½ lb.	Samples of goods 1c. ½ lb.
NewSo. Wales	*4c. ½ oz.	2c.	*1c. 10 oz.	1c. 2 oz.	———
New Zealand	*4c. ½ oz.	3c.	———	1c. 2 oz.	Parcels 12c. lb. and 6c. for each added lb. up to 11, the limit.

Trondhjem can telephone to Svorkmo, 47½ miles away, and to ten other places within a 50-mile radius, for 6½ cents per 5-minute conversation, and a local conversation costs 2½, — these are the rates for the non-subscribing public. In Germany you can talk all over the empire for a quarter, and in the first two cases of this paragraph the rate would be 12 cents. The German system abandons the distance scale and divides inter-urban communications into two classes, near and far, and adopts a uniform rate for each class.

* In the United States, local letters, except in free-delivery cities, 1 cent an ounce; in Switzerland, ½-ounce letters, within 6 miles, 1 cent; in New South Wales and New Zealand, ½-ounce local letters, 2 cents. In the United States, newspapers are carried "county free" to the number of 380 millions annually, and publishers of periodicals

This does not look like the telegraph table, does it? The United States is just as much bigger than England, France, Germany, or New Zealand, when it comes to carrying letters, as when the sending of telegrams has the floor, but her size does not seem to double up her postal tariff, as it ought to according to Western Union logic — on the contrary, her postal charges are lower than those of Europe; and Postmaster-General Wanamaker says they are the lowest in the world. But the postal cost may be higher than in Europe, although our charges are lower. Let us see. We will take the total number of pieces carried in the mails as a divisor, and the total expense of the mails as a dividend, and ascertain the cost per piece in the United States and in Europe.

POSTAL RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES PER UNIT.[23]

	Area in thousands of square miles.	Population in millions.	Average receipts per piece of mail handled, in cents.	Average expenditure per piece, in cents.
United States	3,512	70.	1.48	1.65
Germany	208	51.8	2.50	2.30
France	204	38.5	1.94	1.55
Great Britain	121	38.86	1.85	1.35
Switzerland	16	3.	3.42	3.24
Holland	12	4.80	1.48	1.18
Austria	116	24.50	2.83	2.05
Hungary	125	18.15	3.61	2.86
New South Wales	309	1.25	2.05	2.40
New Zealand	104	.71	2.67	1.65
Average for the best countries of Europe			2.45	2.05
United States, as above			1.48	1.65

have a rate of 1 cent a pound, the rate to others mailing periodicals being 1 cent for 4 ounces. New South Wales carries all newspapers not exceeding 10 ounces free, within seven days after publication. Where no special newspaper rates are made, the rate for printed matter governs. The figures in this table are taken from official sources, dated 1894 or 1895, except in the case of the French and Swiss rates, the authorities for which date 1891. The only Belgian report I have relates to the telegraph and telephone, and the statements in American and English publications do not give sufficient data for the comparisons of this and the following table; the letter rate is 2 cents, and post cards 1 cent.

[23] The cost per unit does not vary much from year to year. In 1885 the United States mails carried 2,633,115,950 pieces at a cost of 1.9 cents per piece, — in 1888, 3,576,100,000 pieces at 1.65 cents a piece; in 1890, 4,005,408,000 pieces at 1.65 cents each; in 1891, 4,351,844,800 pieces at 1.65 cents each; and in 1892, 4,838,400,000 at 1.57 cents each; — since 1892 the cost has gone back to about 1.7 owing to circumstances resulting from the depression of business (see P. M. Gen'l's Reports, 1888, 1890, p. 51, 1891, p. 53, and subsequent reports) — the average for recent years is about 1.65 cents per piece.

This table ot a service which is public on both sides of the water does not look much like the telegraph and telephone tables. The United States is seventeen times as large as Germany, yet the postal cost per unit is lower here than there, — look back a moment at the telegraph table and note the contrast. Our Republic is thirty-three times the size of New Zealand, but the postal cost per unit is about the same in the two countries, — glance back at the telephone table and note how our Bell telephone tariff towers above the New Zealand rates. This country is two hundred and nineteen times as big as Switzerland, yet the unit cost of her mail service is considerably above ours, while her telegraph rates are less than half of ours. Holland has lower rates than other European countries, when the service is public in all, but her private telephone rates reach a much higher maximum than the public rates of her sister States.

Taking the whole of Europe together, the eminent statistician, M. G. Mulhall, finds the average telegraph rates to be about half of ours, and the average unit cost of the mail service about double what it is here,[24] which suggests the inference that when a service is public here as well as in Europe we can run it at half the average European cost, if we try; but when the service is public there and private here, it costs us twice as much as our friends across the water have to pay. If the rule should hold in the case of the telegraph and telephone, public ownership would give us rates about one quarter the size of those in fashion at present, — the telegraph tariff would "slump" like the ladies' sleeves when

---

The actual amount of *postage* received per piece is about 1.39 cents (1890 Rep. p. 51-2), but for lack of separate statement of the items the total mail expenses have to be used in calculating the cost per piece, and therefore the *total mail receipts* were used instead of the postage receipts.

The main cause of difference in the unit postal cost appears to be a variation in the *proportion* which the traffic between large cities bears to the total traffic of the country. If the rural population makes small use of the mail and the cities patronize the post office largely, the cost per unit will be small; but if the country people read and write a great deal, the postal cost per unit will be large. The cost per unit of the postal traffic between Philadelphia and New York is very small; but if the same volume of mail had to be distributed to the same number of people widely scattered in hamlets and farms, the cost would be very large. The density of business at terminal points has much more to do with the unit cost than the size of the country or the distance between the terminals. This is the reason the cost is high in Switzerland, where every village and farm is a frequent patron of the post, and no great cities pour in a giant mass of traffic to reduce the average cost. In Holland (and probably in Belgium) the conditions are reversed and the cost is low.

[24] Mulhall's Dictionary of Statistics, p. 458 — the most famous compilation of statistics in the world, and everywhere recognized as high authority.

the dealers have sold the dear world a full stock of balloons. Even if we suppose that public ownership here would do no more than reduce our telegraph and telephone rates to the European level, it would save our people more than half what they now pay for wire service. The gross receipts of the telegraph and telephone in the United States amount to about sixty millions a year.[25] A postal teleplant would save the people the profits that admittedly go to the telegraph and telephone monopolies, plus the profits that are not stated as such, plus the savings effected by the co-ordination of the telegraph and telephone with each other and with the post office, and by abolishing the wastes and big salaries of the corporations — comparisons with other countries and estimates of actual cost here combine to show that it is a mild proposition to affirm that the people could save more than half the money they pay to these monopolies.

The expenditure by the nation of 2 or 3 hundred thousand dollars at the proper times for patents, and 35 millions in telegraph and long phone construction, and the further expenditure of 40 or 50 millions by cities and towns for municipal telephone systems, would have made the people the owners

[25] Mr. F. C. Waite (in charge of the Department of "True Wealth" for the 11th census) estimated the gross receipts of the telegraph in the United States in 1890 at 25 millions, and the gross telephone receipts at 16 millions. (See Mr. Waite's letter in Prof. Commons' "Distribution of Wealth," p. 258.) The latter estimate is very low; 449,861 telephones were reported in use in the United States in 1890, and as the rentals ran from $36 to $75 in the towns, and $75 to $240 in the large cities, the total income, rentals plus tolls, could hardly be less than $50 a phone, or $22,490,000. In November, 1895, there were 670,000 phones in use in the United States, and the gross telephone earnings probably exceed 33 millions a year. There is good reason to believe that the average income per phone may be more than $50. The few reports obtainable indicate this. For example, the New York and New Jersey Telephone Company operating in Long Island and in New Jersey is reported in Poor's Manual as having 10,102 telephone stations and $1,252,509 gross earnings in 1894; — an average of $123 per phone. And in New York City the average income per phone reaches $175 a year in rentals alone, exclusive of tolls.

Judging by the reports of the Western Union and the Postal Telegraph Company the telegraph earnings must be at least 27 millions, making a total of 60 millions a year for wire communication in the United States.

The reported profits run from ¼ to ⅓ of the receipts for the Western Union, ⅛ for the Postal Telegraph, ⅖ for the Bell central, and ⅛ to ⅓ for the subsidiary companies whose figures are obtainable. The total receipts reported by the Western Union since 1866 amount in round numbers to 420 millions, and the profits 130 millions. The Postal Telegraph accounts are given in Poor's Manual thus:

	Poles, miles.	Wire, miles.	Gross Earnings.	Net Earnings.
1886	4,391	36,960	$891,227	— $29,711
1893	16,201	101,807	3,565,293	+ 537,272
1894	17,727	108,636	3,754,233	+ 596,581

of a better system of wire communication than that now owned by the telemonopolies under a capitalization of more than 200 millions, would have saved them at least 30 millions of tolls a year on present business, and over 300 millions from the start to the end of 1895.[26]

The fine record of the public telegraph in Europe as compared with the private system in England prior to 1870 was a chief cause of England's determination to adopt the postal system. The English Government went to work in a very scientific way to ascertain which plan was the best. It appointed Frank Ives Scudamore, one of the secretaries of the British post office, and a man of high character and fine abilities, to examine into the workings of the German, French, Belgian, and other public systems, and compare them

---

The Bell Company proper has received altogether in the neighborhood of 55 million dollars and about 36 millions profit, of which it has paid about $7,200,000 to the Western Union from 1880 to 1895 inclusive under the agreement between the two companies by which the young Bell agreed to do what it could to maintain the old Western's telegraph monopoly and give it 20% of the Bell instrument rentals and royalties in consideration that the old Western would abandon its exchanges, abstain from telephone competition, and leave the field to the Bell. The Bell payment to the Western Union under this agreement has amounted to as much as $690,000 in a single year. (See the text of the agreement, *Electrical Engineer*, Aug. 28, 1895, pp. 208-13; see also p. 199, same issue.)

The Long Distance Telephone Company, organized, like most of the telephone companies, by Bell interests, reports 55,000 miles of poles (40-footers 130 feet from one to another) and 265,000 miles of hard-drawn copper wire, connecting 2,000 places by metallic circuit. It has invested $7,460,000 in line construction, equipment, and supplies (less than $30 per mile of wire), and its gross earnings in 1894 were $1,011,961.

The total telephone wire operated in this country at the end of 1894 is reported in Poor's Manual and in the United States Statistical Abstract published by the Treasury Department, as being less than a mile per telephone,—582,500 telephones and 577,000 miles of wire. The total cost of this telephone system (according to the data of note 20 and of the Long Distance Phone in this note) ought not to have exceeded 35 millions of dollars. The capitalization of the Bell proper was 20 millions, and the total capitalization over 93 millions. With 670,000 phones (November, 1895) and 660,000 miles of wire (estimated) our telephone system near the end of 1895 ought not to have cost over 40 millions. The stock of the Bell proper is now $23,650,000 (Bell Rep., *Elec. Eng.*, April 8, 1896), each share of which sells for $200, though the par value is $100, and the total capitalization is about 100 millions.

The capitalization of the Western Union and Bell monopolies amounts to more than 210 millions, and the Mackay Postal concern together with the local companies scattered here and there runs the total up to about a quarter of a billion. It is said that a new telephone syndicate just started has a capital of 360 millions (*Elec. Eng.*, Sept. 4, 1895, p. 226). If so, we have, or soon will have, a wire capitalization of more than half a billion in this country.

The expiration of the Bell patents and of the contract with the Western Union (which terminates November, 1896) may result in a spasm of competition; but if the people do not step in and municipalize and nationalize the service, the telegraph and telephone giants will inevitably combine after a little trial of strength and form a worse monopoly than ever.

[26] See data of notes 20 to 25.

with the results of private ownership in England. He carried out his commission in a very able and impartial manner. His reports (1866, 1868), together with the corroborative evidence introduced to the Telegraph Committee of the Commons, constituted an overwhelming demonstration of the superiority of the governmental plan, and became one of the main causes of the passage of the English bill for the public ownership of the telegraph, which became law in 1868. It is worth our while to see how England made the change, and whether she is better off than she was before.

(To be continued.)

THE VALLEY PATH.

A Novel of Tennessee Life.

BY WILL ALLEN DROMGOOLE.

CHAPTER XIII.

The day following Brother Barry's departure the doctor left his servants in charge and went back to the city.

The spring and summer drifted, and still he lingered. At last the snow came: silence settled upon the valley, and brooded upon the finer heights of the more distant hills. With the first fall of snow he returned: fires were kindled, the blue smoke curled above the little hut buried under its white burden; lights twinkled in the windows again, lighting the path through the valley and sending a good glow out upon the darkness for the cheer of belated travellers. For three days he remained indoors, seeing no one, adjusting himself anew to the life which had been temporarily broken into. And then, the fourth morning after his return, Lissy called.

He heard her voice in the hall, speaking first to Aunt Dilcy and then to Zip.

He started, and turned cold; he had dreaded, longed, and steeled himself for this visit. Yet the sound of her voice with its gentle, music-like cadences started all his nerves a-jingling. It struck him that there was something new in the tones, something he had not heard there before; its presence cut him to the soul. His trained ear had detected in the first word she spoke the note of sorrow, keen, incurable, hopeless. Those who have suffered recognize the note in any sphere or circumstance.

He had not seen her since the day they buried Al. He had kept aloof purposely; he could bear her happiness, her content with her lover, but not her grief; he would undoubtedly have made her sorrow his. He had conquered himself before she entered, though his hand still shook, and there was a mist before his eyes when she opened the door and stood before him.

At the sight of her he forgot himself as utterly as though he had never felt a pang because of her. He felt nothing but her sorrow; saw nothing but her poor, pinched little face, with the purple shadows under the fathomless eyes that gazed into his with helpless, unspoken pain.

She was as frail as one of the white lilies that had bloomed in his yard all autumn, and like the lily she had been chilled by the frost that fell too early upon the shivering white petals.

He would scarcely have recognized her but for the golden hair knotted about the small, dainty head still crowned with the old red felt. Her very voice was changed; for sorrow makes for itself an abiding place in the human voice. Otherwise she was the same gentle, quiet Alicia.

"Dr. Borin'," she said, extending her hand to meet his, "I'm mighty glad you have come back home again; I have missed you mightily."

There was a quiver in the voice in spite of the powerful effort to hold it firm. A moisture gathered in the large, deep eyes, and a little hacking cough followed her attempt at welcome. Without a word he took her arm and led her to the fire, and stood scanning carefully the delicate, changed features. He was the physician again, and she the patient; that was all.

"Why, child, what have you done to yourself? Where is all your color and your strength? Why didn't you write me you were ill? Didn't you know I would have come to you, Lissy? that the whole world couldn't have —"

He remembered, and stopped; but the tone of his voice caught her ear. She was weak and overwrought and nervous. His words and tone quite overcame her poor strength. She clasped her poor trembling hands and burst into tears.

Resisting the impulse to take her to his heart, he drew up his own easy-chair, tucked her into it, and said:

"You are not fit to be out in weather like this. Now you are to sit there and thaw out, and after a while I am going to give you a tonic. Now then, throw off your hat. You are to spend the day, and knock Zip off or he will be in your lap. And now tell me about it. How long have you been ill?"

He drew up a chair and seated himself beside her, watching with the physician's practised eye the come and go of color in the delicate cheeks, the play of breath in the rise and fall of the chest which a few months back had been strong and robust as a mountain doe's.

"I haven't been sick, Dr. Borin'," she said. "I fetched you the fresh aigs I've been waiting to fetch you, to pay up my debts to you. Aunt Dilcy wouldn't take any while you ware gone, because she said you didn't tell her, an' the hens on the place laid enough for her and Ephraim. But I reckin I can begin again now; I'd like ter pay my debt. You ware mighty good to remember me that time — an' ter send the money. I don't know what I'd 'a' done but for you. You air mighty good anyhow, mighty good to me."

He saw that she was unnerved, ready to break down; it required all his strength not to break down himself and pour out the burden of his love. Once he did put out his hand for the little pale one lying upon Zip's shaggy head that rested against her knee; but he remembered in time to lay his fingers upon the wrist instead, where the pulse was throbbing nervously in the small blue veins.

"I'd like ter do somethin' for you-uns, Dr. Borin'," she went on, in her low musical voice. "I uster think you ware not happy over here by yourse'f, an' I wish I could do somethin' ter make you more happy — "

The hand upon her wrist trembled. Did she know what she was saying? Did she mean that which her words implied? If so, would his unspoken promise to Joe hold? Did she understand the situation, and was she trying to help him out of his difficulty?

"I'd like ter wash yo' clothes even, or he'p Aunt Dilce when I get better; I feel that obligated ter you."

He dropped her arm and, leaning back in his chair, said quietly:

"We will talk about that when you are strong again. Now, Lissy, will you answer my question? how long have you been ill?"

"I haven't been sick, Dr. Borin'; I got overhet at the meetin' last spring, and took a cold. Seems to 'a' settled somewher's, and not minded to let go."

"Settled hell!" he exclaimed, and paused. A shadow deeper than that which had made its home there came into the large eyes. She lifted her hand to check the wicked exclamation at which, in other days, she had been wont to laugh so merrily.

"I wish you wouldn't," she said; "you air so good, it air a pity to spoil it with such words. I wish you wouldn't. If not for your own sake, then just to pleasure me."

Was there anything he would not have done "to pleasure" her?

"I'll quit," he replied, "to please you. But I was about to say something warm. Instead I shall give you something warm for that cough. Suppose I whip up an egg-nog with one of your own eggs: then we shall see if you are putting off bad eggs upon your old customers; see?"

She did not respond to his joking; her face wore a troubled look.

"I'd rather you wouldn't," she said. "It's made of liquor, egg-nog air, an' it's wrong to drink liquor. I'd rather cough as ter do wrong."

Her conversion had been complete, — its completeness baffled him.

"Well then," he replied, "here is a cough mixture that I keep for just such obstinate cases as yours; we will try this."

He poured some of the dark liquid into a tumbler and watched her drink it, wondering the while at the change her new religion had wrought. On a former visit she had drunk a glass of wine, and had carried that which remained in the bottle to Al, declaring it would "do him a sight of good if he enjoyed the taste of it as well as she did." How she had changed, her very voice and speech; she had adopted the slow, drawling dialect of her grandparents, as if in adopting their creeds she had shouldered their ignorance and lack of culture also.

The tonic revived her; he saw the glow spring to eye and cheek, and felt better for its presence, though he recognized it as only a delusion, a false reflection of health, produced by the stimulating medicine.

She folded her hands upon her lap and watched him shyly from under her long, dark lashes; but it was many minutes before she could bring herself to the point of giving him her entire confidence. After a while her fingers began to work nervously, pulling at the fringe of her gay plaid shawl. He felt that she was bracing herself for an ordeal.

"I have come to see you," she said at last, "about — about somethin'."

"Oh you have, have you?" he said, with an effort at careless humor.

"Dr. Borin'," she began, in her quaint drawl, "they calls you-uns an infidel."

"Yes," said the Doctor, "that is no news, Lissy. I have

heard that often; ever since I came to the valley, and for more than twenty years before," he added. "They are welcome to call me what they choose; it is not what others think us, but that which we know ourselves to be, should trouble or please us in this life."

"But," said Alicia, ignoring the interruption, "they allow that you know right smart too. Gran'father says he'd about as lief take your say-so as ter take Brother Barry's. He says Brother Barry was never fifty mile from Pelham in all his born days, an' don't know if the word be preached in Tennessee like it be in Georgy, not ter save his life. He says one man has as much right ter his say as another man, an' ter his belief too. But granny, she says hell's a-bilin' with unbelievers like you-uns, though even she admits you are entitled ter a hearin' at the last day, *if* the infidel gets his entitlements."

"Oh, I'll get mine, Lissy," said the Doctor. "Don't you fret about that. I will get a hearing, if God is good. You believe He is good, do you not, Lissy?"

The slender hands were clapsed with sudden rhaspody, a light leaped to the quiet, fathomless eyes, there was rapture in the face — the rapture, the light, and the excitement of the fanatic. The physician saw it and understood; his heart dropped like lead in his bosom. Too late, too late; the deed had been done. He felt as he had sometimes felt when summoned to attend a wounded man and, arriving too late, had found the man dead. The heart had ceased beating, a little piece of anatomical mechanism had stopped, that was all. Yet it meant that somebody had committed a murder.

"Oh, He air," said Alicia softly and with strange fervor, "He air good, God air good. I give my testimony to hit. He air good, good; Dr. Borin', I have found peace since I were here aforetimes."

His heart beat so fiercely he could scarcely trust himself to speak, to talk to her, his poor broken flower. They had played upon her heart in its desolation; taken advantage of her sorrow, her ignorance, her loneliness, and her need of sympathy. He understood it all in an instant, and wondered where Joe could have been and what doing that he had failed to fit himself to the emptiness left by the beloved brother. Peace indeed! He leaned forward, took the slender, tear-wet hands in his own, folded them gently between his strong, warm palms. Thus would he have folded her life in

his, warmed and caressed the quivering, wounded heart. But such was not reserved for him, — he might minister as the physician, the friend, the old man versed in the knowledge of books; no more.

"My child," he said, "you have found peace, you tell me. Yet your face, your restlessness, your very voice, all tell me you have *not* found peace; that you are far from it. What is it, Alicia? What is the trouble? Peace that comes of God is His blessed gift, and 'He addeth no sorrow thereto.' Tell me what troubles you, my child, and let me help you, just as your father would. I am an old man, but not insensible to human pain. Some hearts refuse age in spite of tottering old bodies and heads that catch the snow. Mine is young enough to take your grief and help you to find a way out of it, maybe; but if it be one of those burdens — they fall sometimes — which must be borne, I am ready to help you lift it, bear it — " Share it, he was about to say. His heart yearned to take her into its protecting warmth, to bless her poor life with the fulness of his love.

The gentle tone and touch brought the tears against which she had been struggling.

"I want to do right. But it's hard, hard, hard. I want to ask you, Dr. Borin', is it wrong to marry a man who ain't a believer? Is it a sin to?"

Poor little ignorant! the great trouble had been laid bare at last.

"It's Joe," she continued. "You said I ought — to marry Joe. You told me so, and I meant to, because you said it was only fair to him. But since then I've got religion. Joe's a sinner; I don't know as I could make him happy; an' I didn't want to marry — only you said 'twas right. But Brother Barry he allows God will lay it up against me if I marry Joe; He'll punish me, he called it. Like He punished me befo' when he took little Al. He says that's what made Al die. God was angry with me fur bein' a sinner; an' He couldn't fetch me to a sense o' sin no other way, an' so He took my brother. My poor little brother Al! Seems ter me He might 'a' got me some other way, an' not have took my brother. But Brother Barry, says God's ways is past findin' out, an' I reckin they air. But I can't see my way clear to do anything; 'pears to me I'm left alone, now Al's gone; an' Joe's always been good ter me, an' I ain't got anybody else, Dr. Borin', nobody; an' I have asked for light, for help; an' it has — not — come."

What could he say? what do? To him the thing that was so simple, so easy to adjust and to set right, was to her a tragedy.

To tell her she was a child, an innocent, and that Brother Barry was a fool and a fanatic, would have been a useless waste of words. Six months earlier, Alicia, the "sinner," would have laughed at the prophecy of the Methodist and made merry over his threats. But Alicia, the convert, her heart sore with the desolation of death, was ready to hug to itself any promise of consolation, and to flee any threat of a second visitation of sorrow.

He felt as helpless as she. For the cancerous teachings of ignorance there is no healing save in knowledge; and the mind diseased, unlike the body, will not bear the knife at the root of the woe; it rather requires gentle handling, time and the tender tricks of art to woo it back to health. Hers was a present need; she being one of those all-soul creations which, once lighted, will turn upon and consume itself in its own fire. He forbore to use the knife. So that to her, although she still respected his great knowledge and admired his undeniable goodness, he was still an infidel, a non-partaker in the feast of the saints. His heart was as sore as hers; still he must say something, since she had come to him for help.

"Alicia," he began, "Brother Barry has presented to you but one view of the great God; there is another, child — "

She silenced him with her hand. "Oh, I have been a sinner, I have been a sinner, Dr. Borin'; God might burn me in the lake of fire and still be too good ter me. I know it, I know it."

He sighed, discouraged at the outset. But there was another string upon which he might sound for a response.

"Alicia," he said, "you are considering only yourself in this matter. Listen to me. When God puts into the heart of an honest, earnest man, as you believe God does, a love for an earnest, tender woman, He puts the feeling there to bless and enrich both his life and hers. Such love may not be lightly set aside. There are consequences, fearful amd destructive, which sometimes do and always may attend cruelty to one who loves us. I know whereof I speak."

She was silent, knowing that he referred to his own unhappy experience. After a moment he continued: "You have no right to spoil Joe's happiness for a whim. No true woman will grieve the heart that loves her."

Still she made no reply; she was afraid of him, afraid to trust him, afraid to trust herself. Above all she was afraid of her religion; it had become her tyrant; she was ready to sacrifice whatever it might demand; not only her love, but her life as well.

"Alicia," he said, studying carefully the varying shadows of her face, "is this your only reason for refusing Joe?"

She started, flushed, and, without replying, rose to go. He also rose, and, scarcely knowing that he did so, put himself between the door and her.

"You must answer my question; tell me, before I let you go, if religious motives alone influence you in your refusal to become the wife of Joe Bowen."

There was a flash of the gray eyes, a curl of the thin, bloodless lip. She lifted her hand, as of one about to take an oath. Instead, however, she waved him out of her path.

"Stand out of my way," she commanded. "I am obligated to no man so much that I must take oath to every foolish thought I ever had, as I can *see*."

He laughed and moved aside to let her pass. Her simple effort at parrying, her refusal to deny the suggestion carried in his questioning, her excitement that was embarrassment more than anger, — all these spoke more than her simple admission could have spoken, and he was content.

It is enough sometimes to know one's self beloved, without the additional joy of possession.

He stood a moment at the little back gate through which she had passed, to watch her climbing the brown path, winding in and out the denuded, snow-rimmed mountain growth. Her dress of blue homespun, the large-plaided, many-hued shawl, the bright head wearing its crown of gay red felt, — all these combined to make a rare dash of color against the dead whiteness of the landscape.

Three times she paused to rest, while only the preceding summer she had come down that same path with the light step of a mountain doe, and cheeks to shame the roses that had bloomed beside her door. Alas, the roses were all dead, in garden and young life alike.

"And all so unnecessary," said the doctor, still watching the bright confusion of color disappearing among the grayness of the heights. She would not climb beyond the clouds, poor Alicia; she would only pass into the gloom of the confusing mists. He sighed, and turned back to his cabin.

"She will be dead before another winter. I might have saved her once, and both of us been happy. But not now, not now. Fanaticism is stronger than affection; hers, with Al's death to help along, will soon end it all for her, — my poor Alicia."

It came sooner than he expected. All spring he watched her fade. The red roses returned to the bush by the cabin door, but not to the cheek of the fading girl. She came and went as usual, still brought her offering of fresh eggs and butter, though now she left them with old Dilcy in the kitchen. Her chats with the Doctor were limited to short resting spells at the gate, where he sometimes hailed her on her trips to and from Sewanee. These meetings were as much a torture to him as they were to her; she was not in his life now, nor of it; his own hand had put her from him. If he could have heard from her own lips, just once before she went from him, a tender word, could have had one assurance that the pure young heart was his, he could have felt that to lay her in her grave was sweeter far than to have yielded her to another. But, try as he might, he could never surprise her into a betrayal of affection, if indeed she harbored any for him. Only once — it was the last visit she made to him — he had thought to probe her heart by an unexpected reference to Joe. She had almost fallen into the snare he had set.

"You owe it to him," he declared, "to marry him. He is going to the dogs. I saw him drunk last week."

She recoiled and cried out so sharply he winced for the hurt he had dealt her.

"I can't," she sobbed. "Oh, I can't; I want to do what seems to me right to do, but I cant — marry — nobody."

One June morning when the winds sang low in the forest they sent for him. The miller met him at the gate and bade him go in.

"She'll soon be at rest, poor Lissy," he said, "an' free o' thar tormentin'. She ware a likely gal, an' a good gal, befo' the Methodists got holt of her. Trouble come to her, an' they were not satisfied, but they must pile worry 'pon top of hit till she sunk under it. Go in, Dr. Borin', an' help my poor little gal ter die."

Granny stood in the doorway, awed and tearless, a strange subdued sorrow in her face. She moved aside to let him pass, pointing with her long finger to the little room where the

honeysuckle peeped in at the window and the June winds stole through the curtains of simple muslin to fan the brow of the sick girl. Granny had long ago recognized the fact that Lissy had passed beyond the skill of either infidel or herb.

Alicia was awake, restless and tossing, a wild light in her eyes and a strange strength in the worn body.

The physician stepped to the bedside and spoke her name softly.

"Alicia."

At the sound of his voice she lifted herself in bed and cried out to him sharply:

"Dr. Borin'," she sobbed, "oh, Dr. Borin', don't let me die." She caught his coat front and held it as he bent over her seeking to soothe and reassure her, although his heart was breaking with her piteous pleadings for life.

"I'm afeard, oh, I'm afeard ter die. I'm afeard the devil will get me. Do you reckin the devil will get me, Dr. Borin'? I've been a-thinkin' about what you said, an' I'm afeard I done wrong after all, treatin' of Joe so bad. But I meant it fur right. Oh, I did try ter do right; I did, I did, I did."

It was too cruel, after all her struggle and sacrifice to be so harassed at the last.

He drew a chair to the bedside and folded the wasted, trembling hands in his.

"Oh, you poor child," he said. "Have you been worrying over my foolish scolding? You did right of course, perfectly right; and you're not to give the matter another thought. I will tell Joe that you thought of him and were sorry that you hurt him, if you wish me to do so; and he will forgive you, Alicia; I am sure of it."

"Oh, I wish't you would," she sobbed. "Tell him I'm sorry I had — to hurt him. Air you sure he won't be mad at me?"

"Perfectly sure, Alicia. May I take him your love? Must I tell him that you knew that you loved him — *at the last?*"

He bent his face to hers; he saw the old hurt, haunted expression return to her eyes. But she smiled, even in the face of death; the principle which had sealed her lips against the comforting lie spoke a comforting, a blessed truth to him.

"You do not love him, Alicia? Is that it? You love another

who held you in heart from the first moment he saw you, dear? You loved him a little in return, for all he was so old, so much too old for you, my poor darling?"

She nestled closer to him; her fingers closed upon his with convulsive strength.

"Don't tell him," she begged. "Don't ever let him know; it wouldn't do any good — now."

"It is enough that I know, dear," he said, with broken voice. "I shall take him your love, your dear love, the same you might have sent to Al. May I?"

She nodded, and was silent. The shadowy gray eyes held many a doubt in their startled depths.

"Rest easy now," said the Doctor, "and be happy. You have been a good girl, and have tried to do your duty."

He stooped and touched her forehead with his lips lightly, as one caresses a rose, afraid of bruising the tender petals. He pushed the golden strands of hair back from her brow that death had kissed, and saw her smile, as if the unutterable sweetness of the caress were the one touch of earth, being so like divine, she would carry with her to make paradise more perfect.

Only a moment, one poor little moment of bliss, and the old horror, the fear of that which might await her when she should pass into the far mysterious, returned to torture her.

"Don't let me die." The poor plaintive pleading hurt his very soul to hear.

"I'm afeard to go down into the pit, Dr. Borin'! I'm afeard of — God."

"Afraid of the good God, dear? Think of him, Alicia. He alone can help you now. Remember only that He is the good God; good, good."

"An' the devil won't get me? Oh, I'm afeard of the devil, an' the fire that burns an' never stops burnin'. Don't let me die an' go ter the devil, Dr. Borin'!"

She was weeping wildly; her terror was pitiful. He knelt by the bed and took the fragile, wasted form in his arms, holding her closely, so that she lay upon his bosom like a frightened bird with broken wings fluttering helplessly. Granny came in and stood over the foot of the couch; grandad had gone to fetch a neighbor; old Dilcy had come over to offer the assistance which she had learned was necessary at such times. The Doctor neither saw nor heard anything but the dying girl in his arms. She was his for the moment; to him it had been granted to soothe the last

moment of the life that had been so dear to him. He threw aside all disguise: he would speak the truth as he believed it, let the result be what it might.

"Lissy," he said, his face near her own, "listen to me, dear child. There is no devil. There is no devil and no lake of fire. Can you hear me, Lissy? And do you understand?"

Into the frightened eyes crept an expression of wonder that mellowed into perfect joy.

"Air you *sure?*" she whispered. "Sure he can't get me?"

"As I am that you are going straight to God, dear. Don't you be afraid; don't think of death at all; just remember the good God. You know Him, Lissy?"

She drew a long, deep sigh. "Oh yes, I know *Him*. I'm so glad, so glad there ain't any devil. I was so afeard of him, and now there ain't any, there ain't any."

She nestled her head against his bosom; the heavy lids dropped wearily. Granny put her apron to her face and went out to nurse her grief alone. Old Dilcy began to move the medicine bottles from the little candle-stand at the bed's side. She knew they would be needed no more.

But Dr. Boring neither stirred nor spoke, nor moved his eyes from the beautiful face upon his bosom. He was waiting for the last recognition, which he felt sure would not be denied him. There was a moment of intense silence before Alicia lifted her hand and placed it upon his bosom. He moved it gently to his neck, when she opened her eyes, shadowless now, and smiled. With the smile came a sigh, a breath of inexpressible content. The smile, the sigh spoke to him, a wordless message, but he understood and was content. He put her back upon the pillow, wordless and without tears, and passed out where death had entered. His hand, as he passed, brushed a large full-hearted rose that bloomed upon the bush beside the door; the crimson petals fell apart and lay about his feet. It was well the roses should fade, — he wondered if they might not know that she was dead. The little tragedy in hearts was played. Henceforth life would wear its gray and return to its old silence. Into the heart's Holy of Holies only memory, the high priest, may enter.

The days multiplied to weeks, the weeks and months drifted drowsily into years, and autumn, purple with haze and steeped with the odor of fading vegetation, was come again. The Indian pipes were in bloom, and where the golden-rod had died, bunches of gray stubble waved in the October wind.

In the Doctor's cabin the fires had been lighted, for the nights were cool. He still went about among his sick, doing a quiet good. The guest-chamber sheltered but few now, since Brother Barry had been sent upon a different circuit. Sometimes Joe Bowen would lodge there, but not often; he had become restless after Alicia's death, and was fond of roaming the woods alone of nights, although he often came over to sit afternoons in the sunshine and talk with the Doctor of Alicia. So changed, so softened, and so gently patient was he, that Dr. Boring sometimes found it difficult to trace in the quiet, steady farmer the old fiery-tempered Joe who had once commanded him to come out and fight for the girl they each loved.

Only in one respect was he unchanged, — he was still proof against Brother Barry.

"I ain't got no religion, Dr. Borin'," he was wont to declare, "no more than I had when Lissy Reams uster name me for a sinner. An' I don't know no more than I did then. But, Dr. Borin'," — and his voice would fall to a low, not unmusical cadence, — "when they talk of Christ I seem to see Him wanderin' through the mount'n, lonesome-like an' weary, huntin' for the strays amongst His sheep. An' oh! I feels for Him, I feels for Him. I know what 'tis to be a lonesome wanderer in the mount'ns. I know what 'tis to feel the rocks and thorns that cut an' prick. I know what 'tis to be forgot of all, except, maybe, of Him, who lived alone an' lonesome too; though I ain't unmindful of the word she sent ter me, her love an' her good-by. I remembers them, an' they air sweet to me. But they air not that which comforts me; it's *Him*, Him who suffered too; an' so I say I feels for Him, Christ or elder brother, Son of God or son of man, which you will. He's nigh to me; His presence holps me. Somehows I don't look to reach the heights, whar the skies air fair an' the eagles swim. But I'm content ter walk the valley path so long as *He* walks with me."

And with a sigh, half sad, half resigned, he lifts his eyes to the purpling hills where Alicia sleeps underneath the soughing hemlocks, where in summer the cows couch under the shadow of the cliffs, hard by Pelham, and in winter the wind, like a spent runner, moans among the trees, lamenting, mayhap, those baffling mysteries which to her have been at last made plain.

The End.

TIME.

BY EDWARD A. OLDHAM.

Time is a wizard necromancer, who,
With sleight of hand and charming unconcern,
Gives frequent exhibitions of his art
To gaping crowds that note his dextrous skill,
But fail to follow close each wondrous change.

BETWEEN TWO WORLDS.

BY MRS. CALVIN KRYDER REIFSNIDER.

CHAPTER XXII.

Mr. Goode left her at the door and turned and walked thoughtfully away, while Salome climbed her stairway with strange emotions in her troubled breast. Her dinner, which was served from the coffee-house, was scarcely tasted, and all the afternoon strange suggestions came to her mind. She could not go home. She had no money except what she got from Ruby; she could not ask them to come to her, because they were poor, but somehow she wanted for the first time to see her parents, her home, her little sister and brother, and she wrote her mother a long loving letter. At last she thought the next best thing would be to write a letter to Ruby. She wrote a dozen and tore them up.

"No, I will not. I will go on to the last. Let Mr. Goode tell them what he pleases. I might be sorry afterward if I wrote in this silly mood with all the power of that minister's words upon me. To write as I feel now, and to feel and act to-morrow as I did yesterday, would be inconsistent in a worse hypocrite than I."

"There it is again."

"Go to the —— Chapel to-night. I will show you where."

"Ha! this becomes interesting. I verily believe that I'm possessed one hour by an angel, the next by a devil. But as I have nothing better to do I'll follow the spirit whithersoever it leadeth."

As she locked her door and prepared to descend she again addressed her unseen guide, saying:

"I am ready."

She walked without hesitation to a certain chapel in —— Square, found it already quite well filled, and the usher seated her very near the pulpit. After a hymn was sung a man with little of the apostolic appearance about him save his dress, presented the preacher, who, to Salome's amazement, was a woman, —a returned missionary who wanted to tell all about the foreign lands she had visited, the heathen she had

seen, and the good work the Lord was doing through the missionaries, or, to put it in her way, the good work the missionaries were doing for the Lord. So decidedly opposite was this woman's teaching to that in the morning sermon that Salome could but marvel. The woman was about forty-five years of age, of a sensational or emotional nature, seeking to work upon her hearers' sympathies by depicting the horrors of the hell that awaited the benighted heathen, and the great responsibility that rested upon the enlightened Christian world to save them. She even went so far as to say, "He that forsaketh not father and mother, sister and brother, to follow me, is not worthy of me," and that "following Him" meant the care of the heathen.

When the service was over the woman came down among the congregation. Salome seemed to specially attract her. She walked straight to her and, taking her hand, asked her:

"My sister, have you found the Lord?"

To which Salome bluntly replied:

"This morning I thought I had. To-night I feel I've lost Him, and I regret exceedingly that I came here."

"Why, my child, why?" she asked, rolling up her eyes till only the whites could be seen.

"I do not like to hear such things as you said. It stirs up doubts in my mind about the goodness of God or the divinity of Christ. What business had he to make heathen, knowing that without light they'd go to hell, and knowing, too, they could not all be enlightened in this world? For my part I think those who never are enlightened are safer than those who, having the light, disobey it."

"Who are you, child?" asked the startled woman.

"Why, I am nobody, specially. I expect to rise to fame and fortune above the footlights on the theatrical stage. I make my *début* next winter."

If Salome had fired a bullet with each word she spoke she could not have made her listener groan and dodge and tremble more horribly.

"No wonder you don't pity the heathen; but I know you realize the sin you are about to commit in going on the stage."

"Indeed I do not. I shall earn a fortune, and any missionary would like to have some of the money thus acquired, while I should think if the acting were a sin the reward was a curse. I expect to play moral plays; I expect to pay my debts; I expect to have church people ask me for money, too."

"Give me your address, child, give me your address. You are in a very bad state, a very bad state indeed," she said, feeling in her pocket and producing a tablet and pencil.

"That may be," said Salome, "but I wouldn't swap my prospects for yours."

She handed her a card and then left the place, wondering why she had been led here to hear the very opposite of what she had heard in the morning. The softness was oozing out of her heart. Had she met Mr. Goode now she would have been afraid to speak to him, for sin makes cowards of us all, and she felt the old sins of doubt, hatred, anger, and jealousy coming back.

"Ambition, thou glorious cheat! Come back to me! You're all that will raise and hold me up till victory is won," she cried, as she flung herself wearily upon her bed that night.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Mr. Goode returned and delighted them all by his report of Salome, for we know that he had met and spoken to her under most favorable circumstances, and all seemed to be very generously disposed toward her.

It was not until Mr. and Mrs. Goode and Ruby were alone again that Mr. Goode explained the object of his visit to London, and showed them the only clew he had upon which to work. The newspapers that he had found at the time of Mr. Gladstone's death contained speeches of a famous barrister, and in those of later date he was called the modern Pericles. The last, which was dated twenty-two years before, spoke of the mysterious disappearance of this same gentleman, then a member of Parliament. The paper which Ruby's father held in his dying hands contained this article:

Inquiries are being made concerning a once prominent man whose name it is only necessary to mention in order to recall to mind the brilliant though brief career of a man who startled the world with his profound thoughts, and thrilled every audience with his magnetic and powerful presence and wonderful voice. The inquiry develops the fact that for some reason, known to no one, this man changed his name by order of court in —— to that of Gladstone, and since that time has spent his life in training other men in his divine art, and is well and favorably known in that capacity. It is further developed that he left England more than two years ago with his beautiful daughter, whose rare beauty created exceptional notice in all the courts of Europe, where she was most graciously received. Secret inquiries are being made to find the present dwelling place of this gifted man and his lovely daughter. The object or motive of the inquiry is still a mystery.

"There now," said Mr. Goode, as he read the last line, "it is sure that your father and this barrister are one and the same, for I examined the court records, and I found one man who had known him quite well. He said your father went travelling, a brilliant man, having achieved great success and inherited a fortune, and returned two or three years later a white-haired wreck (that was when mother and I came along to care for you); that he made known his desire to give instruction in oratory, but strangely enough appealed to the court to have his name changed, a foolish thing, the man thought, as his own was so famous, and that in every way he had endeavored to lose his identity except to a few friends. The man to whom I allude is a minister, under whom your father studied the new spiritual philosophy which this man preaches."

"Was no reason given then? Was no sin — "

"Nothing that he ever heard. His character was above reproach."

"My mother — ?"

"Ah, there is the strange part. I learned from his oldest friend that he was not married when he left London. He must have married soon afterward. Then, after your birth, the wife died — or — "

He saw the face finish the remainder of the sentence.

"Then there was no scandal — no crime — no — "

"I heard nothing that would lead me to believe that any one knows or ever heard anything about your mother. I have reason to believe that it was a subject that he never mentioned to any one on earth, and died taking his secret with him to the grave."

"Who do you suppose is having this inquiry made?"

"That I cannot tell. She, perhaps, if she lives."

Ruby sat with folded hands and a face white as the robe she wore.

"The subject was one I always dreaded to mention to my father, but now I see how wrong I was, for I had a right to know. Oh, father, you did not understand how I must suffer for this neglect."

"Take courage," said Mrs. Goode; "*what he did not finish in the flesh he will complete in the spirit. He often said so.*"

Ruby's heart was too sore to be comforted. She had received a long letter from Solon, and now realized that life alone, or separate from him, was worse than death. She

could never call him back until she knew there was no stain upon her. Yet had her father not oftentimes spoken of her marriage, and had he known there was aught to prevent her marrying an honorable man would he not have told her? At times she believed she should not trouble herself about it; that if this grand man loved her, he loved her for herself alone, and it would matter little to him from whence she sprung. But the thought could not dwell long with her. She felt that he must know all and judge for himself. She remembered the marked distinction with which her father was always treated. She recalled his care in training her in childhood as though to fill some exalted position; their welcome in every land where they had travelled, when he had lectured, and the thousands that had come to listen, and yet this man whom she had known only thus was he who had once won fame in Parliament and at the Queen's Bench, and died only as a well-known lecturer and teacher.

She shrank within herself with a kind of shame. She was deaf to Mrs. Cadmus's entreaties to come to her; to let the air and sunshine banish this morbid grief for her father, for such they supposed it to be.

She never asked them of their son, but listened with eagerness to all they said about him, and sometimes they feared her frank, innocent nature was changing in this grief and loneliness, and so they wrote to their son and urged his return.

Dr. Cadmus was busy with his own plans, but he sadly missed the great orator. He chose no other friend to fill his vacant place, and he found that he and Solon must solve the problem alone.

So time rolled on.

CHAPTER XXIV.

There came many days to Ruby now when the mirrors reflected a pale face and a sadder than she had ever seen there before. There were times, too, when questions rose in her mind why she should suffer innocently for the wrongdoings of others; then a feeling of bitterness, a new, strange pain which changed her lovely face like a mask and gnawed at her vitals, and days and nights of gloom when her good friends could not comfort her nor show her the way. The silent monitors in her mirrors must do their work. They showed her plainly the inward struggle that was going on.

She realized that her father's instructions were only too correct, that the spirit builds the body to its own mould. She viewed that body in her mirrors and acknowledged it was true. She saw her own cheek mantled in a blush of shame as she compared herself with the image once reflected there.

"And if this goes on," she cried, "why, I must look like this always. Nay, not like this; there is no standstill. I shall have hardened these lines of bitterness until they are carved forever there. I shall retain this rebellious fire in my heart until it has consumed all my loveliest qualities. Why, even yesterday I wished for money that I might travel and get away from myself, and the second wish was that I had kept what I had given to Salome. Oh, Ruby, Ruby! gem of celestial love, where art thou wandering?"

Clasping her hands to her eyes she sank slowly, slowly to the floor like a drooping lily that withered before some poisoned breath of air, and she lay there wrestling in her agony, how long she never knew, but when she rose up she felt that a new spirit was born within her, a something that told her she had stumbled and fallen at the first blow of adversity, and somehow her mind now turned strangely toward Salome; Salome who had borne trials of sorrow and shame all her life; Salome — and now that face that had so shocked her in its unfeigned expression of horror, of fear, of shame, almost of hate, as she fled from the doorstep, came back; Salome alone, the proud recipient of her despised favors which she took in the revengeful hope of repaying; Salome with no memories of peace and love, with nothing but ambition to spur her on.

"Salome, Salome! the Lord judge betwixt me and thee. Thou hast grown stronger in thy suffering than I in my ease."

There were days when the organ tortured her with music that had once touched her heart and caused her lips to burst forth into song; days when the fragrance of the freshly blooming flowers turned her faint and sick; days when the waving palms seemed to lure her into deeper gloom; days when the statues appeared to hold silent converse about her, to try her before a speechless tribunal and then turn their eyes away in condemnation as she strolled along the aisles; days when the crimson and gold hangings about the altar seemed turned to blood and fire.

Instead of confiding in her friends she drew away from them. She was selfish in her sorrow, weak and ignoble.

It was during this time that a dear friend of Solon's died suddenly, and Mrs. Goode brought them the news, for she had heard Mrs. Cadmus say that it was the love of Damon and Pythias.

It was the first thing that had aroused any interest in her heart for some time. Then she thought of another's grief, and yet to her death was not the worst thing that could befall human beings. She thought of her lover's grief when he should hear the sad tidings away off in some foreign land; how his proud head would be bowed in sorrow. He would even weep then, perhaps, like other men, and yet in all else he was so proud, so strong, so self-sustained. How it would wring his heart to know that his friend would not greet his return, and how he must ever remember him as he had seen him last. What comfort! thought Ruby. None such was hers. If she knew positively that her mother was dead and had died an honest, honorable woman, she would indeed be comforted. But as though the clouds would never break away again, one day soon after the funeral of Solon's friend Ruby received a visit from a strange gentleman. Mr. and Mrs. Goode accompanied him into her presence, and they all sat a few moments in her father's study in silence, he wondering how to begin what he had come to communicate, and they wondering what was the object of his call.

He was the typical London lawyer, a veritable Tulkinghorn, and Ruby trembled visibly when she thought that he might carry about him in that insinuating way the secret of her life that might, once exposed, separate her forever from all that the world held dear to her. He was deep, cunning, and relentless. He wormed himself into their presence and he had expected to worm himself out. All at once Ruby felt a new sphere about her. While she looked at the anxious faces of her friends bent upon this wicked man she grew strong. Was it the spirit of her dead father risen up at last to confront his enemy in her presence? She did not know, but she did know that he would now find what he did not expect.

"Now, sir," she said, and her voice startled him no less than it did Mr. and Mrs. Goode, "since you have taken the pains to seek us and invade our privacy without so much as asking permission, you will, at least, have the goodness to be brief. We will listen to no preliminary remarks, no apologies for intrusion; time with us is precious. Your business in the fewest words possible."

He was so disconcerted at the manner and tone, as well as the words, that he turned his little black eyes nervously upon her.

"Umph! Ah! I rather think if you knew my business you would appreciate my — ah — er — desire to break it as quietly as possible."

"Oh no, we would not at all. We all know that your profession represents very little justice, a great deal of injustice mixed with malice and hate and revenge, until there's no room for a particle of friendship or love in it. We expect nothing agreeable; for could it be something pleasant for us we would know it was harmful to somebody else; so proceed."

"Your late father, ma'am, I believe, left considerable valuable property — ahem — and some money — ahem."

"That is all true."

"Well, ah — ahem —"

"Mr. Goode, please bring this gentleman a glass of water; he seems to have difficulty in speaking; it may refresh him."

"No — no — ah — thank you. This property I believe you consider yourself heir to?"

"I am, by deed from the grantor, complete mistress of it."

He turned pale for a moment and then said:

"The ah — the Bank ah —"

"You mean the certificates of deposit? They are in my name, and there is no one on earth who has any right, title, or claim to them; and so firm was my father in impressing this fact upon me, so resolute in making it impossible for gentlemen of your profession to annoy me, that I do assure you with his legal ability he was quite capable of understanding your plots and of counterplotting you before his death, and has left his daughter thoroughly capable of carrying out his wishes. And now, sir, if that is all, you have had a long journey and some expense to no purpose. Mr. Goode here can convince you by the records that I have informed you correctly."

"No one can touch a dollar. It would be a futile attempt," Mr. Goode declared firmly.

The man sat silent, a new thought evidently occurring to him. He had been deprived of his introduction, intending to bring doubt, perhaps terror, to a weak girl and an unbusi-

nesslike man, for he had drawn on his imagination before he saw them.

"But suppose, ma'am, I can prove to you there is a — a wife, ma'am, whose claims must be recognized?"

"Then you would tell me something that I had never heard my father speak of, and but for my own existence should not know ever existed, but would deny her claim, according to my late father's instructions."

"A remarkable young lady, to deny her own mother!"

"Yes, it may seem so, twenty-two years after she denied me. I never remember seeing her; I never heard my father or any other person mention her name; I don't know it now; I only know that my father took care to change his own so that I did not wear the same that she might wear; for all of which I know he had the best of reasons."

"Suppose, ma'am, your mother is living, is poor and is in need of help, what then?"

"Put it that way, sir, if you please, and I might give her alms as I would to any one else who is destitute."

For a moment the man looked upon her with eyes that boded ill, — a tiger brought to bay. She returned his gaze as steadily as though she were a giant and he an impudent pigmy.

"Then, ma'am, I see there is only one course to pursue, and that is one that I do assure you, ma'am, will reflect no credit upon your name."

"You forget, sir, the name I wear is untarnished. If there is, or was, a name that the unhappy person you please to refer to wears, that bears aught of stain upon it, beg her to believe that I, not knowing her, but having known my father, must believe that she, not he, put that stain upon it. And now I cannot give you more of my time. Mr. Goode, show this man out."

Had her father stood in her stead in the passion of his early wounded pride Mr. Goode would not have been more astonished at her look, her manner and words. She rose and quietly left the room, and there was nothing left to be done but to show the irate visitor out. He had intimidated many a weaker man, cajoled many strong ones, but this quiet girl with her fair face and golden hair had utterly vanquished him in ten minutes.

"You shall hear from me again," he said between his teeth to Mr. Goode.

"My dear sir, don't trouble yourself. Some of us will remember you without further reminder. I really would not like you to worry yourself needlessly any further."

It was truly a blessing to Ruby to have her mind turned into a new channel, even though it all bore upon this subject, for this stirred up within her a new courage and will force.

It brought back her father and all the peaceful days with him; a determination to execute his will in this as rigidly as in regard to Salome's education. And as her mind reverted to those days she forgot her own grief in remembering his. She was not the only innocent person who must suffer for and with the guilty. He had borne sorrow, perhaps shame, for another, and he had risen up above it and taught her how to do the same. He had conquered in the name of Him who came and suffered and conquered and made it possible for all believing in Him to conquer in His name.

Yes, her father was merciful, just. Whatever the sin was he had no part in it. He had made her promise that not one dollar of his wealth should be spent for an unwise, unworthy purpose. This person, this — his wife, her mother — was the one to whom he referred, and her sin. She herself was nameless, and she felt her dead father's spirit rise up within her, and his blood coursed hotly through her veins. No, no. His spirit had stood beside her and prompted every word she spoke to this stranger foe, for foe she knew he was. Perhaps the — ah, what of that other.

She sank down in agony at the thought. "Oh, Solon, Solon, my beloved! Oh, father, finish thy life work! Tell me! Show me! Save me! Oh, father! Heavenly Father, send him to me."

CHAPTER XXV.

Summer bloomed, autumn ripened and faded, and winter came again. Over and over had the same routine been followed; a drive, a picnic, in all of which Salome's parents were participators; and sometimes as Ruby looked at them she thought how things had changed, and how really these people were the happiest whom she knew. The cloud upon her at times darkened the life of her friends. She seemed to have changed places with the Blakes. They were risen from the hells to a spiritual life, she cast down from heaven into the fiercest hells.

One day as she sat wondering how long this monotonous

life would last for her, she looked up and saw her faithful friend patiently performing her task, sponging the dust from the leaves of the palms. It had always been Ruby's care, but of late she had sadly neglected her duties, and the palms and flowers had begun to show that neglect.

As she watched Mrs. Goode she remembered her promise to her father never to forget these people nor their goodness to her. She was amazed to recall that it had been days since she had held any conversation with them at all; that during weeks and months she had withdrawn herself more and more from the Blakes until there was quite a breach, it seemed, between them.

And now for the first time she saw that Mrs. Goode looked pale and had lost flesh, and really for the first time in her life appeared ill. It was not a recent thing, either, else not this terrible change.

Ruby sat in a velvet chair near the pulpit, and the rich hangings fell about her. Time was when "Goodie" might have been sitting on the steps watching her perform this task and listening to her merry trills.

Hark, what sound was that? A low, soft lullaby. "Goodie" sings to the flowers! Just as she had once soothed her, a little child, to rest. The dying day sends its last rays into the arched window, the Ascension, which catches and holds its golden light and throws it like a benediction upon "Goodie's" hair. How white it is!

"How old is 'Goodie' anyway, I wonder? Oh, 'Goodie' does that soft song take you back twenty years or more? It has made me a child again! Oh, Goodie, Goodie, why do you sing that song to-night, or why did you not sing it ere my heart had wandered so far away? Then had I run to thee and thrown my arms about thee. Now, Goodie, I must sit here and let it thaw the ice of selfishness and turn it into a limpid stream of love which will bear me on to thee. Ah, Goodie, thou hast thy faithful True, while I have naught, naught but thee."

Goodie had sung the flowers to sleep. She had wakened the old, benumbed love in her darling's heart at last. Ruby sits long, battling with right and wrong.

"I can do nothing for them, but why should I not at least be pleasant and hold their love to me?"

She despised herself, and, going to her room, she noted in the mirror a new change. It boded no ill to Goodie, and that

night before she slept she had made her peace with them, had wept as of old on Goodie's bosom, and been soothed and comforted there.

"Oh, Goodie! You can never, never know what I have suffered. But I should not have forgotten you and True in my own selfish sorrow."

"All, too, my dear, so uselessly; for had you known how the man you loved and were dying for was perverting the glorious gifts God gave him you would have scorned him long ago," said Mr. Goode.

Ruby raised her head and cast a look of fear upon him from eyes that were still brimming over with tears.

"How? What do you mean?"

"I mean that Mr. Solon is lecturing over all the world, defaming the God who created him. Oh, Ruby, child! that you should ever have shed a tear for that great infidel."

"Who told you that?"

"His own father, who has his lectures, which have been printed, as well as all the dreadful things both churchmen and laymen say against him. But some publishing house in New York has printed them in book form, and I sent for one and have it. It is indeed a dreadful thing."

"May I see it, Mr. Goode?"

"Yes, dear. Nothing will cure you half so quickly."

"Did his father say he was doing a wicked thing?" she asked.

"Oh, no! His father says he is only showing the Christian God to the people, who must have a better."

"Now, before I say good-night, let us arrange to have Mr. and Mrs. Blake look after things here, for we must indeed go away," said Ruby. "We can trust him with the keys and pay him money that he needs so much to aid little mother."

Mr. Goode brought her the book, and she went to her room. Sitting down alone she opened it and read words that the world thought were treason against God; but she read on; read as she had never read in that Book of Life; read sacred things held up to ridicule by the man she loved; read that he believed her God to be a monster, worse than man; and yet she read, bending over the book until the evening faded into darkness, darkness paled into dawn, and this same God that Abraham worshipped, as Solon said, this same sun poured forth his beams into the Temple and she looked up and welcomed him.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The day was done, and indeed the night far spent, when Solon laid down his pen and rose and began pacing with measured tread the full length of his suite of rooms in —— Hotel.

It was his custom to keep a diary for Ruby to read when they should meet again, and although he had been concise, so nearly had he penned his very thoughts that it was quite voluminous.

He was never alone, for he kept her always near him. The creative faculty of his mind fashioned and followed her in a thousand lovely shapes. Thus she was ever his companion, always his inspiration, and her voice was celestial melody, her form self-poised as it floated in the air before him.

He had waited and watched and hoped for the word which would recall him, but it came not; yet his kingly heart knew that all would be well. "I shall strive to be the more deserving," he said.

Solon, the infidel, beheld the sun rise and bathe the world in light and touch the silent faces of the clouds and write upon them with a finger dipped in love. Love! In such an hour he felt a visitation from his God. His religion was self-taught, born of *love* and framed to the model of his own pure heart. When the shadows of the darkness fell and the stillness of death came down upon the earth, he trusted Him who ruled the day that He would deal kindly with him through the night. *Yea, he trusted. Solon, the infidel, trusted his God.* He asked no blessing; he implored no help; he begged for nothing; he simply *trusted* the All Wise, who had created all, that He would take care of all.

He reached out his hand with a strength supplied, he opened his mouth and taught with a wisdom given, he *trusted* more and more each day, and he felt willing to leave his treasure, his Ruby, his celestial love, the bride of his soul, the wife of his spirit, to this great God whom he saw and recognized and greeted in the morning light, the noonday sun, and in the deepening night, and assured Him by his answering smile, with his grateful heart, that he trusted Him. And yet he hated the Christian God; this picture of an unjust Judge and Shylock Father; this changing, variable King; in other words, these images of the clergy held up for worship by themselves.

He often thought of Him who said, "Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid."

Solon walked out every morning with his God; he ate with Him, and he lay down at night to sleep with his God around, above, beneath him; the downy pillow smoothed by Him, his head upon His breast; and should he fail to wake, why, he had simply lost the veil which hid his God from view, and henceforth would see eye to eye and face to face.

Solon, the infidel, was a happy man, happy as the infant which lives in father's and mother's love and trusts in their wisdom. Seven days of the week were holy days to him as he walked amid the corn and counted the ripening ears — this organization and that for the lifting up of the people. He recognized that laws were made to please one class of people and not enforced to please the other half. He saw and felt and heard all the slamming of doors and raising of windows in this new condition of things. Everywhere it was the same; the great undercurrent was felt of this new era upon the world. God walks the earth again, talks with His people, and all who will may speak to Him, receive from Him direct commission to do His work, one this and another that, but the great tendency is toward the same ultimation.

Is the nation alarmed about her condition? Has the Goddess of Liberty found a cancer growing on her breast, and cries she for a surgeon from among the people? Or is the woman clothed in white about to be delivered of a son? Where is the Moses to come from, this Washington or Lincoln? For come he will, and ride forth from among the people.

But who is he? Where is he to-day?

Solon was a perfect organ, receptive, eager, willing, ready to obey the voice of the inner man who led him nearer to his God, looked out through his eyes, heard through his ears, and spoke through his tongue; this inner man who rose up in defence of his God against the base accusations against Him, and would teach others His divine character of love and protection for all His creatures.

To-morrow he would lecture for the last time until he returned home, visited his parents and Ruby; for the two years had now expired, and he would have her know the date of his return for her had been ever in his heart and mind.

(To be continued.)

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

AN ORIGINAL BOOK.*

"TRUE MEMORY," REVIEWED BY REV. J. B. PARMELEE, REV. GEORGE NELSON SMITH, REV. HARRY C. VROOMAN, AND REV. B. CARRADINE, D. D.

I.

This is the most wonderful book of the century now closing. It steps forth singly, having no fellow in its field; it stands alone, having no finite authority to support it. As to man's prehistoric condition it opens a realm heretofore unsuspected, or at least unannounced.

It sounds like a further fulfilment of the Lord's promise as given in Joel ii. 28, 29.

The book as a whole clearly sustains the claims of its first chapter, including the remarkable closing words of that chapter: "This preparation continued until the following *revelation* was given me."

This little — great — work is destined to make an unparalleled stir in the thinking world, and especially among the dry bones of theologians, old or new.

Personally I estimate a writing by the impression it makes upon my own understanding, and its wholesome effect upon my will and affections, and the impetus it gives toward the highest spiritual life and the noblest service to humanity. Furthermore, the manner in which these grand unfoldings came to the author places them beyond the range of mere human speculation, and bespeaks for them the most reverent and profound investigation.

The greater number of people may be unable to read the work, but it will richly repay those who can, and will inspire all sincere seekers after truth and its unselfish life to reach out and compass the end for which the book was given in the Divine Providence.

It was my precious privilege to hear the author read the writing herself; and the manner of the reading impressed me that, beyond a question, she *knew* and *felt* that she was not reading a thing of her own invention, but that she was simply the channel for giving again to the world those lost truths which are essential to the full redemption of the race.

As to her personality, she is one of the most transparent characters; innocent as a little child of all deceit or other unworthy motives or purposes. One might as well expect to see water flowing uphill as to find her deviating from the truth to the value of one jot or tittle. Some may think her deceived, but no one who knows her well can conclude that she is a deceiver. Shall we then discredit her affirmation that she is not

* "True Memory; the Philosopher's Stone. Its Loss through Adam; its Recovery through Christ," by Mrs. Calvin Kryder Reifsnider. Cloth, $1.50. Arena Publishing Company, Boston, Mass.

the discoverer of the wonderful disclosures of the book, but that they were revealed to her in panoramic vision?

Most people will care nothing for it; the modern Pharisees will endeavor to strangle it; while a few will welcome it, thank God, and take courage.

As the term memory is usually understood and employed, the title gives little, if any, idea of the real character of this absolutely unique work. It deals not with man's natural memory, his storehouse of scientifics, but with the spiritual memory, especially as to the true knowledge and acknowledgment of God, how that knowledge was lost, what man was before the loss of "true memory," and what he will become after its restoration; also what the earth and its furnishings will become under the reign of "true memory" regained.

This is, perhaps, one of the accompaniments of the Lord in His second coming, though in a form unlooked for, and will be for the opening of impaired mental vision, and the quickening of dead affections, and the bringing to the noontide the bright eternal day which has already dawned upon the world. J. B. PARMELEE.

II.

This little gem, as its title suggests, is a reading of the "Book of Life," Rev. xx. It is given in the form of an allegory of man's racial and individual creation into the Lord's image and likeness in a spiritual life; his fall into earthly grossness of self and evil; his redemption by the loving Lord incarnate, and his uplifting again into more than his pristine spirituality and loveliness of life. In its introductory chapter it claims to be a revelation to the writer. So will it be, I am certain, to many a heart and soul to which it may come. It will be a revelation of the Holy Word's unfoldings of the Father's love and care for men in all their kaleidoscopic career, and its promises that that love will at last draw them unto itself.

Its next chapter is a reading of the scroll of the history of human genesis; how the Creator Father evolved by His creative love and wisdom a world for a spiritual-natural birthplace for His human children, where they were to grow up into the forms for which He created them, as recipients of the image of His truth and the likeness of His love. It was natural, as being on the ultimate plane of birth and rearing; but spiritual as being open up through the open heavenlies, up to Him who is essential spirit. It was a lovely and beautiful world, a pre-glacial world — pre-glacial both naturally and spiritually, with all that this implies. For it was a world infilled with warm fluent life, rather than one of mere cold dead matter which afterward came in when its life was closed out by the coming of the grosser self-men, called the "flesh-men." This ends the chapter, closing with the record, by those best qualified — the Enoch-men of Scripture evidently — of the departing wisdom for the true memory of those who were to come.

The next chapter is "The Record." It is an interpretation of the Genesis record of the defection from the primitive innocence through its

gradually descending steps; the illusions of the sense-life; the tempting serpent; the loss of love or charity through exaltation of cold faith alone; Abel slain by Cain; and so on down to the destruction of wickedness by a flood, and the saving of the remnant, the Noah-men, by an ark of sustaining and protecting truth.

The next chapter continues the story down through the Nimrod and Babel times to the Abram call. A striking point in it is the showing how the sense-illusions of the flesh-men saw all their untoward changed conditions as the punishments of an offended God, rather than the fruits of their own evils.

The next chapter is the interpretation of the Abram story, showing the Father's love call to the Abram state that offers material sacrifices instead of sacrifices of righteousness. It opens in clear, attractive, and helpful light the correspondence of things visible to things invisible, and how this is the key to the word-picturing of the Scriptures. It closes with a pointing to the divinely human life of Jesus as the power that is to uplift man and "lead him back to his Father's house."

The next chapter is the interpretation of the Moses, the emancipator, lawgiver, and leader story; how the bondage to sense-knowledge is broken by the reception, learning, and direction of divine precepts of life. These are the means of recovery from the fall and all the earth-curses it had entailed—glacial cold, torrid burnings, fierce blasts, and deadly cobras—an environment reflecting the flesh-men's inner world: the macrocosm imaging the microcosm.

The next chapter is very strong. It is a scene: scientists seeking the soul by dissecting the body. They are disappointed that it has vanished and left no trace. I cannot resist the temptation to a few citations:

A chemist looked wise and said to the surgeon, "I assure you, sir, that I can take this body and bring back to you in vials every particle of this man."

"But, sir," whispered the priest, "go find for me his *soul*."

"That," answered the scientist, "*went out with his breath*."

"Then," whispered the priest, "*bring back to me his breath*."

"Perhaps," said the scientist, "*that returned to your God*."

"Where," said the priest, "shall we wise ones find God?"

"Leave that to the babes and sucklings," said he.

And I cried in my heart, "*Can anything die that God has made?*"

And so it bears you on.

The next chapter is another reading from the scroll of the flesh-man's history, closing with Solomon's choice of wisdom. In its closing words,

And my soul cried, "Why have not all men thus asked of God wisdom to discern judgment?"

And the voice answered, "Self-love; love of dominion; love of the world,"—

in these you find its keynote.

The succeeding chapter is another reading from the scroll of human life-history. It is in fact a massing of Scripture words which tell that history in bird's-eye view down to the day in which we live, embracing the first coming of the Lord to redeem, and His second coming to give

men the benefits of that redemption in His now newly established kingdom in the crowning church of the future world without end. This longest and strongest chapter of the book is its fitting close. No review can do justice to it. One must read it.

One glimpse will show it well worth reading:

We paused at the harbors and saw ships come in and go out. We saw the people of all nations and every tongue striving in this busy world for money, for power, position, possession, dominion.

And I said to him, "Why is this, Lord?"

And he said, "Because God is not there."

And I was afraid. I said, "I thought God is everywhere."

And the Lord said, "Do you believe God was in the mind or heart of one you saw toiling and struggling there for money and for power?"

And I said, "If God were not there they could not live, they could not breathe."

And the Lord said, "*Aye, outside of them*, but he was not *in them*."

And we passed over the tall spires of the churches, and I said, "Lord, is he here?"

And the Lord said, "*Aye, outside.*"

And as we passed over the great cities with their towers, their armories, their schools, and their factories, the Lord said, "Verily I say unto you, greater cities than these lie in the bowels of the earth swallowed up in the twinkling of an eye."

And I asked, "Because of God's wrath against man?"

And the Lord said, "Nay, because of man's wrath toward man."

And so the book sweeps on, gathering strength to the end.

I will only add, this is a typically second-coming-age book. None of the former gross "flesh-men" ages could have produced such a book.

GEORGE NELSON SMITH.

III.

There are books and books. This is one of those astounding ones that will be read and talked about. It will stimulate thought, inspire ardent admiration and bitter opposition. I predict that over and over again in its reception will be verified the followed terse truth told in a sentence on page thirty-five: "But unless your words touched something kindred in me I could not understand or believe them."

Some of its teaching is so at variance with the current materialistic philosophy of the world origin and order that, to say the least, some things will need be put on the mental shelf for further investigation and illumination; but the main drift of the teaching is at variance only with the legalistic point of view of theology, and comes like a sweet breeze from Eden laden with spirituality and life. If to emphasize the divinity of Christ, to exalt the sacred Scriptures as the very word of God, the fountain of truth, the unnamable treasure of man; if to emphasize the new birth fro above, the rejection of the carnal man, and faith in the universal triumph of the kingdom of heaven, — if to do these things constitutes the soul of evangelical Christianity, then in the superlative degree is the teaching of this book evangelical. If to be orthodox means to keep to the narrow conception of the average blurred and materialistic vision, to pick anew the dry bones of a mere historic church and an

external faith, then in the most emphatic sense it may be pronounced fiercely unorthodox. From first to last it thrills with life. Whatever of capacity to think along lines of free, simple spirituality lies dormant in the mind is awakened and fed with a healthy spiritual meat. It boldly grasps the central spiritual facts and principles and personalities of the Bible and makes them stand forth on a mount of transfiguration irradiant with holy light. It stimulates the imagination like a storm at sea; it cleanses it like a vision of Christ. Itself a mystery, it clears up many mysteries and leads to infinite mystery. Very much of the practical teaching of the book is not strikingly new to the most advanced thinkers on spiritual subjects of our day, but the new point of view and the charming literary style give it a freshness and uniqueness that make it seem new throughout. The correspondence of all external things, including disease, cyclones, revolutions, and the like, to internal states of the collective mind is beautifully and strongly developed, and is worthy the deepest thought. It gives promise that our incoming age with its philosophy and ideals will be a spiritual one and embody social righteousness as the external order of the inner kingdom of God. Again, it upholds and strengthens all the best and most spiritual thinking of to-day in that it puts away by its every attitude, word, and suggestion that malevolent mantle of legal theology which the church inherited from Rome. And in the purest, sweetest spirit it teaches the divine descent of man from God and the blessed pledge of his realization of his sonship in the Spirit.

The really startling thing about the book is the claim of its inspirational origin. But to those of us who have been so blessed as to have a personal acquaintance with its gifted author the simple preface of five lines, quoted from Acts v. 38, 39, is amply sufficient to cover all that may be said regarding this point at this time.

HARRY C. VROOMAN.

IV.

The volume called "True Memory," by Mrs. Calvin Kryder Reifsnider, has just been given to the public.

It is refreshing to read in these days of servile imitation and gross pictures of life in literature, a book of so much originality and soul-deep spirituality as "True Memory."

With well-defined theological views of our own, yet are we always ready to recognize and appreciate the fresh, pure, beautiful, and good in the writings of others, though they may be in a different school of thinking from our own.

There are many charming thoughts and lovely religious lessons in "True Memory." None but a refined, cultivated, and spiritual nature could have written the book.

When the authoress speaks of men *disappearing* from each other through sin, she brings out a thought to which chapters might have been devoted and yet only have deepened the interest.

Again, when she tells of the Tower of Babel mistake, that the true

idea is to build these human life-temples of ours up until they reach the skies, there is a cordial agreement of heart and mind to the beautiful thought, and we say Amen.

As we pondered over her representation of "true memory," the forgetting of the false human and the remembering all that God says, and the shaping of the life accordingly, we could not but be impressed how under different words and terms people are approaching Christ and each other in the spiritual life. To us consecration to and faith in the Lord Jesus is the turning from the false in everything, closing the mind and life to all evil, forgetting the things that are behind, opening the windows toward Jerusalem, listening intently on the heavenward side, refusing to be affected by the opinions of men living a temporizing and carnal life and leaving Christ alone, believing all He says and giving up all for and to Him.

To do this we have to go in the "inner chamber," which the authoress speaks of, and when we come to the door Christ is there, and when we open it He comes in. Happy and blessed is the man or woman who allows Him to stay, and in His delightful companionship and purifying presence banishes and forgets the evil and remembers only that which comes from and is sanctioned of God.

As the book under review teaches that the troubles of man began with *forgetting God* and becoming self-centred, so the positive lesson inculcated by it is that to be blessed and transformed we must *remember* Him and His words.

David "remembered God" and was delivered. Solomon exhorts to a like remembrance. That indeed is a "true memory" which turns from the pleadings of self and the mere teachings of men to listen to and follow the Divine Word or Logos of the skies. He that *knows Him* and *keeps His words* hath everlasting life.

B. Carradine, D. D.

A SILVER BARON.*

Reviewed by B. O. Flower.

Considered merely as a romance of enthralling power "A Silver Baron" is one which will attract the attention of earnest, thoughtful lovers of good fiction. It is intensely interesting from cover to cover, and though shadowed with the misery which the people have passed through, owing so largely to fundamental injustice and the mechanism of the tools of the Bank of England's financial policy, it presents splendid descriptions of the human heart at its best. Those who read about "A Silver Baron" will not forget him. His great-heartedness, his nobility of action, his steadfastness to principle, and the manner in which he scorned the subtle and seductive policy of the gold power reveal humanity at its best and show the divine in man. But aside

* "A Silver Baron," by Carlton Waite. pp. 325. Price, cloth, $1.25; paper, 50 cents. The Arena Publishing Company, Boston.

from the value of the book as a mere romance, it is of very special interest to those who believe in real, honest money, those who believe that the man who creates the wealth rather than the man who acquires it is entitled to, at least, a fair share of the wealth. Hence, at this political crisis, when every man should register his vote at the polls and help save the independence of our great wealth-creating nation from Toryism and British rule, when the masses are massed against the classes, this volume is especially interesting and significant. It should be placed in the hands of every man who is capable of thinking and who loves his country. It is a thought-maker. It speaks for prosperity, for justice, for the happiness of the unborn as much as for the happiness of the present generation. It is at once a strong novel and also a strong picture of human struggles against the octopus of plutocracy which has nowhere been better described than in the following words of Mr. William T. Stead in his "If Christ Came to Chicago," with his accompanying description taken from Victor Hugo's characterization of the octopus:

The process of accumulation goes on irresistibly. The snowball gathers as it grows. Even spendthrifts and prodigals cannot dissipate the unearned increment of their millions which multiply while they sleep. The millionnaire is developing into the billionnaire, and the end is not yet. The transformation is hidden from the multitude because the coming despot eschews the tawdry tinsel of the crown, and liberty is believed to be as safe as well, let us say, as the populace of Rome believed the Republic to be when Julius Cæsar refused the imperial purple. But everywhere the money power has the people by the throat. Whether it is the pawnbroker down the levee, charging ten per cent per month interest upon the pledges of the poor, or the millionnaire negotiating with newspapers for the abandonment of the Interstate Commerce Act, the spectacle is the same. The poor man is the servant of the rich, and at present stands in some danger of becoming his slave.

Plutocracy in America even more than in England, to which I have already compared it, recalls Victor Hugo's memorable description of the octopus. Victor Hugo was a great artist in words, and he described the octopus from life. Had he described it from his observation of plutocracy in America he would not have altered a single sentence. This description of this spectral phantom of the deep, the devil-fish, with its eight huge arms, with its four hundred pustules that cut and suck like a cupping glass, this loathly horror of vampire-death lurking in ocean caves to seize the limb and drain the life of the unwary fisherman, is only too true to life, as many an unfortunate will recognize.

It winds around its victim, covering him and enveloping him in its slimy folds. . . . It is a spider in its shape, a chameleon in its rapid changes of hue. When angry it becomes purple. Its most disgusting characteristic is its impalpability. Its slimy folds strangle, its very touch paralyzes. It looks like a mass of scorbutic gangrened flesh; it is a hideous picture of loathsome disease. Once fixed you cannot tear it away. It clings closely to its prey. How does it so do? By creating a vacuum. . . . It is a pneumatic machine that attacks you. You are struggling with a void which possesses eight antennæ. No scratches, no bites, but an indescribable suffocation. The terrible wretch grins upon you by a thousand foul mouths. The hydra incorporates itself with the man, and the man with the hydra. You become one and the same. The hideous dream is in your bosom. The devil-fish draws you into its system. He drags you to him and into him; bound helplessly, glued where you stand, utterly powerless, you are gradually emptied into a loathsome receptacle, which is the monster himself. . . . The devil-fish is a hypocrite.

"A Silver Baron" should be in the hands of every reader of THE ARENA, and in every club established for the dissemination of patriotic

literature. It should be read and scattered broadcast before the polls close in November. It will do a splendid work for the cause of the wealth-creators of America.

THE JUGGERNAUT OF THE MODERNS.*

REVIEWED BY EDAH CORVINUS.

At last the book long looked for in America!

It is a fashionable sport in these days to write a book. The sport might be harmless if played on proper grounds. But one must not make the soil upon which depends the nation's life into play ground for society. What if we make the fields of corn and wheat into lawn-tennis grounds, while we have gardens and private grounds and cast-off lots all around? Sinful sport that! Not any better however, is the literary sport of the day. It is time to fight and struggle now, not to play and carry on a flirtation with public opinion. Yet this is what the majority of the writers are doing. Glance over the books of the day. It does not take a long time to read them, shorter to forget them. Who would not call these soft terms and attacks with fancy weapons but play work? There are times, however, when playing is so out of place as to become cowardice. What is it that stamps the literature of America to-day but lack of courage to say what must be said and analyze what must be analyzed?

I look out over the land between the Pacific and the Atlantic as it lies before me on the map free and mighty as the eagle which the thought of the people put into its shield. My eyes seek the cities, the big, restless cities, and I think of the slums where outcasts from the nations drag through life; of tall, immense buildings where men and women work as machines, and throw away lives and characters for the almighty dollar. I glance over a mess of fine print hiding thousands and thousands of just such places as Buffalo city, in "The Juggernaut of the Moderns." I question whether here be not a soil for a national literature, strong and powerful as that of no other country, free and earnest enough to lift this land of freedom up toward its swimming high ideals. I wonder why in all this army of writers there is not one as he, the Old Giant of the North, who dares to walk against the tide of time, facing its rage and taking upon him its foam. Surely here is room for a Henrik Ibsen to tell society the truth, quivering with indignation, heavy with sadness over reality, strong of faith in the future. No one has yet done it as has the author of "The Juggernaut of the Moderns."

"The Juggernaut of the Moderns" is the greatest production of modern realistic literature in America. It is a direct and powerful attack which cannot be ignored, and one feels that no shower of indignation can touch the author. Strange enough that the author of "The Juggernaut of the Moderns" is a woman,—strange because of the justice with which the char-

*"The Juggernaut of the Moderns," by Rosa Hudspeth. Cloth, $1.25; paper 50 cents. Arena Publishing Company, Boston, Mass.

acters are treated. It is not a wrathful attack in behalf of a crushed fellow-sister; it is a great spirit's grief and thoughts over the petty prejudices and injustices of society; and between the lines we also feel something like a deep respect for those strange powers in human nature and those deep mysteries of life which we may well ponder over, but dare not solve. "The Juggernaut of the Moderns" is no fancy novel; it is reality; and the author has been so busily and desperately at work scraping off the paint of conventionality and hypocrisy that society appears quite shocking. But the author is an idealist — does she know it herself? Truly as she knows the world she depicts, she ever lives in another world herself, not the world of the Christian, but the world of the soul that ever strives upward toward greater heights and loftier spheres, where there are wider horizons and more freedom. Without this world of her own she would be powerless and despondent in her realism. The centre of interest in the book is Mrs. Wollesey, this strange mixture of a woman's heart yearning for love and loving, and a tiger's thirst for prey into which it may strike its claws.

She is a masterful study of human nature, and not rare in life; only it takes the seer, the poet's soul with its inborn human knowledge, to understand and respect the riddles of life.

Style and material are in harmony, though a tendency to heaviness at times is felt. The composition might now and then have been more effectful; however, the earnestness of the author is so desperate, her expressions so boldly to the point, her convictions so deep, that to dissect form and language in "The Juggernaut of the Moderns" would leave one's self with a feeling of being small and petty.

BEYOND.*

Reviewed by Margaret Connolly.

Anything that causes us to turn aside for a moment from the turmoil, the perplexities, and the cares of daily life to ask ourselves the question, Whither does all this lead? must of necessity be a help toward soul-development, an impulse to the habit of introspection which the most cultured amongst the Orientals declare to be the only true means of developing the soul powers, those powers which so many allow to lie dormant in the feverish haste of modern civilized life. With many the struggle for existence is so keen, the effort to supply the material needs so continuous, that mentality becomes deadened, while vast numbers are so absorbed in the race for gold and preferment that the higher life is altogether lost sight of; the body is allowed to usurp the ruling power which of right belongs to the soul, and little by little the spiritual nature is crowded out, the nobler and better impulses are stemmed, and self becomes the keynote of being.

It is a pleasure, therefore, to call attention to such works as the little

* "Beyond," by Henry Seward Hubbard. Cloth, 75 cents; paper, 25 cents. pp. 179. Arena Publishing Company, Boston, Mass.

volume entitled "Beyond," which, if read carefully and in the proper spirit, cannot fail to awaken thought and arouse the reader to the importance, the necessity, of cultivating the nobler and higher attributes of his nature if he would save himself from being ultimately dominated by the material side of his being. As the title suggests, the author's theme is the realm beyond death, or that sphere to which the spirit is translated when freed from the bonds of the body, and of which he claims to speak with authority. Perhaps this position is assumed for the sake of giving more force and directness to his arguments; or, which is more probable, he may have experienced death within himself, the passing out of the earthly self to give place to the spiritual. But the question as to whether he has or has not pierced the veil in nowise affects the salutary lesson which he seeks to impress. The following quotation from the introduction to the little volume may, however, help the reader to settle this question for himself:

Years have passed, and lonely life has changed to family life, and there have been times when I have felt almost at home again within the confines of the purely earthly realm of thoughts and things. Not quite, however, for that would be impossible. And now, shall I branch out in a tale of strange adventure? Shall I seek to convey to my readers what led to those experiences which have so isolated me in thought? Shall I describe their outward aspect, the channel through which they were received, as, for instance, a dream, a trance, a vision, or *other ways less known?*

To do so might amuse or entertain, but that is not my object. Besides, I understand thoroughly that in these modern days it is the truth, and not the truth-teller, that is wanted. If a man has anything to say, let him say it, and if it bear the stamp of truth, if it will stand the test of analysis the most severe, it will be accepted. If not, he may show a ticket of his travels beyond the moon, but that will not avail him.

All that I ask of my readers is that they will permit me to write of that realm which is so hidden from mortals that many of them deny its very existence, as though I knew all about it. Whether I do or not, no mere statement, in the absence of other evidence, could in the least decide.

Mr. Hubbard advances no new theories and gives us no new conceptions regarding the immaterial realm of spirits, but tries by logical and deductive reasoning to convince the sceptical of the existence of such a world, and he asserts that "the truths which pertain to the superior life do not conflict with common sense, however they may rise beyond the perfect grasp of that power of the mind." He believes that the realm of the occult may be divided into two great divisions, viz., occult science and occult religion, and that both science and religion may meet on the common ground of Spiritualism. A strong plea is made for Spiritualism, although the writer states that all his investigations along spiritualistic lines have been made since he came into the belief of another world, the conditions of which he describes according to his conception of it. Very striking and thought-compelling is the following description of the state of the soul which during its earth-life was utterly absorbed in self:

If your life has been little more than a revolution around yourself

measuring everything by its relation to your personal advantage as you saw it, you will be surprised to find how small and dark a space will bound your being; and it may be a long time before you cease to dwell upon the memories of the world left behind, or cease to hope that in some way you can return to make a better use of its opportunities. And when you shall fairly come to understand that you have been living in the generous air and sunshine of the spirit of God, and that, instead of seeking to imitate Him by making your life a blessing to those less favored than yourself, you have employed your brief span in the effort to appropriate to your private use everything that could be lawfully seized on, you will wonder why the certainty that earth-life is limited had not impressed you more; and when you perceive, through the soul-consciousness which has taken the place of the bodily, that you have no data whatever upon which to base even a surmise as to how long your new kind of life is to continue, such measureless despair may fall upon you as shall even make tears impossible.

Without entering into any discussion as to Mr. Hubbard's claim that he has solved the problem of life and death, the high spiritual tone of his little book and the admirable truths which it teaches cannot fail to make a lasting impression upon the mind, and will bring home to the soul that is struggling toward the light the necessity of living for humanity rather than for self. The earnestness and sincerity of the author and his manifest desire to help uplift struggling humanity by leading the soul to loftier heights, to a contemplation of the spiritual, away from the material plane, will make his work a valuable addition to the literature of occultism.

HON. W. J. BRYAN. FROM HIS LATEST PHOTOGRAPH.

NOTES BY THE EDITOR.

I.

WILLIAM J. BRYAN, A TRIBUNE OF THE PEOPLE.

William J. Bryan represents the statesmanship of age and the vigor of youth. His career has been marked by ability, candor, consistency, and fidelity to the cause of justice and the interests of the wealth-creators of the nation.

He is no "mortgaged candidate;" the stench of syndicates, trusts, and rings has never tainted the atmosphere which surrounds him. He has never been afraid to speak, nor sought to deceive voters by the well-known trick of the mere politician who, when confronted by a vital question, replies, "I have nothing to say." He has never been a wabbler; on the contrary, he has ably, forcibly, and logically discussed the burning issues of the hour in Congress, through magazines, in the press, and on the platform; and more than this, he has always placed himself on the side of the people against plutocracy.

Physically, mentally, and morally he is a splendid type of man. He has an old head on young shoulders, but it is the head of a free, honest, candid statesman instead of an intriguing demagogue. He has the statesmanship, courage, and conscience of Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln. He is the tribune of the people.

He has behind him a magnificent congressional record. He preferred to be defeated for the United States Senate rather than betray the cause of the people to plutocracy.

He is, in the truest sense, a manly man, and those who know him best describe his home life as being characterized by that beautiful simplicity, genuine affection, and sturdy morality which must underlie enduring civilization.

II.

The New York Journal's Cogent Summary of the Political Situation.

The frenzy into which the plutocratic press of some of our great centres has been thrown by the nomination of a broad-souled, big-brained, able, clean, and noble statesman, on a Jeffersonian Democratic platform, is a striking illustration of the degradation and subserviency of great opinion-forming dailies to their slave-holding gold masters. It is refreshing to find in the metropolis one great daily that throws the gauntlet in the face of the trust monopolies and the gold rings whose motto is rule or ruin. The following extracts from leading editorials in the New York *Journal* of July 15 administer a well-merited rebuke to the would-be enslavers of our nation, the Judases in the present conflict between plutocracy and democracy, the classes and the masses.

The manner in which the opponents of the ticket nominated at Chicago have begun their campaign must rouse the profoundest resentment of every American regardful of the interests and jealous of the honor of his country. The representatives of half of the American people have been denounced in delirious language as anarchists, cut-throats, and swindlers. Their chosen candidate for the highest office in the Republic has been pictured as a crazy Jacobin or a designing demagogue. Commerce and industry have been threatened with the very panic these alarmists have professed to fear.

This crusade has been one of reckless misrepresentation from the start. The libellers of the late convention know that the Chicago platform is not anarchical. In most respects it is inspired by enlightened progressiveness. The mild implied criticism of the majority of the Supreme Court, or, rather, of the one justice who changed his mind, was thoroughly well deserved, and might have been made much stronger without impropriety. Since when have we been endowed with infallible judges whose acts are above criticism? If the advocacy of the just and scientific principle of the taxation of large incomes was anarchistic, then every statesman in England is an anarchist, and, instead of searching the cellars of the Houses of Parliament for barrels of gunpowder, the authorities ought to search the pockets of every member for bombs. The income tax is the backbone of the British financial system; it is about to be introduced, in a graduated form at that, into France, and it already exists in its most extreme degree in Germany.

The condemnation of the practice of substituting government by injunction for the old, orderly processes of courts and juries, so far from being revolutionary, is a vindication of the ancient rights of the English-speaking race against a novel and dangerous innovation which deserves the name of anarchy much better than anything done at Chicago.

The platform reaffirms the principle indorsed by a vast majority of the people of the United States, of a tariff for revenue only, and protests against the disturbance to business that would be caused by a return to McKinleyism. There is nothing incendiary in that. In this point it is the Chicago platform that is conservative and the one adopted at St. Louis that is revolutionary.

"We hold," adds the Democratic profession of faith, "that the most efficient way of protecting American labor is to prevent the importation of foreign pauper labor to compete with it in the home market." That is honest, straightforward protection — the only kind that does what it pretends to do.

The Chicago platform demands simplicity and economy in government, and protests against the profligate waste of money that has charac-

terized Republican legislation. That is not the reckless spirit of a mob. It is rather the sober utterance of prudent property owners and taxpayers, of whom the Chicago convention was principally composed.

The protest against arbitrary Federal interference in local affairs is one which Jefferson would have commended as the very foundation stone of his political faith.

In denouncing the attempt to swindle the Government out of more than $200,000,000 by extending the Pacific Railroad debts, the convention was fighting anarchy, for there can be no more dangerous anarchists than those who are powerful enough to override the laws and amass wealth from the property of the people.

Moreover, the silver plank in the Chicago platform does not deserve the frantic vituperation levelled against it. If its authors were mistaken in their methods, their aim was to introduce bimetallism, and bimetallism is a scientific theory with too much expert authority on its side to brand its advocates as lunatics or incendiaries.

Nor is it possible with any more sincerity to call Mr. Bryan a demagogue. He is the very reverse of a demagogue. He follows the truth as he sees it, though it lead him to political destruction. Last year he could muster only ten thousand votes for his faction in Nebraska out of over one hundred and eighty thousand, but he had no thought of compromise. He fought on, regardless of victory or defeat, thinking only of what he believed to be right. If he had not been nominated nobody would have dreamed of calling him a demagogue. His spirit is rather that of a prophet.

On the other side we have William McKinley, bound hand, foot, and tongue to the most corrupt combination that ever exhibited itself openly in an American presidential campaign. His election would put the resources of the Government at the disposal of the Hanna syndicate. It would mean a return to Chinese protection, and the exploitation of the people by a rapacious ring of mandarins. It would mean in the end a popular revolt before which affrighted conservatism might pray for a leader with the moderate instincts of Bryan.

In most respects the superiority of the Democratic candidate is so palpable as to make comparisons needlessly cruel to his opponent. What, then, is the duty of American citizens who desire to secure the best possible government for the Republic during the next four years? Plainly it it to vote for that presidential candidate who is manifestly best fitted to administer the Government, and to settle the financial question through their Representatives in Congress. Gold men may vote for gold candidates, silver men for silver candidates, and bimetallists for bimetallists. But nobody who realizes what is at stake in this campaign can vote to abandon government of the people, by the people, for the people in favor of government of McKinley, by Hanna, for a syndicate.

On July 14 the *Journal* followed the above editorial by a lengthy leader from which the following is an extract:

The organs whose extravagant vituperation of the Chicago ticket and platform has shocked the community's sense of fairness and decency seem to have forgotten that the election is nearly four months off. A campaign of that length cannot be carried through by a shriek, especially a false one. When the voters hear that a great, historic party, which has ruled the country for sixty out of the one hundred and seven years of our existence under the national constitution, and which at the last election polled nearly half a million more votes than its nearest competitor, has suddenly become a collection of anarchists, cut-throats, and lunatics, they will feel a desire to see the evidence on which these monstrous charges rest. When they find that the platform adopted by the convention was not incendiary, but with the exception of the financial

plank was moderate, well-considered, and cautiously progressive, and that the elements supposed to represent revolutionary ideas were helpless and in disrepute, they will take the ravings of our reactionary contemporaries for what they are worth.

The *Sun* talks of "the hideous Chicago platform," of the "revolutionists and repudiators" of the convention, of the control of the Democracy by the "Socialist or Communist," and of "Populist-Anarchist candidates, nominated on a Populist-Anarchist platform." The *Herald*, with a dearth of original ideas, quotes from the *Sun* and adds: "Me, too." The other members of the anti-Bryan combination follow the same policy, according to the varying degrees of their command of language. There is a wild, inarticulate yell of abuse, but nothing that gives any information of specific faults. It can hardly be considered a crime to suggest that a decision of the Supreme Court obtained by the change of heart of a single justice, by which the unanimous decisions of the court for a hundred years were overthrown, may not be permanent. Marshall and Chase were not anarchists, and the idea that the principles of law that prevailed when they were on the bench may eventually be restored is not disrespectful to the Supreme Court as an institution, although it may not be agreeable to the one justice who changed his mind.

All of these hysterical cries and the disgusting epithets which the gold press of the metropolis has meted out to Mr. Bryan, remind one of the shameless abuse heaped upon Illinois' great commoner, Abraham Lincoln, immediately after his nomination. It is true the vituperative ridicule and abuse have not been quite so savage as that meted out to the rail-splitter of Illinois, but they are of the same character. The plotters against the Republic — the real anarchists — are alarmed at the strength and determination of the people. Where they imagined they had a horde of slaves they find themselves confronted by millions of free men who can no longer be hoodwinked or deceived, but who are determined that the Republic shall be preserved from the Hanna trust and the rule of the gold ring.

III.

The Palpable Insincerity of the Gold-Ring-Ruled Press.

The palpable insincerity of the great dailies dominated by the gold ring, and the brazen effrontery exhibited by them, were probably never so glaringly illustrated as since the nomination of the brilliant tribune of the people, W. J. Bryan, for the presidency. These papers, before the St. Louis convention, characterized Mr. McKinley as the "mortgaged candidate," the tool of the "Hanna syndicate;" they characterized him as a straddle-bug, a representative of trusts, combines, and monopolies, wholly unworthy of the intelligent suffrage of the people. They pointed out how he had voted for free coinage of silver, and sneered at his later action, which was a virtual surrender to the gold ring, as insincere. Even after his nomination, many of the Eastern dailies, which are the mouthpieces of the gold ring and the gamblers of Wall Street, continued their savage assaults upon Mr. McKinley, emphasizing that he was the tool of the most unscrupulous and

odious representatives of trusts and monopolies; that the convention which nominated him was the most conspicuous example of remorseless bossism and cut-and-dried machine politics on record. That was, however, when it was hoped that the *protégé* of the Standard Oil Company and his coterie might defeat the overwhelming sentiment of the Democratic party in the interests of the gold ring and the wreckers of national prosperity and the happiness of America's millions, that a selfish few might continue their wholesale brigandage on the highways of legitimate business. Now, however, the whole aspect is changed, and by some strange and subtle alchemy these same editors have been made to swallow their former vituperation and unite in the Wall Street and Bank of England's chorus of praising Mr. McKinley and the Republican party, which a few weeks ago they denounced even more brutally than they are now denouncing the splendid representative of statesmanship and manhood who will be the next President of America, despite the hysterical ravings of the press of the gold ring and the corruption fund of the party of trusts and monopolies and special privileges to the few. The files of certain great metropolitan and Eastern papers during the past three months present the most humiliating spectacle of reckless insincerity and the absolute control of opinion-forming organs by the power of selfish and conscienceless greed in the history of our country. People who think, however, have lost confidence in vaporings of the gold ring. Their power has departed from them.

IV.

A Leading Boston Financier on the Reckless and Revolutionary Policy of the Gold Ring and its Minions.

At the wonderful Democratic ratification meeting held in Faneuil Hall, July 14, which, in point of number and enthusiasm, eclipsed any ratification meeting held in recent years, Mr. H. J. Jaquith, who until a few months ago was president of one of Boston's leading banks, and who was forced out of his position because of his loyalty to free coinage of silver, made a notable address, from which we extract the following, which well deserves the consideration of every honest man who may have been misled by the hysterical editorials of the press of the gold ring and the tools of the Wall Street gamblers in their battle against the wealth-creators and legitimate business interests of our nation.

Ancient fable tells us of the famous wrestler, son of Mother Earth, who, hard pressed and thrown upon the bosom of Mother Earth, rose refreshed from the contact, invincible and conquering.

In the convention just closed the Democratic party returned to its mother. It had been throttled and hard pressed by corrupt trusts and the money power of foreign Shylocks; it returned to the bosom of the common people from whom it sprang, and has arisen again, a young giant, invincible and sure to conquer in the November elections. Its mandate is of peace and good will to the toilers and sufferers of all climes and nationalities and religions, but of unceasing and uncompromising war

upon the parasites who have bought delegations and conventions and legislatures, who have stalked boldly into the halls of Congress, who have attempted to place their creatures on the bench in our courts, and who have been the tyrants behind an attempted throne in this land that was ordained to be a republic.

You, the people, have made your laws and they have nullified them. Commercial life and commercial death for whole communities have been ordered by them, and your false servants have turned their faces from you while object lessons of destructive power were being meted out to your fellows, object lessons that a Jackson would have nipped in the bud, if he had had to hang the conspirators as high as Haman.

Fellow Democrats, our Antæus, our invincible young giant, our leader, William J. Bryan of Nebraska, has accepted the mandate of the people, and is going forth conquering and to conquer. The spirit of Jackson is upon him; uncompromising, he does not petition, but, as your representative, he demands that the Constitution and the laws shall be obeyed, that equitable taxes shall be levied, and that the interests of the people shall not be made the football of conspirators and stock jobbers.

I shall never forget my meeting with Mr. Bryan when he was a congressman, nor his burning, bitter indignation at the wicked supineness of our high officials. He did not use words to conceal his thoughts, and his thoughts sprang from the pure inspiration of a patriot.

"No crown of thorns. No cross of gold."

We of the East, as a mass, do not understand the meaning of these words as well as do our brethren of the West and South. We have not had any free discussion; our leading papers have refused to print any but the gold side; our banks have frowned upon loans to silver men, upon loans to business men of a silver State, upon collateral based upon property in those States.

Distrust and suspicion of our Western and Southern brethren have teemed in our newspapers, and we have been treated to liberal doses, frequently repeated, of the statement that our servants in Washington were better than their party.

The Chicago convention declared for silver because we need it as a money metal, and the more our Eastern people study the question the more they will see the need.

But for thus declaring we, the supporters of that platform, are characterized as anarchists and revolutionists.

It is not my purpose to go into the figures to prove the bimetallic argument, nor to construct my own presentation of the argument. It would take more time than can be spared now; but I propose to meet the criticism of revolution and anarchism, and to put that criticism where no man of decency or ability will dare to repeat it.

Feb. 6, 1893, Senator Hill of New York said, "My own personal conviction is clear that with adequate preparation, revised laws and competent and friendly administration, independent free bimetallic coinage would be within the power of the United States to establish and maintain."

The European monetary conference of 1878 found "That it is necessary to maintain in the world the money functions of silver as well as those of gold."

Just think of it! That conference of the European powers in 1878 was composed of anarchists.

Mr. Albert George Sandeman, governor of the Bank of England, said: "I think it was a great mistake, demonetizing silver in 1872 and 1873; at least, the fall in the average prices of commodities began then and has been almost continuous ever since."

Dear me! here is another anarchist, and governor of the Bank of England, too.

June 24, 1895, the Bimetallist League of England addressed the government in defence of the double standard. The anarchists and revolutionists who signed this crazy document comprised sixty bankers, seventy-eight merchants, fifteen labor-union leaders, forty-two land-owners, sixty members of the House of Commons.

Among the Populists whose names were affixed were the Duke of Fife, the Duke of Aberdeen, the Duke of Portland, the Duke of Sutherland, Mr. Lidderdale, ex-governor of the Bank of England, and Sir Samuel Montague, head of the famous London banking firm of Samuel Montague & Co. What is the world coming to when all these dynamiters dare to sign such an address?

Now, what were the revolutionary, anarchistic words to which these gentlemen subscribed? Let me quote: "We are confirmed in the opinion by the fact that, with the abandonment of bimetallism the immense advantages we have referred to entirely disappeared — contracts have been disturbed, the burden of the debtor has been increased, property has depreciated, and enterprise has been checked, with a corresponding loss of capital embarked in industry and of employment to the working classes.

"Surely these are matters of grave and serious importance which deserve and should command attention.

"None of the alarming consequences which are foreshadowed by the (gold) memorialists occurred under bimetallism in the past, and, while experience proves that it has coexisted with a period of the greatest prosperity, no argument or reason has been hitherto adduced to warrant the assumption that these consequences would be likely to raise if it were adopted in the future."

Ex-Gov. Lidderdale of the Bank of England said recently in a conversation upon the matter: "You see, they are coming rapidly to our views, and what is lost by legislation can be restored by legislation." Mr. Lidderdale said that he believed 16 to 1 the proper ratio, and further: "Your country, if it saw fit and had the courage of its convictions, could force the issue of silver restoration on us, because in so doing you would win the trade of the silver-using countries, such as India, China, Japan, Mexico, and South America, to such an extent that England and Europe generally would be compelled to follow suit in order to retain their prestige in those countries.

Can you, my hearers, imagine any language more atrocious than these words of that wild-eyed anarchist, Mr. Lidderdale?

Another anarchist, a director in the Bank of England, Mr. Evelyn Hubbard, recently made this confession of his damnable faith: "Mr. Chairman, my Lord, Duke, Ladies, and Gentlemen: I imagine that I have been asked to second this report chiefly because the bimetallic league count me, if not as a professed convert, at any rate as a catechumen, and in accordance with an ancient custom I am called on to testify to my sincerity by some public confession of faith. I started heavily weighted with the conviction that legislation could never possibly fix the relative price of two commodities which vary in supply.

"I have become aware that bimetallism involves the regulation, not of price, but of ratio. . . . Again, the insular argument was not without weight. England, it was urged, is a great creditor country; all the world is indebted to her in sterling. If gold is appreciating, so much the better for us. This particular millstone fell from my neck.

"First, it requires little consideration to see that it is not only essentially immoral, but also self-destructive.

"If gold appreciates, your gold standard stands condemned by failure in the most essential attribute, that of stability, while you are convicted of mulcting your debtor, not only of the interest which he agreed to pay, but also of the unearned increment, the increase in purchasing power, which your currency has acquired by lapse of time. . . . Great is truth,

and she will prevail. It is with the firm conviction that the principles of bimetallism are principles which make not only the prosperity of this kingdom and empire, but the welfare of the whole civilized world, that I second the resolution."

In 1894 a Prussian minister made this declaration: "I am empowered, in the name of the Government, to declare that we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the low price of silver has an influence on the general level of prices, and that the constant fluctuations in the price of silver have an unfavorable effect on our working population."

Sir David Barbour of the royal commission on gold and silver in 1888 said: "Up to the year 1873 silver and gold divided between them the duties of standard money for the civilized world, and I have no hesitation in saying that up to that date silver was the more important factor of the two. In 1873 a change began, and since that time pressure has been continuously applied for the purpose of excluding silver from the standard of the world.

"Now it seems to me that under any circumstances a change which has for its object the reduction of the standard of the world by one half its previous quantity cannot be looked upon as anything short of a monetary revolution."

What an old pirate Sir David is! He actually calls the gold bugs revolutionists. Such audacity! And he really reflects on Grover Cleveland as heading a revolution here unauthorized by the Constitution or laws.

Mr. H. R. Beeton, at the same meeting, said: "We must proclaim everywhere, and at all times, the cruel robbery perpetrated in the name of sanctity of contract by the falsification of the standard of value."

Sir William Henry Houldsworth was another of the anarchists at this meeting. He said: "We have distinctly said, and we say still, that whatever variations there may be in the prosperity of trade, or in employment, or in the development of our industries, there can be no good trade and no prosperity in this country or in any country till the appreciation of gold is arrested."

Mr. W. H. Grenfell marked himself for the same infamous notoriety at the same time; he repeated Sir George Chesney's words: "The world on this subject is divided into two classes, those who understand the question, and those who do not. Of these two classes the former are all bimetallists," and said: "Prof. Jevons, who was certainly on the gold side when he wrote, put it down in so many figures that gold fell between the years 1789 and 1809 by forty-six per cent. that between 1809 and 1849 it rose one hundred and forty-five per cent, and that twenty years after 1849 it fell at least twenty per cent.

"An ancient money-lender, Shylock, has been blamed as a usurer, but he never asked for more than his own again. Is it becoming in us to play the part of a worse than Shylock and to demand more than we lent?"

The royal commission of 1888, it seems, had six anarchists upon it; their names are Rt. Hon. Sir Louis Mallet, Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour, Rt. Hon. Henry Chaplin, Sir David Barbour, Sir W. H. Houldsworth, Mr. Samuel Montague.

They signed the statements, "We are strongly of opinion that both metals must continue to be used as standard money. The results of using them separately and independently since 1873 have been most unsatisfactory and may be positively disastrous in the future," and they recommend, "Free coinage of both metals into legal-tender money, and the fixing of a ratio at which the coins of either metal shall be available for the payment of all debts at the option of the debtor."

Just think of it, at the option of the debtor! What will our gold bugs say?

In taking the stand it has on silver, the Democratic party has taken the stand of honesty, of considerateness for the welfare of all, of regard for the toilers and common people.

We should remember that Antæus was crushed to death in mid-air; he could not return to the mother-earth for renewed strength; so, too, when the Democratic party deserts the whole people and turns to the fleshpots of the money-changers, bond-sellers, and monopolists, its death is certain, but so long as it returns year by year to the whole people and takes their mandate for laws for the common good, so long will it be invincible and victorious, maintaining a government of the people, by the people, for the people.

V.

The Egyptian Taskmasters and their Tactics.

The alarm of the gold ring, the Hanna syndicate, and the trusts and monopolies of our nation is only equalled by the concern of the British usurers and the American Tories of 1896. In a recent editorial in the New York *Journal** entitled the "Alarm Bell in American History," the editor states some facts which will be of special interest to the general reader who is too engrossed in business affairs to investigate political problems independently. So timely indeed are these facts, when the conspirators are engaged in their old game of trying to frighten the people who merely take their opinions from a subsidized press, that I reproduce this editorial.

Toryism is an instinct, a temperament, which is found in all countries and at all epochs. And it always exhibits itself in the same way. It takes alarm at every suggestion of reform, and its first impulse is to assail the motives of the agitators who attempt to end old abuses, and to bury them under a torrent of vituperation. We have had three great periods of political advancement in this country before the present one — those marked respectively by the triumph of the Jeffersonian Republicans over reactionary Federalism, the final establishment of the widest popular government under Jackson, and the abolition of slavery. In every case the voices that are now shouting "Jacobinism," "Revolution," and "Anarchy" had their counterparts shrieking precisely the same epithets. With only a change of names, but not of language, a Federalist diatribe in 1800 would have passed equally well for an anti-Jackson manifesto in 1828, a pro-slavery pronunciamento in 1856, or a McKinley "saviour-of-society" proclamation in the present year.

In many cases the Tories of 1896 are the lineal successors of those that libelled Jefferson and Jackson and stirred up the mobs to lynch abolitionists. Two of our New York contemporaries, the *Evening Post* and the *Commercial Advertiser*, date back to the early days of American politics. They saw the same horrors then that they see now. It is the most persistent case of tremens on record.

In the campaign of 1800 "Marcellus," supposed to be Hamilton, predicted in the *Commercial Advertiser* that Jefferson, if elected, would turn out every Federalist office-holder, "tumble the financial system of the country into ruin at one stroke," and thus of necessity stop all payments of interest on the public debt and bring on "universal bankruptcy and beggary." He would dismantle the navy, so that "every vessel which floated from our shores would be plundered or captured." The scarred veterans of the Revolution, deprived of their pensions, would be seen

* July 19, 1896.

"starving in the streets, or living on the cold and precarious supplies of charity." The officers of the Government, unable to collect their salaries, would resign, and "counterfeiting would be practised with impunity."

Nothing much worse has been feared from the election of Bryan. Yet Jefferson's election was the beginning of the most prosperous period this country had ever known, and the results of the experiment pleased the people so well that the very name of the opposition party died out, and when, in the course of a quarter of a century, fresh political divisions arose, there had to be an entirely new start, since the whole Union had become Jeffersonian.

Even after Jefferson's election the alarmists continued their gloomy predictions for a time. The *Evening Post*, which from its very earliest days has had the habit of collecting its valuable opinions in pamphlet form, putting them on sale in its counting-room, and then suppressing them when it finds it advisable to alter its course, attacked his first message in a series of articles signed "Lucius Crassus." The verdict of Crassus, otherwise the *Post*, was that:

> The message of the President, by whatever motives it may have been dictated, is a performance which ought to alarm all who are anxious for the safety of our Government, for the respectability and welfare of our nation. It makes, or aims at making, a most prodigious sacrifice of constitutional energy, of sound principle, and of public interest to the popularity of one man.

To complete the similarity between that time and this, the clergy was as active in behalf of "order and property" then as now. The political preacher was expounding Federalism from a thousand pulpits. The Rev. John Mason, the fashionable exhorter of New York, suspended a fast-day sermon to exclaim:

> Send us, if Thou wilt, murrain upon our cattle, a famine upon our land; send us pestilence to waste our cities; send us, if it pleases Thee, the sword to bathe itself in the blood of our sons; but spare us, Lord God Most Merciful, spare us that curse — most dreadful of all curses — an alliance with Napoleon Bonaparte.

So detestable were the Republican doctrines thought to be that the men who held them were cut by their Federalist acquaintances. Social persecution was added to political proscription. The families of the Republican leaders were harassed. During the absence of Elbridge Gerry in France, in 1798, the model of a guillotine, stained with blood and bearing a headless effigy, was repeatedly set up before the window of his young wife in Cambridge.

When Jefferson was elected the people in the stanch Federalist sections despaired of the Republic. They expected to see the Government crumble to pieces about their ears. But to their astonishment the Republic went on, greater, more powerful, and more honored than ever. And so it will go on after the election of Bryan. The historian of the twentieth century will relate the outbreak of the curious hysteria of 1896 with the same amusement with which the historian of to-day tells of the delusions of 1800.

BROOKLINE PUBLIC LIBRARY

Geo. F. Walker

BRU... LIBRARY. 217

THE ARENA.

No. LXXXIII.

OCTOBER, 1896.

SILVER—A MONEY METAL.

BY UNITED STATES SENATOR JOHN T. MORGAN.

Silver and gold were created for use as money metals. That is their only useful function, and whoever deprives them of that quality violates the laws of nature and destroys one of the greatest blessings the Creator has conferred upon mankind.

MAN'S RIGHT TO THE USE OF NATURE.

In the divine economy and arrangement that we call nature, everything is created for the use of man. It is because of this that the earth is called man's inheritance. No law enacted by man under any form or power of government can be a good, just, or valid law if it deprives man of the right to use and enjoy any provision of nature for the support and comfort of life. No law could be just, or could be tolerated, that would deprive man of the right to use air, light, heat, food, water, raiment, or shelter. A person who is disqualified by law from the right to have and to enjoy any of these elementary gifts of nature is under the dominion of the worst form of despotism, and no such law could be valid in any country unless it might be necessary as a punishment for crime. The products of the mineral kingdom are provided for human use in the same broad and unrestricted sense. The law cannot deny to a person the right to use any metal, without a tyrannical abuse of power.

GOLD AND SILVER SPECIFICALLY CREATED AS ADMEASUREMENTS OF VALUE.

Every metal has qualities that no other metal can supply; these are adapted to the wants of man. The uses of iron, lead, zinc, and copper, the four leading metals, are distinct and separate from each other, and no one of them can fully occupy the place of any other in the service of man. Each is adapted to separate uses. This peculiar fitness for special needs is found in gold and silver in greater distinctness than in any other metals, and is confined to a narrower field of employment. In the assistance of man in the production of

food, raiment, or shelter, gold and silver are useless as metals. They cannot be applied to the construction of implements or machines. No metals are of so little service in the labors and domestic uses of mankind as gold and silver. They are fitted exclusively for two purposes — decoration and money. As materials for decoration, they are only slightly superior to brass, tin, or copper. Yet they have been held and regarded as precious metals in all countries and in all ages. With this single element of actual value, gold and silver are accepted as being equal to the value of all the property of every description that is owned by mankind. In fact, they are worthless to the human family as food, raiment, or shelter or as the means of creating these indispensable supporters of life and comfort. Yet, in mightier truth, they command all the material, labor, and skill in the world in the production of everything useful to man. This imperial sway over human thought and action does not derive its power and authority from the consent of mankind, but from the inability of man to resist a decree that comes from divine authority. Men have attempted to create many devices and tokens with which they have hoped to confer this power of admeasurement of values upon things of their own creation, — such as bills printed on paper to circulate as money, backed by the power of governmental fiat, — but all their efforts have been in vain, and nothing has been found that can be substituted for gold and silver as the measures of value. We must concede, therefore, that if anything is created for special uses and is so designed and intended by the Creator, — such as air, water, light, the grains and grasses that supply food, the earth and the metals designed for its cultivation, — gold and silver are also impressed with these divine purposes and are limited and controlled in their uses by the divine will that cannot safely be dispensed with or ignored by human laws.

BIMETALLISM A DIVINE PROVISION FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE TOILING POOR.

The varieties in grains and in all food substances, in material for raiment, in minerals and metals, in the waters and in climates, are constituted for service and not for the gratification of the fancies or caprices of mankind. Where one variety fails of adequate production, another is found to supply the want, and this is the economy that all men call

divine. A human law that would destroy the usefulness of one variety of such production to give precedence to another, would be null and void for its impious wickedness. In ordaining precious metals to answer the purposes of money, the divine wisdom found it necessary to have two metals instead of one, and to impress upon both the same essential characteristics. They were both to be useless for service in the production of food, raiment, or shelter for man and beast; they were to be different, but equally attractive for purposes of decoration and as the heraldry of wealth, and both were to be accepted by man as the legitimate measure of all values, including the relative value of each. Shall we question divine wisdom to find out the reason why two metals so different in appearance, bulk, and weight of production are made to answer the same purpose? As the reason is not inscrutable, the question is not improper, and it deserves an answer. If all the gold and silver that are hidden in the earth could be found and brought into use at once, their abundance would destroy their value as compared with the value of labor and property. Labor is the price and property is the reward of human exertion and activity in supplying the wants of the world. "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." This divine law gives the reward of toil as it is performed, and the "laborer is worthy of his hire." Toil creates the reward and earns it at the same time. If the reward were not consequent upon toil, it would be a mere gift, like air or water, and man would not labor to acquire it. It would not be a reward, but a gratuity. If daily bread is the reward, patient and long-continued toil is required to produce it. If it is money it must also be produced by labor. If labor is not required to produce it, and if it is only a creation of some ideal of man, it is a gift or benevolence of one man to another, and is not the "hire" of which the laborer is worthy, neither is it the "bread" nor its representative that God has required man to earn in the sweat of his face. The rewards of labor must be earned from divine benevolence, and be regulated by the laws of divine justice, or they will become curses instead of benefactions. If one set of men had it in their power to create and measure the rewards that other men should receive for their labor, such a despotism would be without limit or restraint. A man who pays another a dollar for a day's work does not pay in something he has created, but in something that has

cost him or some other man a day's toil to produce. Every dollar of gold or silver has this character fixed upon it, — that it is the reward for a day's work or more of the man who raised it from the mines. As the reward for toil it is honored by all men and is acceptable to the Creator. It was to give to gold and silver this character as a reward for toil, and to prevent the cupidity of man from producing them too rapidly, that the mines are scattered over the world, in places difficult of access or discovery, and are uncertain as to yield. Only a few men can be employed at one time in the mining, and when the ores are brought to the surface it requires careful scientific treatment to reduce them to metals. Here are labor, skill, science, courage, and faithful effort required in the work of the individual man to produce these precious tokens and measures of wealth that are added slowly, one by one, to the permanent wealth of the world. In them the toiler's labors are requited, the discoverer's hopes are kept bright with keen expectation, and either realized in triumphant success or lost in despair. The chemist's skill is graced with the perfection of scientific achievement; the country is enriched; debtors are aided with the increased profits of their labors to meet the interest on the mortgage that grows while they sleep; the government has a revenue that it does not burden the people excessively to pay; commerce, with wings of snow or breath of steam, seeks the friendly merchant in the remotest ports, and the sovereign nation is made independent, with no enemy who will dare challenge her armies and navies to war. If these dollars had fallen like rain from the printing press, with the rainbow promise of gold or silver to redeem them to be found where the halo of bright deception rests on the earth, the world would have no confidence in such promises, that cost no labor and stand for nothing but idle dreams of a miraculous turn of "luck," or the capacity of the banker to create wealth without toil and to supply it to those "who toil not, neither do they spin." The Creator saw fit to provide both gold and silver for the use of mankind as money, and they have, in all ages, eagerly accepted both metals, and have literally ransacked earth and seas to find them where they are so carefully hidden away. If the men who have accumulated these metals by trade, artifice, usury, and savings, or by the power of unjust laws, fraud, wars, rapine, or plunder, inquire why it is that the Creator made one of the metals in a form or weight incon-

venient for business, the question is answered at the moment of asking by the statement that these metals were made to circulate in aid of those who are creating wealth by toil, and not for those who gain it by interest, usury, or dealings in credits and lock it in the vaults of the misers. But, it is further suggested, why did not the Creator make the precious money metal of gold alone, instead of associating it with silver? The answer is that this was done to save one half of the wealth of the world from concentration in the hands of the few, and to compel its constant circulation in the business of all the people. To illustrate: a gold dime or quarter would be too small for safe or convenient handling, and a silver ten-dollar piece would be too bulky for convenient use. A fifty-dollar gold piece is not larger than a silver dollar, and is a very convenient piece for the storage of wealth, but few persons could use it in daily business. Gold and silver meet in the standard silver dollar where their value is a unit, and their value must regulate the value of both metals, when coined, whether the coins are above or below the dollar unit. So much for the convenience and certainty of the divine arrangement, as contrasted with that of the new school of creators, who would reform the work of the Almighty by abolishing silver as a money metal, and would starve the poor if they did not use dimes and quarters made of gold. If we are to use gold alone as a precious money metal, gold and silver being created as servants of those who toil, competition between them will cease, and as we must have money in some form to aid our labors, the sole servant that is left, whether it is silver or gold, will become the master and will rule us with a tyranny that is without restraint. That is the present condition of Europe, and it is the slavery toward which we are being driven. The all-wise Creator saw that competition between the producers of gold and silver was essential to save the world from the despotic mastery of either, or both, and He, in mercy to man, created both as money metals. If there was but one precious money metal, gold alone, with the conditions of uncertainty that attend its production, a falling off in the supply of the mines, or any great increase, would compel all values to oscillate with its rise and fall in the quantity produced from time to time. With no rival or competitive precious money metal to meet a deficiency of its production, or to regulate its value when overproduced, gold would be the enemy of

all trade and finance, with no power that could possibly control it. The production of silver, with like variances in the quantity yielded by the mines, contributes to regulate the value or price of both metals, so that neither of them, independently, could regulate other values. If gold increased in quantity, as compared with silver, silver would increase in value, and as silver increased in quantity, as compared with gold, gold would increase in value, and the great equation that Providence has made between them would stand. Under this great provision of the Creator, in a matter that lies at the foundation of all the business relations of mankind, all that is left for man to do is to find these precious ores, reduce them to metals, purify them, weigh them, stamp them as coins, and provide by law the ratio between them on which they shall be received in the compensation of all debts and damages and the redemption of all promises to pay money.

PARITY OF GOLD AND SILVER A DOMESTIC QUESTION, DEPENDING SOLELY ON OUR OWN LAWS.

Silver and gold coins, when left to adjust themselves in accordance with their uses as precious money metals, will maintain their own level or parity of value in any country and on any ratio that the laws of such country may fix. Silver and gold are at parity in France, at $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, and in the United States at 16 to 1. That is because it is so arranged by law, and not because the metals differ in comparative value in the two countries. As between different countries, where one of them overvalues either silver or gold and causes one of the metals to come to that country for sale, the remedy is to put a tariff on the importation or the exportation. Such questions are entirely aside from the duty of a government to provide a monetary system for its own people suited to their industries, productions, and all their institutions. This is exclusively a power of sovereignty, perhaps the highest power, without which a government is imbecile and dependent and does not deserve the name. Under the power to regulate commerce with foreign countries we have perfect control over the exports and imports of metals, and under the separate power to create and regulate money we have control over the supply and circulation in our own country. The question whether one coin or one description

of money will retire another from circulation, is purely a domestic question and depends solely upon our own laws.

SILVER, IF LEGAL TENDER, CANNOT DRIVE GOLD INTO RETIREMENT.

Where money is only the representative of credit, and has no other foundation for its stability as a measure of value or as the redeemer of promises than that of confidence in the promise of the person or the government issuing it that its value should be steadfastly maintained, the less confidence there is in such promises the more rapidly the money will circulate from hand to hand. This result is due alone to the fact that men sometimes, if not always, are dishonest enough to transfer their worst property into the hands of others, even in payment of debts, and to reserve the best for their own use. This is all there is in the celebrated "Gresham law" about which so much has been said. Every sovereign government has found it necessary to counteract this tendency of the people to defraud each other, by positive statutes to regulate the coinage and value of money, and to compel them to accept and use such coined money at a fixed legal value in the payment of debts. Such compulsory laws are called legal-tender laws, which are equally binding on all the people. These laws properly assume that a debt is created in every transaction of trade and in all dealings that include the right of compensation in money, whether in the nature of contracts or damages. In every such transaction the relation of debtor and creditor is established. The amount of the debt is regulated by the contract between the parties, or by the law where there is no actual contract, and the money in which the debt is to be paid is prescribed and fixed, as to its value, by statute law. The creditor is forced by the law to accept compensation for his debt in the money thus prescribed. That is the law of redemption of debts that is called the law of "legal tender." All money that is included in this classification by the supreme power of the government is equal in value, without respect to the material of which it is composed. It pays *all debts*, and, in all transactions where compensation is due, debts are created between the people, so that the legal-tender laws are the actual laws of redemption that cover the whole field of the usefulness of money. In such a country, controlled by such laws, all legal-tender money is of equal value legally, and there is

no cheap or inferior money to which the Gresham law can apply. In such a state, one kind of full legal-tender money cannot drive another sort into retirement from circulation. This answers the objection that the coinage of silver will drive gold out of circulation in our country if they are both made full legal tender by statute law. And this answer is proven to be true by our experience during the whole period of our existence as a government. Not one authentic fact can be stated to show that in our whole history full legal-tender silver dollars have ever driven full legal-tender gold coins into retirement.

LEGAL AND COMMERCIAL PARITY BETWEEN ALL DESCRIPTIONS OF MONEY MAINTAINED SOLELY BY LEGAL-TENDER LAWS.

Legal-tender paper money, when its constitutional character was in doubt, did drive legal-tender coins, both of gold and silver, into retirement until that doubt was removed by the final decision of our Supreme Court. But as soon as that question was settled, our greenbacks became the equals of gold and silver in value, and they became as much in demand for hoarding as capital, as gold or silver coins. They are sustained in this equality with gold and silver coins alone by the fact that they are full legal-tender money. If our laws relating to the resumption of specie payments were repealed, so that neither gold nor silver could be demanded of the government for their redemption, the greenbacks would still remain the equals of gold and silver legal-tender coins. At certain periods and in certain states they would command a premium over gold and silver coins, because they are convenient and non-taxable. The legal and commercial parity between all descriptions of money in the United States is maintained solely by our legal-tender laws. It cannot be maintained in any other way. We have a proof of this in our own experience that no sincere mind can deny.

LEGAL-TENDER LAWS ESSENTIAL, AS ILLUSTRATED.

In 1873 the single-gold-standard theorists, backed by those classes whose wealth enabled them to make a corner on the gold of the world, entered upon the scheme that Great Britain had inaugurated in 1816 (but had not the power to enforce until the United States would lend a helping hand)

to destroy the legal-tender power of silver money where the payment to be made exceeded the sum of ten dollars, or forty shillings. Persons of the capitalist classes in the United States, under the lead of Mr. Sherman, eagerly embraced this opportunity to increase their financial power. Their plan was simple and the blow was deadly. They had merely to insure success by destroying the legal-tender power of our silver coins. They accomplished that fatal result by even outstripping the radical British policy; and they confined the legal-tender power of all silver money to sums of five dollars, or twenty shillings, instead of forty shillings, as the British law more humanely provided. The axe that fell upon the neck of silver would have been fatal if it had only stricken down its legal-tender power; but this was not enough to exterminate its power as a favorite coin among the people, and the gold monopolists did not feel safe until the laws should refuse coinage to the legal-tender silver dollar after a most useful and honorable existence for eighty-one years under acts of Congress approved by George Washington and Andrew Jackson, without a word of complaint by the people or any American statesman who had ever lived up to 1873. They dropped this legal-tender dollar from the coinage, intending to remove it entirely from all chance of competition with gold. They determined that the people should not have it as a means of conducting their daily business. Then, along with this destructive act, arose the question, What should they do with the silver bullion that our mines were yielding at the rate of more than $50,000,000 annually, and was then worth as bullion 3 per cent premium over gold at the ratio of 16 to 1. The way in which this difficult and perplexing question was attempted to be answered in that "Coinage Act of 1873" is the most conclusive answer that could possibly be made upon two points in the controversy now pending. Having abolished the silver standard which had measured all the coinage since 1792, and with it also the standard silver dollar of 412½ grains' weight, and having deprived all silver coins of legal-tender power above the sum of five dollars, the men who ordained the single gold standard drove silver out of competition and co-existence with gold as a money metal. They reduced it to the condition of iron, lead, and copper, as a mere commodity, and left its value, like that of copper, to be measured by the demand there might be for it in the uses of

the arts and in subsidiary token coinage. Its coinage value as legal-tender money was destroyed. This destruction of the value of silver, when it was at a premium of 3 per cent over gold at 16 to 1, could not and did not fail to reduce its commercial value to, at least, the ratio of twenty-five ounces of silver to one ounce of gold. This terrible result alarmed the doctrinaires and even the gold monopolists, until they grew anxious to devise some means by which they could give to silver the full advantage of free coinage on equal terms with gold, and still prevent it from coming in competition with gold as legal-tender money. The purpose could have been nothing else than to increase the value of gold as debt-paying money, and to increase the burden of all debts already contracted or thereafter to be contracted. This burden has been at least doubled as to all debts, public and private, by this cruel law of 1873. The perpetrators of this sin against the people then invented a new dollar, in which they added $7\frac{1}{2}$ grains of silver to the $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains in the dollar that was destroyed, gave it legal-tender power for five dollars in one payment and called it a "trade dollar." They even gave to the people the right of free coinage — the same as with gold —for this trade dollar, in the hope that it would absorb the product of our mines and would circulate among our people as "sound money" because it weighed 420 grains instead of $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains. There was distinctly presented the question whether the addition of weight to silver coinage would induce the people to take and to use it as money when it no longer possessed full legal-tender power. It was a dismal failure. It would not circulate at par with gold or with any full legal-tender money. It sank to the level to which silver bullion had been degraded, and there it remained until Congress repealed the trade-dollar law and bought up all of them, recoining them under the Bland-Allison Act into full legal-tender standard dollars. The Bland Allison Act, passed in 1878, restored the old standard silver dollars to our coinage and to full legal-tender power. Under that law we have coined $600,000,000 which to-day are the very life blood of our financial system. After this experience, who can longer contend that the value of a silver coin or a gold coin depends upon the amount of bullion it contains, or its commercial value, and not upon its power as full legal-tender money? Take from gold its legal-tender power, deprive it of coinage, and it would sink to a lower

commercial value than silver bullion at 16 to 1. This is true beyond dispute, and the reason is that silver is used much more extensively than gold can be in the arts, also — a more important reason — gold coined into dollars, half dollars, quarters, and dimes, would be utterly useless to supply the place of the minor silver coins, without which the great masses of mankind could not pay for their daily bread. If either metal must be given up by the people, a sense of humanity would cause us to retain silver as the sole money metal, since the people of the industrial classes, and even the rich, cannot do without silver coins in the smaller transactions of daily life. But it is idle and a sinful waste of the benefits of the wisest providence to give up either as a money metal when they are both full legal tender for debts, are "equal in the presence of the law," and when they have this equality undisturbed by the quantity or commercial value of the metal that either class of coins contains, whether of gold or silver. Another proof of this proposition, that no man can refute, is found in the fact that "greenback" paper dollars are equal to gold or silver dollars, although the paper on which they are printed has no appreciable value. It is quite as reasonable to say that, if the greenback bill was made twice as large, it would be worth twice as much, as it is to say that the silver dollar would be worth twice as much if it weighed 825 instead of $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains. It is only the law that gives to the "greenback" and to silver or gold coins legal-tender power that imparts to them actual value as money. Take that away, and they all seek their level as commodities, while their value is regulated by demand and supply. So long as they are kept by the law on a level as legal-tender money, and are not denied the rights of coinage, their parity will be preserved and neither of them will drive the other out of circulation.

TO DENY COINAGE AND LEGAL-TENDER PRIVILEGES TO SILVER IS LEGISLATIVE SUICIDE IN THE UNITED STATES.

European nations refuse to silver the coinage privileges that are given to gold, and refuse to make it full legal-tender money. By this means they depress the price of silver bullion, which those countries produce in small quantities and must have in large quantities. It is an immense speculation they thus make out of silver-producing countries. They use American silver at depressed prices, and we are

foolish enough to let them fix their own price upon it. If those countries would coin silver on equal terms with gold and would give to those coins full legal-tender power, no one will be found to deny that this would raise the bullion value of silver, at the ratio of 16 to 1, or at any other ratio, to equality with gold. Even without this, our own experience demonstrated that for eighty-one years we kept silver bullion above the par of gold at 16 to 1, although Great Britain during fifty-seven years of that period, beginning in 1816, had refused free coinage and full legal-tender value to silver. She could never depress the commercial value of our silver until, in 1873, she got our consent to deny to it coinage at our mints as full legal-tender money. When we did that, its commercial value sank to the level of the demand for silver for use in the arts and for a limited coinage to supply Europe with subsidiary coins. So our financial foxes cut off their tails to keep up with the British fashions. By this process of legislative suicide we degraded silver from its natural function as a money metal, and did all we could to make it "cheap," "unsound," and "dishonest" money. Did it have the effect of putting the Gresham law into operation and of causing this cheap and degraded money to drive out gold from circulation? It did not. On the contrary, the standard silver dollars, that were in circulation when they were demonetized, continued to circulate at par with gold, upon the mere supposition of the people that their legal-tender power remained, notwithstanding the effort of Congress to destroy it. But the trade-dollar substitute for the standard silver dollar was coined as a "cheap dollar," because it was not made legal tender beyond the sum of five dollars in one payment; and that coin did not drive out gold, because it would not circulate. The people would not have it because it was not full legal-tender money, although it had $7\frac{1}{2}$ grains more of silver in it than is contained in the silver standard dollar of $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains' weight. We see by our own experience that the Gresham law was a failure. It did not operate in favor of the circulation of the "cheap" trade dollar. It never does operate, when legal-tender money is in circulation in a volume adequate to the necessities of the people. When that is the case, "cheap money" will not circulate; the people will not have it. Money that is full legal tender is as good as money can be, provided it is made of the precious metals. Nature has so disposed the mines of gold and silver

that an over-production of silver metal, as compared with the needs of the world, is impossible. Money made of these metals can never be cheap unless the laws make it cheap or "unsound" by denying to it full legal-tender power. The Creator made these precious metals for use in coinage as money, and He made no such mistake as is imputed to Him, of creating too much or too little of either gold or silver. Silver was made cheap money by the law for the coinage of the trade dollar in 1873, which gave it no real legal-tender power. Because of that fact it would not circulate, although it had the right of free coinage at the mint equally with gold, and was $7\frac{1}{2}$ grains heavier than the silver dollar. Having, then, an abundant supply of legal-tender money in our greenback circulation, the trade dollar was of no value to the people, and they refused the cheap dollar because the full legal-tender dollar was in convenient supply for their wants. No Gresham law operated here. The "cheap money" did not "drive out" the "sound money;" but the full legal-tender money, whether made of paper, silver, or gold, was sound, and it drove out the cheap trade silver dollar. Thus it has been proven, in a way no sincere mind can dispute and no mind of ordinary intelligence can fail to understand, that the soundness of money and the value of all dollars, whether they are coined or printed, rests exclusively upon their legal-tender power. If that is equal under the law, the parity between them is perfect. It is this fact that makes full legal-tender paper money a dangerous currency, and has always encountered the opposition of the true democratic creed.

LEGAL-TENDER MONEY MUST HAVE THE POSSIBILITY OF REDEMPTION IN COIN BY OUR GOVERNMENT.

Congress can, if they have a sufficient inducement, print full legal-tender treasury notes without limit, and, by issuing them in great sums, can make them exceed all possibility of redemption in coin by the government, in which case they would be pure fiat money, made of paper promises that could never be redeemed. That opportunity is now wide open to Congress, under the decisions of our Supreme Court, and this power will be exercised on the first occasion when a great volume of money is needed for some pressing emergency, such as a war with a formidable power. Looking forward to such possible evils, the framers of our Constitu-

tion provided against its occurrence by confining the legal-tender quality of money to coins made from the precious metals, gold and silver. This was done by taking the power to coin money away from the States, and conferring it upon Congress, as well as the power to regulate the value of foreign coins. The States, which had all enjoyed this power, being thus deprived of it, the further restriction was placed upon them, expressly, that they should make nothing but gold and silver money as legal tender in payment of debts. This power was therefore transferred from the States to Congress, as it is an elementary power of sovereignty and must necessarily reside either in Congress or in the States. It went to Congress as a part of its power to coin money and regulate its value. It is a mere begging of the question, and it is false on its face, to interpret the words "coin money" as meaning that money, as it was then known, or has ever been known, can be coined by printing a promise to pay a dollar on a piece of paper. The regulation of the value of coin, whether domestic or foreign, must include as its greatest value its use in the payment of debts. This element of the value of money can only be regulated by compulsory legal-tender provisions of the statute law. There is no other possible way in which its debt-paying value can be regulated. Therefore the association of the power to coin money with the regulation of its value in a single phrase of the Constitution, to wit: "Congress shall have power to coin money and regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coins," is conclusive to show that the power to coin and the power to regulate were intended to be applied to the precious metals. Such was then the practice of all the States, and such was also the statute law of Great Britain in force in all the colonies up to the date of our independence. The framers of our Constitution did nothing wiser than to cause the quantity of legal-tender money the government would legalize to depend, not upon the printing press, but upon the world's production of the precious metals of gold and silver; not one metal, but both, for both were needed in growing demand to measure the annual labors of mankind and the savings of industry stored up in capital. Measured by this double standard, dug from the mines in small sums daily, there could not be a flood, outpouring, or inflation of legal-tender money that could possibly threaten the stability of any form of industry, traffic, or trade. The divine hand that

gave this rich blessing to man, restrained him also by conditions that he cannot avoid, so that the productions of the precious metals must be slow, laborious, costly, and uncertain, although the search for them is stimulated by the most intense greed. The men who built the foundations of the new and peculiar federation of republics on the rights of self-government and the sovereignty of the people, guarded the power of creating money for the people by putting an immovable restriction in the Constitution against the dangers of legislative discretion. They anchored that power to the precious metals, thereby compelling Congress to measure the amount of full legal-tender money in our country by the divine law that created those metals, made them precious in the estimation of the divine law and in the judgment and affection of every intelligent human being, and provided safely against their too rapid discovery and production. In making these metals as one under the same phrase in the Constitution, the framers of that instrument followed the divine law that bound them together in the same uses. The human family has always used them alike for money and ornamentation.

THERE IS NO JUST GROUND OF DISCRIMINATION BETWEEN THEM.

No other metals serve all of the same purposes equally, and none are so completely confined to the sole uses as money, as are silver and gold. Their unity is so fixed that any law that separates them and discards one for the advantage of the other, violates both the written and the unwritten law of the Creator of the world. As well may we separate the water from the earth and bid it to be fruitful. If by any means, whether accidental or designed, gold is produced in any given period in excess of the usual production of silver, the value of silver must increase in comparison with gold, in the ratio of its scarcity, because the world's demand for both metals can never be fully supplied when both have the same coinage privileges and equal legal-tender power. The unity of these precious metals in this divine arrangement when it is not disturbed by the adverse laws of a nation, preserves the parity of value between them, notwithstanding the disparity that may occur in the weight of either metal, or in the yield of the mines. Like united bodies of water in separate vessels, gold and silver, when left to the laws of

nature, will find a common level of value. It was for this end that they were created and so unified in their uses that neither metal should become the master of mankind through cupidity of speculation, but, when one metal was hoarded by money-dealers, the other should take its place and depress its value until the misers and usurers would open their coffers and let it flow out into circulation. When the coinage of both metals is free and their legal-tender power is equal neither of them can either drive or invite the other into the seclusion of the lock-up. In such a case when one metal would retire from the competition the other would be at work earning a profit.

THE RELIGION OF JESUS CHRIST IN ITS RELATION TO CHRISTIANITY AND REFORMS.

BY REV. G. D. COLEMAN.

The term religion of Jesus Christ, as in opposition to that of Christianity, is used advisedly, as it is claimed there is a vast and in some respects diametrical difference between the two.

The religion of Jesus Christ, of course, means the principles and truths embodied in the teachings of Jesus and the whole system contained in the Bible, taken as a whole, as it is written. It also means the duties and system necessarily springing out of the practice of those truths and principles.

Christianity means only what it claims for itself by its practices and teachings. However high may be the claims for any system, it can never rise above its practices. The rule of Jesus, "By their fruits ye shall know them," is the judgment of the world, as we are told it will be that of God.

The Bible and its teachings are the only basis upon which a true system rightfully calling itself Christian can be founded. Any system, person, or Church claiming the name of Christ can only consistently do so when (as Jesus himself said to His disciples) they "believe *all* that the prophets have spoken." (Luke xxiv. 25.)

The Evangelical Christian Church is quite sound upon the principal doctrines of the religion of Jesus Christ (although some matters directly and distinctly stated are generally rejected), but of the broad *principles* revealed and set forth by the Carpenter of Nazareth, the Christ of God, they seem to have little knowledge and less sympathy.

The Sanhedrin, the Pharisees, the scribes and lawyers, the heads and leaders of the Church in the day of Christ's first coming, were careful in the observance of the *letter* of the law, but often were slack in the observance of its *spirit*. Doubtless they may have meant well enough, but they did not grasp the meaning of the law, its principles escaped them.

The ecclesiastical rulers and theologians of to-day are, in many ways, similarly positioned. The moral and spiritual

doctrines are preached, and Christianity is a moral force that helps as a conservative power to conserve and hold moral truths, but the relation of religion to "thy neighbor," the logical sequence of human brotherhood (that follows God's Fatherhood), is not understood any more than it was in the time of the Master, when He gave the parable of the good Samaritan, and figured the priest and Levite as passing by on the other side.

The Christian world prays, "Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done," but does not seem to imagine that they need to work as well as pray.

In the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. vii. 21) Jesus says, "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that *doeth* the will of my Father which is in heaven."

The Golden Rule makes a solidarity of the human race. If understood and embraced in good faith, the Golden Rule opens the heart to feel the wrongs and needs of others, and is the essentially animating and energizing spirit of reform The religion of Jesus Christ is, therefore, in its very principles, a reforming religion, a radical, moral, and spiritual force in the individual, and a radical reformatory force in society and governments. The religion of Jesus Christ, representing the principles of the kingdom of heaven, is diametrically opposed to the principles of the kingdom of hell, whose prince is by the word of Jesus the prince of this world; and who with half an eye, who is not calloused with greed, but sees that the scramble for wealth and power and the wrongs incorporated and protected by governments are not in accord with the principles of the kingdom of heaven, but are, on the contrary, in harmony with the principles of him who Jesus declares is the prince of this world?

It is well and right to be "doctrinally sound," but as Christ has said (Matt. xxiii. 23), "These ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone."

Christianity is essentially conservative; the religion of Jesus Christ is essentially radical and aggressive. The religion of Jesus Christ was at open war with paganism, and while it remained uncompromising and uncontaminated it spread and overcame. While it was true to its Prince, God visited and witnessed for it in the performing of miracles, healing the sick, etc.; but Christianity to-day has none of these signs, and the dominating powers in the Church mili-

tant denounce the few faithful witnesses that remain, and declare that "the age of miracles" is past, etc., and that "all these things are of the devil." Other matters distinctly stated in the Bible are denounced from evangelical pulpits in no measured terms. Is it then any wonder that scepticism rules? Christianity has lost power because it has apostatized from the religion of Jesus Christ.

The Church calls sceptics men who are not within her fold, because they believe rather in "the weightier matters of the law,—justice, mercy, and faith;" in the principles than in the bare doctrines without putting them into practice. The history of reform will show that it is these men who have fought through the pioneer stages of every forward movement and have shamed the conservative and cowardly Church into finally declaring that they always thought so, while the facts were, that the wrong to be righted ever hid behind the Church and found its defenders in its pulpits.

Anti-slavery was fought through its early stages by these so-called sceptics and the Quakers, and the pulpits defended the villany as a divinely ordained institution, when the truth was (like many other things), it was a tolerated and regulated institution, abolished, root and branch, every fifty years, at the year of Jubilee, when the trumpet sounded, and as the law says, "proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof." (Leviticus xxv. 10.) This is the text that is cast in the Liberty Bell. To the honor of the Methodist Episcopal Church North, she separated from the Church South on this issue.

But it is useless to go into details. Christianity to-day is the friend of the vested rights that are endeavoring to crush out all that stands in the way of monopoly, centralization of wealth, and the realization of the principles of the kingdom of this world and the prince of this world, the devil.

The religion of Jesus Christ is the opponent and enemy of all this, and works and prays for the defeat and destruction of the kingdom of hell, the devil and all his works. The religion of Jesus Christ works and prays for the coming of "Thy kingdom" here, and that the will of God be done here.

The principles of integral socialism, co-operation, and all that the most advanced reformers contend for, are in accord with the principles of the religion of Jesus Christ. The most radical and searching methods conceivable (in harmony with justice, truth, mercy, and the Golden Rule) are not

abreast of the methods necessary to put in practice the principles of the religion of Jesus Christ.

It is this fact that makes many of the utterances of Christian pulpits, that try to harmonize with the spirit of Christ what is of the spirit of anti-Christ, appear so inconsistent and futile to thinking people who have feeling hearts.

The Evangelical denominations will not now allow a distiller or rumseller to be a member of their communion (thank God they have risen to that point); but men who are monopolists, wreckers of legitimate tradesmen, gamblers in the food of the people, men who keep within the letter of human law (or conspire to violate it), but who violate and outrage justice and right, — these are received into communion, build churches, endow theological colleges and establish professorships of political economy in them to teach young men that "the survival of the fittest" and other forms of paganism are right and divine institutions, etc. Were Jesus to come now, how He would scourge with cords the money-changers from the temple.

The religion of Jesus Christ, the religion of the Bible, is radically opposed to the whole system of chicanery called modern society. Were the radical reformers of the world not so ignorant of the Bible, they could take the cudgel of Scripture and scourge the money-changers and Pharisees from the temple to-day as they have not been scourged since the Master did it Himself.

Ecclesiastics to-day deplore the increase of the spirit of disbelief, etc., but it is they who are responsible, and God will hold them to their responsibility in the day He judges the world in righteousness. Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe in "Uncle Tom's Cabin," Chapter XXVIII, puts into the mouth of St. Clair the position of the majority of honest sceptics; and if we shift the matter debated from slavery to capitalism, monopoly, centralization, or modern society, we shall find it as pertinent as then.

St. Clair said:

> My view of Christianity is such, that I think no man can consistently profess it without throwing the whole weight of his being against this monstrous system of injustice that lies at the foundation of all our society, and, if need be, sacrificing himself in the battle. That is, I mean that I could not be a Christian otherwise, though I have certainly had intercourse with a great many enlightened and Christian people who did no such thing; and I confess that the apathy of religious people on this subject, their want of perception of wrongs that filled me with horror, have engendered in me more scepticism than any other thing.

Again, the selfish, self-satisfied, and self-seeking majority, who use Christianity as a cloak and convenience, are as Mrs. St. Clair, who on her return from church addresses her husband as follows (Chapter XVI):

> Dr. G—— preached a splendid sermon. It was just such a sermon as you ought to hear; it expressed my views exactly.
>
> The text was, 'He hath made everything beautiful in its season," and he showed how all the orders and distinctions in society came from God; and that it was appropriate, you know, and beautiful, that some should be high and some low, and that some were born to rule and some to serve, and all that, you know, and he applied it so well to all this ridiculous fuss that is made about slavery, and he proved distinctly that the Bible was on our side, and he supported all our institutions so convincingly.

To this St. Clair replies:

> Religion is what you hear at church; religion? Is that which can bend and turn, and descend and ascend to fit every crooked phase of selfish worldly society, religion? Is that religion which is less scrupulous, less generous, less just, less considerate for man, than even my own ungodly, worldly, blinded nature? No! When I look for religion, I must look for something above me, and not something beneath.

Is this not a true picture of the Church to-day on the present wrongs? Is this not a true picture of Christianity since the day the Church left its primitive standard? Is it not a counterpart of the Church that Jesus denounced so bitterly in His day? Is it not a true picture of apostasy to the principles of the religion of Jesus Christ?

Very many do these things in blindness and ignorance, and may personally be in some little measure excusable, but the system is grossly and connivedly false to the name it professes.

In conclusion, Christianity derives its power from the truths of the religion of Jesus Christ to which it adheres, that, from their very nature, could not be evaded without becoming entirely anti-Christian. It derives its undoubted and unquestioned power from the hosts of good and holy people who are within its communion, and who look to it for direction and counsel. It obtains great moral ascendency because it stands by all reforms that have been fought out to a point of moral and social respectability; in fact, conservative as it is, it is forced by moral consistency to do so. Above all, its great power lies in the all-powerful name of Jesus of Nazareth, the Christ of God, and in the moral and spiritual avoirdupois of the name Christian, but it is not an initiative power; it follows rather than leads. It is a force that stands on the side of ordained power, a defender of established and

legalized injustice, a self-contented organization that seeks its own and shuts its eyes to evils that plead for remedy on all sides, a partner with incorporated paganism.

But the religion of Jesus Christ is at open war with and a constitutionally organized opponent of paganism in all its forms. In abolition days the Quakers operated the "underground railway," because they believed in the religion of Jesus Christ, and held the law of God and right as higher than the law of man. John Brown was a typical modern-day Nazarene.

Protestantism calls Romanism the "great apostasy," and there cannot be a doubt that she is other than the one spoken of by John; but John calls her "the mother of harlots," and she cannot be a mother without having daughters. And as she is mother by consorting with paganism in its grosser forms, so are these her daughters by confederating with paganism in its subtler forms.

The religion of Jesus Christ is given to the establishment of the kingdom of heaven here on earth, not only by the establishment of its principles in the hearts of individuals, but by their establishment in governments and society. This is the office of reform; therefore the religion of Jesus Christ is more radical, basic, integral and searching, than all the many half-way and compromise reform measures that have been fought through persecution, blood, and martyrdom. Social democracy and the most searching schemes that man has yet proposed have never yet reached the level of the Golden Rule, the Sermon on the Mount, or the principles of the kingdom of the Prince of Peace. The most subtle and bitter opposition to reform comes and has ever come from those who "sit in Moses' seat," but we should not for this desert the truth. It was so in the Master's time.

Many times in the history of the Church she has had opportunities that do not fall to the lot of other institutions as fortunately situated, but her conservatism and her "teaching for doctrines the commandments of men" have generally led her into error, delay, or criminal neglect. To-day she has, "in these last days," an opportunity that has never before fallen to her lot, and the angel hosts of heaven are looking on now with bated breath to see what she will do. "Choose ye this day whom ye will serve," is now before the Church. Will it be God or Baal?

The religion of Jesus Christ is the spirit of reform. With-

out its principles (be they called by whatsoever name) no reform is possible. It is only when the soul of man is regenerated by the reception of the spirit of Christ that it can conceive that broad love of mankind that is necessary to the true spirit of reform. It is only when the spirit of Christ has entered the heart that we can truthfully say:

We feel the wrongs of others
As if they were our own;
We feel mankind are brothers,
A common Father own;
We feel it is a duty
We owe a God of love
To aid the coming kingdom
That's promised from above.

MUNICIPAL REFORM.

BY WILLIAM HOWE TOLMAN, PH. D.

There seem to be certain periods in the history of a nation when affairs are in a state of equilibrium, when the nation waits for what is coming next. The present condition of municipalities seems to illustrate the above point. Some would call this a period of transition, but by whatever name it is called, the country has reached a stage when a knowledge of our municipalities is considered an essential for him who would be a good citizen. Reform movements, generally taking the name of Municipal Reform Leagues, are springing up in all the cities and even in the towns; there is a conscious feeling that the city must be reformed, hence organizations are effected for that purpose. To digress for a moment: there are certain words which need to be redeemed from their low estate and restored to the lofty place which they once occupied. "Politics" is one of these, and one method of clearing the air is for good citizens to cease to use the word politics in a derogatory or odious sense.

The student of politics knows that the city is the storm centre. On account of that optimism which becomes a crime when it refuses to study conditions which must be squarely confronted, our cities have been allowed to drift into the hands of those who have administered them from the view point of their pockets and not of the interests of their fellow-citizens. Our larger cities have taken in more than they can digest; hence we find that "Little Italys," "Mott Streets," and "Hester Streets" are synonyms of undigested and unassimilated foreign elements, which do not speak English, and in many cases do not even think in English. We have now reached a stage in our city-building where we can pause and study what other cities are doing, in order to avail ourselves of the best experience of the past. This is the part of wisdom; for many features of civic life now need to be extended and enlarged, so that two principles ought to guide future development, — a provision for all the elements of the city's life, those who live in

Hester Street as well as on Fifth Avenue, and the execution of wise provisions in the light of world-experience.

First, what is the need for municipal reform? There is the need that our country should be kept a democratic republic, and this can be accomplished in one way by relegating the "boss" to that obscurity from which he should never have been allowed to emerge. If we are really living in the nineteenth century, why do we refuse to heed the lessons of the past? The boss is no new complication; it is simply an ulcer which has broken out on another part of the body politic. Athens had that kind of a sore, and its name was Cleon; Rome suffered from the same disease; in the Middle Ages the complaint had become chronic, and France has not yet recovered from the operation of the removal of Louis XVI. Now just as long as we are content to be ruled by a boss, just as long as we are willing to barter liberty for the enjoyment of wealth or of ease, to that extent does our boasted republic rest on a foundation that is being slowly undermined. It is seldom that a great storm eats into the coast; but it is the continual plash and play of the ripples as they advance with hardly a sign, much less the appearance of any danger. It is the "little foxes that spoil the vines." In our cities there must always be leaders, because men crave and demand them; but there is all the difference in the world between the leader, as in the case of the German cities, where the mayor serves year after year, his qualification consisting in what he accomplishes for his city, and a Mr. Crocker or a Mr. Platt, whose qualifications are what they do for themselves. To show how the boss idea permeates the hierarchy, I quote from the New York *World* of July, 1894:

"Mickey" C. Padden, bosom friend and political heeler of Police Justice Divver, entered the office of the Street Cleaning Department in the New Criminal Court Building with a swaggering air yesterday. He had been away for three weeks without permission, but that did not trouble him, as his salary of $1,800 a year as district superintendent went on whether he worked or not. He found an envelope addressed to him in the letter-box, and, tearing it open, he read something which made him look angry. It contained his discharge, and he was told that he had been warned repeatedly if an employee absented himself five days at a time without permission he was liable to dismissal.

"I'll get back in spite of you'se, see," roared Padden, "an' if I do I'll make it hot for some of you ducks."

Padden's position was a sinecure. He is Divver's most valuable man on election day, being his captain, and was never known to flinch.

Has the American citizen no sense of the ignominy of

allowing such specimens as these to be his public servants, and is he content that his city shall be in the control of a ring or of a boss? The first need, then, of municipal reform is the expulsion of the boss.

Because of the boss and the power he wields, we are inclined to despair of ever getting out from his despotism and maintaining our civic self-respect. A second need of municipal reform is that we may regain our faith in civic righteousness; and I do not use this phrase in any mystical sense, or as applicable to a utopia, but as a standard which can be used now, and up to which civic acts can be measured. If the legislative wisdom deems that a law is wise because embodying the communal sense of what is right, every citizen should uphold such an enactment. The following clipping from the Chicago *Tribune* of June, 1894, is a sad commentary on respect for city officials and regard for civic ordinances:

> Police Chief Brennan, Wednesday, issued an order to his inspectors to enforce the ordinance forbidding the use of firearms within the city limits and to use extra precautions regarding its enforcement until after July 4. The order of the chief of police, of course, is only *pro forma*, and is not intended to be enforced. Nearly a fortnight ago the chief of police issued stringent orders to his inspectors to enforce the ordinance forbidding the throwing of papers and other litter in the streets and alleys, and to notify policemen to arrest any one found guilty of violating the ordinance. Yet the throwing of paper and refuse stuff into the streets and alleys has continued every day since the order was issued, and not a person has been arrested. This will be the outcome of the order relating to the discharge of firearms. Pistols and guns are already being fired and within hearing of the stations, and it will continue until after the Fourth, with the customary list of killed and mangled victims, and no one will be arrested. As the orders of the chief of police relative to public cleanliness, public health, and public safety are never obeyed, what is the sense in issuing them? Is it done merely to show the impotent authority of the chief?

It would seem as if civic misrule had been more strongly intrenched in New York than in any other city in our country; yet there was one man who did not despair of the municipal salvation of his city. That municipality was his home, and his communal spirit was so strong that he purposed that his civic home should be pure and well managed. That magnificent faith, coupled with untiring energy and Yankee persistency, has made the name of Dr. Parkhurst honored and has caused his efforts to be an inspiration to all those who are striving for the betterment of their cities.

The overcoming of indifference on the part of the ordinary citizen is a third reason why municipal reform is needed. The practical politician is so well aware of the apathy and

indifference, that he can trade in it and rest secure in the thought that he will be let alone. Napoleon on one occasion calculated the military equivalent of the pope; that is, he considered that the pope's influence in war was equal to 40,000 soldiers. In like manner, the modern politician knows that on election day a certain number of citizens — by the way, are they citizens? — will go to the country or will engage in some business which they have left till election day because it is a holiday. It is a well-known fact that a rainy day is worth hundreds of votes to a certain party.

Recognizing the need for municipal reform, what are we going to do about it? There is no reason why this question should be the exclusive property of the enemies of good government. In the first place, let each person, man or woman, who feels the glimmering of a desire that his municipality shall be the best, instead of the worst governed in the United States, ally himself with some organization already in existence, whose object is the betterment of some phase of civic life. The growler has his use, but in his individual capacity his power is very limited. What we need at the present time is scientific and collective growling, and that is the reason why I urge alliance with some existing society. Then individual protests will be massed in the collective impact of an organized public opinion managed by directing intelligence. In one of our cities a woman who was a householder went to the head of the street-cleaning department to enter a just complaint that her street was not cleaned. The superintendent listened to her, but with an air of intense weariness if not disgust, with the result that the woman had no satisfaction. Another woman, also a householder, was in the office waiting for an interview with the same chief. When her turn came she made the same kind of complaint, only instead of one street she mentioned several that were neglected. "Whom do you represent?" asked the superintendent, when she concluded. "I am the president of the Municipal Order League," was the quiet answer. Her complaint was heeded and the neglect was remedied. The first woman went in her individual capacity, the second was backed by the public sentiment of those who believed in their civic rights. By joining an organization, its collective demands may be made with the same kind of force that is utilized so effectively in hydraulic mining. To illustrate: suppose that a few people find that in a certain part of

their ward there are houses in a poor sanitary condition. Here is a wrong which must be righted. They make a formal report to their organization, which then focuses all its power toward letting in the light on this dark spot, and the chances all favor the righting of the wrong. There is a sense of communal justice, and a community recognizes civic right and wrong. When the Brooklyn ring was recently smashed, there was a revival of municipal righteousness, and the good citizens united along that line. There was probably no extra amount of virtue brought to that campaign, but an awakening of that which was dormant or dominated over by their bosses and czars.

The tone of our feelings and attitude toward our public officials must be greatly raised. I will admit that in the case of some officials no man can honor them and retain his own self-respect; but the office is an honorable one, for it has been held by honorable men, and they will again hold it. Not all officials are bad; let us therefore remember that fact and not class them all in the same category. There is not sufficient discrimination in the censure which is applied by the press to a public official who has even been guilty of a wrong. A first offender is always more leniently judged than the habitual criminal. The outpouring of vials of wrath when one drop would have effected a reformation, hardens the public servant and makes the public callous. We must accustom ourselves to the thought that our officials are our public servants. You and I are too busy to govern our city, even assuming that we knew how; hence we hire men to do it for us. Accordingly at each election we say who shall manage our city, and then pay them for their work. If our servants feel that we are indifferent how they perform their duty, if they know that we are ignorant what their duties are, so that very few will know whether they are doing right or wrong, and if they are sure that we will not even notice them, except to blame them, there will be a low grade of honor in the public service. Why are so few of our officials not particularly proud of the title of alderman, and why does "Hon." carry so little weight? It is because you and I are in the habit of thinking that no respectable man will go into politics; it is because those of us who are preachers consider that Christianity is something for Sunday, that the clergyman should preach the "pure gospel," and that politics must not be brought into the pulpit. The words of one preacher who

believes that he as a man and as a Christian can and must concern himself with the affairs of his city, bore on this point, when Dr. Parkhurst said, "I do not want to bring politics into the pulpit; politics as such is no matter of our interest and none of our business, but to strike at iniquity is a proper business of the Church; indeed it is *the* business of the Church. If it is proper for us to go around and clean up after the devil, it is proper for us to fight the devil." When the ordinary citizen considers that politics are a part of his duty, and not a disagreeable annual function, a higher tone will be manifested. What right has a decent man to despair of good government and say that the case is hopeless? Has he more faith in a Croker than in God, and does he believe that ring rule will supplant civic righteousness?

The primary method for bringing about a municipal reform is self-knowledge, not of the city as a whole, or of a great department like that of finance, or of a great problem like that of the saloon or of the tenement house, but the facts as they exist in your particular house, in your street, in your election district, in your assembly district, and in your ward. If you grasp the facts relative to these areas you can then deal with more complicated problems of your city. However, if you are averse to undertake such A B C work, you can test your ability and your present knowledge by the answers you can give to these questions: Who is your alderman? In case the flagging of your sidewalk is defective, to what department would you go for redress? Where is the station-house and what are the boundaries of the precinct? Who represents you in the Assembly? These are the facts of common every-day citizenship, and your ability to answer these questions will show if you can be promoted into the next higher class or if you even know enough to be in the primary class. The practical politician succeeds because he knows his city, and he deserves to. The story was told of Dr. Sears, one of the presidents of Brown University, that on a certain occasion he made a mistake in locating an event in the city of Constantinople. He decided that such an error should never be repeated, so he bought plans and maps of that city, and so familiarized himself with its streets and alleys that he knew them as well as those of his own city. It is that kind of knowledge of localities and men that gives the ward boss and the heeler their grip on

their districts. It is the hand-picked fruit that is the choicest. I take the following selection from a lecture course in Manchester, England:

CIVIC LIFE AND CIVIC DUTIES.

PRACTICAL DEMONSTRATIONS FROM THE MANCHESTER CITY COUNCIL.

Jan. 17, 1894. Lecturer, Alderman Clay, J. P. Subject: City Improvements — Past and Present.
Jan. 24. Lecturer, Alderman Milling. Subject: Paving and Sewering.
Feb. 7. Lecturer, Alderman Thompson, J. P. Subject: Our Rivers — Their Pollution and their Future.
Feb. 14. Lecturer, Alderman Leech, J. P. Subject: Water Supply.

Other subjects of a practical nature were discussed by the councillors. "Humph! I should like to hear any of my aldermen discuss such topics!" perhaps a reader will say; but just as long as you despise the office, just so long will good government be delayed. Then, too, why should you always wait to express your views on public affairs until you can sign yourself "An Indignant Citizen"? For a change, supposing you watch for some good act, for a known case of one of your city officials who has been true to principle in spite of overwhelming odds, and then write him, either personally or through the press, that you know what he did and that he has your encouragement in the stand which he made for the right. One of my friends in a western State heard that his senator was about to advocate a measure diametrically opposed to true civil-service reform. My friend said: "I will write my senator and tell him that his conduct will not meet with my approval, because he is about to violate principle." A few days after the receipt of the letter, he received a marked copy of the *Congressional Record*, with a speech from the senator in which he advocated the measure. An editorial is but the expression of one man's opinion, although the editor thinks he is voicing the public sentiment. Take a little time to write your favorite paper in support of what you think is right and in censure of what you think is wrong. Insist that morality must be considered by the politician, and that you will not tolerate a double standard of politics any more than you will of morals.

Methods of municipal reform should be simple and progressive; they should proceed from the known to the unknown; they should be positive and constructive rather than negative and destructive. Unfortunately a certain amount of tearing down is necessary. A society like that of the Pre-

vention of Crime, in New York City, is an anomaly, because, if the police did their duty, such a society would have no reason for existence. On the other hand, the City Vigilance League is proceeding on the right basis, for it is aiming in every possible way to awaken the interest of the citizen and then keep him awake by giving him something to do. A reform movement must be educational; its members must be instructed in the knowledge of their own civic conditions, and then they will be able to appreciate a comparative study of what other cities are doing. In this latter respect, the Municipal Programme Conferences, held last spring in the Amity Building, New York City, were wonderfully successful. There were eleven conferences in all, and the character of the meetings will be evident from the fact that men like Chancellor MacCracken, R. W. Gilder, Samuel Gompers, James C. Carter, Col. A. S. Bacon, and others presided. The problems of the Tenement House, Friendly Rent Collecting, Mortuaries, Baths and Wash-houses, Lavatories, Temperance, and the prospects of the various political parties were discussed on an open platform. The earnest and intelligent audiences which came to the Amity Building showed that there were men and women desirous of securing good government. By thus encouraging the conferences and gaining information, public opinion has been to that extent enlightened and the ground prepared for a succession of crops that shall yield a rich harvest.

WHAT THE REMONETIZATION OF SILVER WOULD DO FOR THE REPUBLIC.

BY UNITED STATES SENATOR JOHN P. JONES.

For a generation there has not been an issue before the American people on which a rational party line could be drawn. The bare straw of "protection" and "tariff reform" has been threshed over again and again. First one panacea has been tried, and then another, but a ways with the same results, — deeper stagnation, wider discontent, and more general confusion.

At last a real issue has come to the front, and the people see a ray of hope for which they have been groping during the last twenty years. The financial question is up for solution. The people forsake the quacks, who have so long deceived them, and proceed to treat the malady in their own way. They may employ methods somewhat drastic, but the results are sure to be salutary. Sometimes a dying man may be startled into a renewed lease of life by a right application of the knife.

There will come out of the present contest a new political alignment which is pregnant with great things for the nation, by the end of the century. There will be a separation of the sheep from the goats. On one side will be the intelligent masses, who are sick of syndicate-made policies and the rampant rule of class legislation; on the other the cohorts of the privileged classes, who are erecting an oligarchy and an aristocracy of wealth which threatens the last vestige of liberty that still remains to the people.

It will not be, as some of the enemies of progress have declared, a struggle between the debtors and the creditors. There are plenty of creditors among those who are willing and anxious to have the monetary system of the Constitution restored; and plenty of debtors who have not yet learned the meaning of the golden heel that is on their necks crushing them to death. The division will be of such a character that on one side will be arrayed the people of all parties who believe in the restoration of their birthright, an honest mone-

tary system; on the other the gold monometallists, consisting of two classes of men,— those who are willing to have us hitched to the chariot wheels of England for the profit they make out of the transaction, and their blind adherents, who "lack gall to make oppression bitter," or are so illy informed that they imagine they are serving God when really sacrificing to Beelzebub.

It is a good thing for the American people that the financial question is now clearly defined, and that they have forsaken all other controversy in order to give it their undivided attention. As a nation we are patient and long-suffering. We have for many moons heard the tinkle of the gold bug in the land, and we are at last alive to its meaning. We have seen high and low tariff tried. We have heard of the wonders that were to be accomplished by the repeal of the Sherman law. Then came bond issues, about which the less said the better, and a lingering panic which has reduced a large section of the people to a condition verging on despair. We have seen caressing clauses in the platforms of the political parties promising the rehabilitation of silver, and many other promises that have been cast aside and entirely forgotten after victory was attained.

Now the people know that neither protection nor free trade, no matter which in itself may be the better, can be of any real utility to the country, until the money question is settled and settled rightly. This is important, because only one great question can be attended to at a time. This issue once properly disposed of, others may be advantageously taken up. This one is the essential preparation for others.

It is not exactly convincing, I should think, to intelligent citizens for the opponents of the constitutional money system to denounce its adherents as the followers of a "craze," a "heresy." There was a schism and a heresy brought into our money system by these same gentlemen in 1873, and the country has never been really prosperous since that time. The time is now approaching for the elimination of that heresy and the re-establishment of the true faith. Such is the meaning of the great popular movement that is now on foot, and which the money barons of this country have tried in vain to control.

If it were true, as they say, that silver has fallen in value because of its over-production, how do they account for the increased value of gold? I will not go into the figures,

but any one can readily ascertain what could be bought with a gold dollar in 1874. There is no question that it will buy from two to three times as much of almost any commodity now, and this is the point which is lost sight of, very naturally, by those who talk about the "gold standard." Business is always disastrous on a falling market. The small dealers are forced to the wall, and combinations are entered into to maintain prices. The demonetization of silver was at the root of every great trust that now afflicts this land, and so, of course, all the trusts are opposed to its remonetization, as that will mean a chance once more for the small dealers.

Wages fall with prices. The contracting of business naturally throws a great deal of labor idle on the market, and in order to find any chance to earn a livelihood, men are obliged to take the first place that offers, no matter how low the price. Lockouts, long periods of enforced idleness, and small earnings when employed, soon crush the spirits of the laboring people. They are made to look on the chance to work as a favor and not a right. Thus the standard of manhood is lowered; and as the coffers of the rich are being filled to bursting by gains which arise largely from the direct contributions of the poor, in rents, interest, etc., the condition of the latter gradually grows worse. To this may be traced most of the crime and misery in the land. The prisons and lunatic asylums teeming with victims, the charity hospitals, poorhouses and potters' fields filled to overflowing, and throughout the country those thousands of homeless wanderers known as "tramps." Of course the gold barons will laugh at any one who says that these things are the results of the demonetization of silver. Other causes have been at work, but this is the chief cause.

We have a country of boundless resources, possessing almost every variety of climate and soil, capable of producing nearly everything that the heart or mind of man can desire; a land that is blessed as no other region of the earth with splendid rivers, dense forests, mountains and valleys, lakes and plains, and a seaboard of marvellous extent, beauty, and utility, with harbors that could hold all the fleets of the world. It seems impossible to credit that in such a land, and under a just and beneficent government, there can be women and children wanting for food and clothes and the commonest necessaries of life, and strong men by millions, able and

anxious to work, who cannot find the opportunity to earn a livelihood for their little ones.

But this condition exists, and there must be a cause for it. Whatever the other causes may be, the fundamental difficulty is the currency — its insufficiency in volume, the imperfections of its circulation, and its dearness through the appreciation of gold.

Among the greatest of the country's riches are its mines of gold and silver. These put to their natural use, the use to which any other nation would put them, would supply us with all the money needed for the development of our country in all directions and particulars. We need not borrow from any of the money sharks of the world, or bow to the dictation of either Wall Street or Lombard Street. It was because the money-changers saw this that they struck a death blow at one half our wealth. There could be no bond sales with millions of profit for a few men on the inside, if the mines were left free to produce their wealth and give it, pure and unsullied by usury, directly from the earth into the hands of an honest people and into the nation's treasury.

So they raised the howl that silver was being so largely produced that it would soon be as common as lead; and meantime, while the white metal was still at a premium, they had it stealthily dropped from the coinage bill, and a wrong was committed that a generation has not yet wiped out.

They now claim that gold is a true standard, and they have the hardihood to declare that it is a "fixed and unchangeable measure of value." This is the very weakest imposture of the gold ring. It sounds well, and there is a class of people that accepts it as a finality. But, in fact, it is a hollow sham. If there has been a change downward in the value of silver since its demonetization, there has been as great a change upward in the price of gold. To prove this we have only to take into consideration the fall in the prices of staple commodities, such as wheat and cotton. Each decline in the price of these staples has been a premium paid to the holders and manipulators of gold. The result is that every gold dollar is worth from sixty to seventy cents more in purchasing power than it was worth in 1873 when silver filled its proper office as redemption money. This corresponds to the loss of value in silver, showing that the law laid down by Emile de Lavelaye and other scientific exponents of the question of bimetallism has asserted itself here, transferring the

value lost by a metal discredited by law to a metal sustained by law. Many will not stop to examine this proposition even when it is pointed out to them. They do not seem to realize that as between two varying quantities an equilibrium must be found by a third quantity which is fairly steady.

Suppose, for instance, that two clocks are started at the hour of noon and in a day or two it is found that one says the time is three o'clock and the other says it is four. One observer will think that the first clock is too slow, while another will declare that the other is too fast, and no rational conclusion can be reached until a reliable standard can be consulted. The sun-dial will show precisely which clock is wrong.

And so it is with the money metals. The staple commodities make the standard by which their price, under all conditions where equal mint privileges are accorded, is governed. But the gold "fanatic" and monometallic "heretic" will tell you that gold is the sun-dial, the one safe and unvarying standard by which the value of all things may be accurately measured. This is the fallacy of the age, the "heresy" and the "craze" before which all other heresies that afflict the minds of men pale into insignificance. A blind persistence in this fallacy has brought us to the crisis which now confronts the nation, has made us kneel in abject terror to money-changers and bond buyers whom we have implored to save us from ruin (regardless of expense), has dethroned the will of the people in national affairs, corrupted the legislature and the courts, brought the people to ruin and beggary, and imposed upon this Republic all the burdens of a European monarchy. It has been the chief agency in the overthrow of the American system of society and the division of the people into classes as distinct as those of England and Russia. Give these philanthropists a little more time and they will fasten their chains upon us forever.

Strangely enough this narrow and bigoted system of finance has been foisted upon us under the pretext of a great benefit. The philanthropists who can secure an issue of bonds at one hundred and four, which is worth in the open market one hundred and eighteen, are naturally very much concerned about the welfare of the country. They have therefore staved off the restoration of silver to its function of money to keep from dabasing the currency. The two statements sound well together, do they not?

They have also talked a great deal about the "cheap production of silver," about the "silver advocates who own the mines," and other such nonsense. The simple truth is that nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand silver advocates in the country to-day never owned a share of silver-mining stock or an interest in a mining claim. Perhaps not ten in a thousand of them could tell a piece of silver ore from lead or copper. Moreover, the silver-mining business is essentially the same as other business. It is characterized by similar risks and by a similar percentage of failures. Statistics show that over ninety per cent of all the people who embark in merchandizing come to grief. The ratio of failures is certainly not lower in the mining world. Where there is one A. T. Stewart in the commercial world, there are thousands in that world who fail utterly, hundreds who meet with moderate success, and a few who gain a competency. So where there is one Anaconda in the mining world, there are hundreds of properties that never repay the money that is put into them for development; so that, on the whole, it is perfectly safe to say that every dollar of silver produced in this country has cost from two to three dollars on a low estimate.

The wretched pretences and excuses for argument which have been employed by the gold ring could not have deceived the people for so long a period, were it not for the fact that most of them have been so occupied with the struggle for existence, they have not been able to give the question proper study or thought. But the truth has been sinking gradually into their minds, until, at last, the mist has been swept aside and they see clearly the whole story of the wrong that has been put upon them.

The restoration of silver to its constitutional place in the monetary system of the Republic will have no effect more disastrous than the raising of renewed hope in the breasts of the people and the giving of new impetus to all the plans of the producing masses. The actual amount of gold and silver in the world that is available for money is always about the same, at the ratio of 16 to 1. This has always been the case and will always be so, because these metals are strictly limited and are produced in about the same proportion to each other, but always in quantities much below the demand for them. If both metals were finally demonetized in all nations and driven into the markets as mere commodi-

ties, there is no doubt that it would quickly be seen that much less than sixteen ounces of silver would be required to purchase one ounce of gold. With both metals enjoying similar privileges under the law at our mints, the natural ratio is 16 to 1, and any variation would be in favor of silver rather than gold. When we have re-established this ratio, the rest of the civilized world will be forced to follow our lead, because we can get along without them a great deal more readily than they can without us. They will fall over each other to come in as soon as we set them the example.

In conclusion there is one consideration to which I wish to make brief reference. Have we, as an independent people, given sufficient thought to the inadvisability of permitting the employment of European methods and systems in the affairs of the Republic? I greatly fear we have not, and that herein lies one of our worst errors. When Congress authorized the making of contracts payable in gold, it opened the way for foreigners and unscrupulous natives to gamble here in money futures. The ultimate effects of this great error (to call it nothing worse) may be imagined from the statement that the gold payments contracted for by New York City alone — including railroads centring there — amount to more than all the available gold in the world.

The money system of Europe, outside of France, has been manipulated for generations by a few schemers who easily control because of the mortgages they hold on the various governments. There is no concern there as to the effect of a given policy on the common people. The only question is, Does it suit the ruling classes and the powers that be? Are we to be satisfied with a like system here? I hope not. I take it that our first concern under the benign rule of our glorious Constitution is the welfare and advancement of the masses of the people. If this has ceased to be so, then it is time for serious inquiry as to the causes, and then as to the cure.

The demonetization of silver has checked our advancement as a nation, and brought us under tribute to thieves; but if we succeed in securing its remonetization, the wheels of progress will turn again, and the people will arise in their might, "like a young giant refreshed with new wine."

HOW PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND SETTLED ITS LAND QUESTION

BY J. HEBER HASTAM.

Prince Edward Island is the smallest province of the Dominion of Canada, and was admitted into the confederation in 1874. Its population is about one hundred and twenty thousand and is almost entirely engaged in agriculture. The whole of the land in the province, amounting to a million and a quarter acres, is now taken up by settlers and is largely under cultivation. The people are mostly in good circumstances. The farms are well tilled, with comfortable homesteads and nicely kept fences, and it is doubtful if in America there is a district of like area and with so dense a farming population where the people are more uniformly thrifty and where poverty is so little known.

There are now no great questions of public policy agitating the people, whose chief aim is to make "two blades of grass grow where one grew before." One can scarcely imagine a community freer from all the disquieting problems which are rending modern society to its core. And yet this small province for the first hundred years of its history was perplexed with one of the sorest questions that ever vexed a people or called forth the genius of a statesman.

In 1767 the island, which had been previously surveyed into sixty-five townships of about twenty thousand acres each, was apportioned off in one day by lottery to sixty-five favorites of the Crown, before the Board of Trade and Plantations in London. Grants were subsequently given to the various allottees, which contained the following conditions:

That the grantee of each township should settle the same within ten years from the date of the grant, in the proportion of one person for every two hundred acres, such persons to be foreign Protestants, or persons who had resided in British America for two years previous to 1767.

That if one third of the land so granted was not settled within four years of the date of the grants, the whole should be forfeited.

The payment of a certain quit rent varying from two to six shillings sterling per one hundred acres, according to the different lots, payable annually on one half of the grant at the expiration of five years, and on the whole at the expiration of ten years from the date of the grant.

On these terms the original proprietors took possession of the grants, and in the following year petitioned the British authorities that a separate government be granted the island, it having been previously to this attached to the government of Nova Scotia. The proprietors offered, in order to defray the expenses of this government, to pay such of the quit rents as were to be payable in five years on the first of May, 1769, the payment of the remaining half to be postponed for twenty years. This application was acceded to by his Majesty's government. The proprietors, however, did not fulfil either of the stipulations, and at the end of five years the quit rents which the new government relied on for their salaries remained unpaid, and the conditions of settlement at the end of ten years were fully complied with in only ten of the townships, and partially so in nine others.

No attempt was made by the remainder of the proprietors to comply with the conditions of the grants either as to quit rents or settlement. It was therefore necessary to pay the governor and officers of the young colony out of the British revenues.

In the mean time a large number of the original proprietors, seeing that they could not readily comply with the terms of settlement, and being in no humor to pay out money with no prospect of return, sold their grants to speculators who relied on the forbearance of the British government in the enforcement of the terms. Very few of them, however, took any active steps to send out any settlers to their vacant lands, and the population, which was increasing at a wonderful rate, considering the unsettled state of the land question and the other drawbacks incident to settlement in an unbroken forest, received no help from the proprietors in any way. The settler, after making a clearing in the forest and planting enough potatoes and grain to feed his family, was compelled to share the meagre produce with the proprietor in the shape of rent.

The land was usually leased on long terms, and at a price ranging from sixpence to eighteenpence an acre. The farms usually consisted of one hundred acres or more, and the settler was often unable to pay the rent from the produce of his clearing, consequently the back rent swamped the value of his improvements, which had been made with great labor and hardship.

The settler found himself in almost the same condition which he had braved the terrors of the Atlantic to escape, and which he had been led to believe did not exist in America at all. Nothing appears to be so against the genius of the New World as *rent*, and so the settlers agitated for the escheat of the lands held by the proprietors who had not fulfilled the conditions of the grants. But every effort on their part was thwarted by the proprietors, who had influence enough with the British authorities to induce them to refuse any request that was made by the island government with this end in view.

In this way matters went on until the year 1851, when the island was granted responsible government, having a legislature elected by the votes of the tenants themselves, but whose acts had to have the approval of the British Colonial Office before they became law.

The agitation in favor of escheat still kept up, and the new legislature passed a law enforcing a land tax in place of the old quit rents. This tax had the effect of taking some of the unoccupied land from the proprietors. They found it better to abandon such land to the government than pay taxes on it.

The legislature also passed an act called the "Fifteen Years' Purchase Act," which contemplated the buying by the tenant of his land from such of the proprietors as were willing to sell. A number of the English landholders sold their interest to the tenants, under this act, on the basis of fifteen years' rent. The majority of the remaining proprietors, finding that the agitation against the payment of rent had become so strong that they were having great difficulty in getting any revenue from the land, entered into an arrangement with the legislature to have an independent commission go into the whole matter with the object of devising some scheme for the conversion of the leasehold lands into freehold.

At the suggestion of the proprietors, the commissioners were empowered to enter into *all* the inquiries that might be necessary to come to an equitable solution of the difficulty, and that their decision would be binding on all concerned.

The legislature of the island passed an act giving effect to the award of the commission before it sat. The commissioners were men of great ability and foresight. One of them was the Hon. Joseph Howe of Nova Scotia, perhaps the most

brilliant statesman that British colonial politics has produced. The commissioners went into the matter very fully and considered every aspect of the case, and their conclusions were in effect as follows:

That the original grants were improvident and should never have passed.

That all the grants could have been honorably seized by the Crown for the non-fulfilment of the terms on which they were originally given.

That the sovereign was ill-advised in not taking steps to forfeit the grants, but the fact that this was not done leaves no other alternative but to acknowledge the grantees as the lawful possessors of the lands.

The commissioners strongly advised that steps be taken to convert the leasehold tenure into freehold on such fair and equitable terms as would do justice to all concerned. They also pointed out that with a boundless continent awaiting settlement it was an anomaly to have the settlers who had converted the wilderness into fruitful farms and smiling gardens by their labor and industry, paying rent to the proprietor who had done nothing to promote settlement or aid the community in any way. They declared that the proprietor should accept from the tenant a sum not in excess of twenty years' rent, and provided for an arbitration to fix the amount should the tenant be dissatisfied to pay this much. This award, while not what the tenantry hoped for, was generally accepted by them as a solution of the difficulty. The proprietors, however, refused to be bound by it, and induced the British Colonial Office to withhold the royal assent from the act which was to give it effect.

Great indignation prevailed all over the province among the tenantry when it was known that the proprietors had broken faith, and as a result an organization came into existence known as the "Tenant League," the object of which was to resist collection of rent by the officers of the law. So successfully did the League accomplish its purpose that for years the collection of rent was well-nigh impossible, and the Supreme Court of the province found it difficult to enforce its decrees. It was found necessary to bring a detachment of soldiers from Halifax to restore order. The presence of the soldiers had the effect of cowing the tenantry into submission, and they were for some time almost in despair.

Meanwhile there had been an agitation on the Island in favor of confederating with the Dominion of Canada. This agitation culminated in the entry of the Island into con-

federation with the other provinces on July 1, 1873. The Island was given by the Dominion, as one of the terms of union, eight hundred thousand dollars to compensate it for the lack of crown lands which each of the other provinces had and for the purpose of purchasing the township lands held by the proprietors.

In 1875 the "Compulsory Land Purchase Act" was passed by the provincial legislature and received the assent of the Governor-General in Council necessary to make it law. This act practically confiscated all the lands then held by the proprietors, and vested them in the Provincial Commissioners of Crown Lands for the benefit of the tenants. A commission was appointed under this act to fix the amount each proprietor should receive as compensation for the land taken. They were not to take into consideration, however, the fact that the lands were taken compulsorily, and were to consider all the circumstances in fixing the award.

The act expressly stated that "the gross annual rental actually paid by the tenants on any estate for the previous six years, the expenses and charges connected with and incidental to the recovery of such rent, and its receipts by the proprietor, and the actual net receipts of the proprietor for the said period of six years" should guide the commissioners in fixing the awards. Much bitterness was shown before the commissioners by the proprietors, and the act was characterized as unconstitutional, an invasion of the sacred rights of property and little short of robbery.

The commissioners, the chairman of whom was Sir Hugh C. E. Childers, an English statesman of prominence, subsequently Chancellor of the Exchequer in the British Ministry, awarded the proprietors for their lands sums varying from fifteen to twenty years' purchase, which amounts were paid by the local government to the proprietors. The lands were subsequently valued for the purpose of a fair adjustment of the price due the government by the occupants, and as the amounts so fixed were paid in, the people were given their title deeds, with the result that now practically every farm on the island is owned in freehold and occupied by its owner.

DUAL SUFFRAGE.

BY MRS. EDWARD QUINCY NORTON.

At the last meeting of the New York State Assembly at Albany, ten objections to granting woman suffrage were offered by the representative of some of the women of that State. Following each objection as made in the protest, I have given a woman's reply to the same, and also a reply to the objection so often made, that "as women cannot fight, they should not vote."

THE OBJECTIONS.

1. Because suffrage is to be regarded not as a privilege to be enjoyed, but as a duty to be performed.

Reply. If suffrage is a duty to be performed, then no one ought to prevent, or aid in preventing, another from doing her duty, and nothing but good can ultimately result from duty done.

2. Because hitherto the women of this State have enjoyed exemption from this burdensome duty, and no adequate reason has been assigned for depriving them of that immunity.

Reply. Exemption from duty in the past does not entitle women to present or future exemptions, and it is degrading to all women to offer immunity obtained at the sacrifice of duty.

3. Because conferring suffrage upon the women who claim it would impose suffrage upon the women who neither desire it as a privilege nor regard it as their duty.

Reply. It is a sufficient answer to this to reverse the objection and say that in giving immunity to those who neither desire suffrage as a privilege nor regard it as a duty, it would be denying to others their privilege and preventing them from doing what they thought to be their duty to do.

4. Because the need of America is not an increased quantity, but an improved quality of the vote; and there is no adequate reason to believe that woman's suffrage by doubling the vote will improve its quality.

Reply. In every instance where woman's suffrage has

been established the quality of the entire vote has been improved in a most marked degree. The improvement has not come from the "doubling of the vote," but from the participation of woman in suffrage.

5. Because the household, not the individual, is the unit of the State, and the vast majority of women are represented by household suffrage.

Reply. The individual and not the household is the unit of the State, and more than that, the individual existed before the formation of the State, and the primary reason for the existence of the State is to prevent aggressions of all kinds upon the individual and to prevent special advantages being taken.

Household suffrage no more represents individual units than does the Senate of the United States represent the people.

6. Because the women not so represented suffer no practical injustice which giving the suffrage will remedy.

Reply. Substitute the word men for women and this argument would read thus: "Because the men not represented by household suffrage would suffer no practical injustice which giving the suffrage will remedy."

7. Because equality in character does not imply similarity in function, and the duties and life of men and women are divinely ordered to be different in the State as in the home.

Reply. There cannot be equality in character without similarity in function, since character is based upon the mind and not upon physical structure; and as to the duties and lives of men and women being "divinely ordered to be different in the State as in the home," it is sufficient to recall the fact that chattel slavery, polygamy, and murder have at times been claimed by some to be "divinely ordered."

8. Because the energies of women are engrossed by their present duties and interests, from which men cannot relieve them, and it is better for the community that they devote their energies to the more efficient performance of their present work than to divert them to new fields of activity.

Reply. Woman's suffrage wherever established has directly and indirectly resulted in relieving women of some of their present burdens by improving social and political conditions, decreasing crime, thus lessening the need for expenditures to build and maintain asylums, jails, prisons, and reformatories; lessening the calls for charity work and

aiding to make laws for the better protection of the young of their own sex.

Duties never conflict; and if it is woman's duty to aid in suffrage then there will be found time and a way for it without conflicting with present duties which women alone can perform; and to affirm that woman's energies should not be diverted to new fields of activity is to assume the very question at issue and close the door to advancement along all lines.

9. Because political equality will deprive woman of special privileges hitherto accorded to her by the law.

Reply. No good woman wants or will accept "special privileges accorded to her by the law." She claims nothing but equity and will be satisfied with nothing less.

10. Because suffrage logically involves the holding of public office, and office-holding is inconsistent with the duties of most women.

Reply. By far the greater portion of public offices involve the doing of clerical work for which women are pre-eminently fitted; and if it be true that office-holding now is "inconsistent with the duties of most women," the inconsistency can be removed by simplifying our laws, making social and economic conditions such that the man can support the household without the necessity of the wife resorting to office-holding, and by elevating the character of the office to the standard of this highest class of office-holders.

Now as to the objection that "women should not vote because they have not the physical power to enforce the carrying out of their will as expressed at the ballot box," it will be conceded that women play a very important part in all wars.

If actual participation in combat upon the battle-field confers the right to vote, then there have been in all wars some women who have earned this right, of whom Joan of Arc and Moll Pitcher stand as representatives. But war consists of other things than mere physical contention upon the field of battle; and the work done by *vivandière* upon the field, or by women nurses in the camps and hospitals, the countless auxiliary lines, the making of clothing, preparing of lint bandages and other army supplies, the bearing of additional burdens made necessary by the absence of the men from home, the services of women as spies and scouts and as aids to diplomats in international or other negotiations, all testify to the fact that women can and do fight.

But aside from all this, the truth is, that with the advent of women upon the field of political action has also come the era of arbitration; and in this new and better way of settling all disputes women possess in the highest degree many of the qualifications needed to make the most successful negotiations.

If there ever was a time when the argument of "no fight, no vote," held good, that time has certainly passed, and it now remains for women to say that there shall henceforth and for evermore be an end to all bloodshed, and in the words of Emily Brown Powell, declare:

> We'll speed the day for which the prophet yearned,
> The happy reign of love for earth in store,
> When all the swords to ploughshares shall be turned
> And nations shall learn warfare nevermore.

THE PERIL OF ENCOURAGING THE PERSECUTING SPIRIT.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

To students of history, transition periods in the annals of nations, civilization, or races are at once rich in lessons and freighted with solemn warnings. For at such times, when change is written over the archway of all great pathways of research, and ancient and long-cherished ideals are confronted by broader visions of truth, of life, and of duty, the mind of man resembles, as at no other periods, the sensitive plate of the photographer, inasmuch as it receives, holds, and reflects impressions which in more prosaic periods would have left no impression. Hence, at such times it is of paramount importance that reason, justice, and a spirit permeated with love should rule where prejudice, unreasoning bigotry, and blind fanaticism have too often eclipsed the divine impulses in man's nature, with the result that progress has been checked, great nations have gone down under the weight of their inhumanity and unreasoning fanaticism, while unnumbered thousands of earth's most royal sons and daughters have perished for conscience' sake.

When we call to mind the first century of modern times (1450–1550), and note its marvellous attainments and the splendor of the prophecy it held out for progress and enlightenment, and also remember that chiefly through religious persecutions this glory and promise passed under eclipse, we shall appreciate the importance of cultivating a broad spirit of tolerance at the present time, which in so many respects parallels the elder century. I would not convey the idea that men should hold principles lightly, that the facts of history should be glossed over or ignored, or that convictions of right should be surrendered in the interest of policy, for nothing of this kind is worthy of sturdy manhood. But loyalty to what we believe to be right affords no excuse for throwing overboard that measuring rod of true civilization, the Golden Rule, any more than it justifies us in surrendering reason and our sense of justice to blind prejudice and

unreasoning bigotry. Among the many dangers which beset us at the present time of unrest, change, and growth, the rising spirit of intolerance, especially in the domain of religion, is one which gives ground for grave apprehension.

During recent years, on several occasions, simple-hearted, pure-minded, sincere men, who conscientiously believed they found a binding injunction in the Bible to keep the seventh day holy, being too poor to rest two days in the week, have worshipped and rested on that day, and worked on the first day of the week, and for so doing have been arrested and imprisoned as felons, although in all cases of which I have any knowledge these persecuted ones have scrupulously avoided working on or near the highways, or in other ways engaging in labor which might disturb those who believed they had scriptural authority for resting on the first day.

Now if we will divest our minds of prejudice for a moment, we shall see, I think, how thoroughly out of alignment with the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount are all such persecutions. This fact will be readily appreciated if we place ourselves in the position of the persecuted ones. Let us suppose, for example, that in one State of our Union the Seventh Day Adventists and the Hebrew population should be in the majority, and being so they should pass a statute that all persons should refrain from work on the seventh day, and that those found working on Saturday and worshipping and resting on Sunday should be arrested, branded as criminals, imprisoned, and perchance made to work in the chain gang — what a cry would be raised throughout the Republic! It would be claimed that a large proportion of those who sincerely believed that they were commanded to keep the first day of the week holy could not support their families if they rested two days in the week, or one hundred and four days in the year; and yet precisely the same condition exists in regard to the persecuted sect to which I have alluded.

Furthermore, religious intolerance, when once permitted to gain ascendency over the popular mind, is not amenable to reason or the divine impulses of man, and we are even now seeing a rising spirit of religious prejudice which the leaders of Protestantism and Catholicism who are countenancing it will be entirely powerless to check if it continues. Hence it is of vital importance that at the present moment we take to heart the solemn lesson taught by the night-time which

followed the glory-burst of the New Learning and the Renaissance to which I have referred. That we may better appreciate this grave and very real danger, let us glance at the first century of modern times and the eclipse which followed a dawning day of unequalled promise.

We find Gutenberg's recently invented printing press yielding its fruits and placing for the first time within the reach of any considerable number of hungry brains the wisdom of the ages. In 1453 Constantinople fell, and the scholars of the metropolis of the East were scattered over Italy and western Europe. These exiles brought with them the philosophy and art of ancient Greece, and lo! Italy responded on the artistic side in a marvellous manner. The very air seemed filled with the spirit of rediscovered Greece, its contagion infected the brain of man as disease often infects his body. Angelo, Raphael, Da Vinci, Correggio, Titian, and scores of other artists flourished, who in other ages would have been regarded as masters. North of the Alps the New Learning took deep root. Among its nobler exponents were Colet, Erasmus, and Sir Thomas More. These apostles of culture and a nobler religion sought to purify and unify the church, to awaken the individual conscience, and thus bring about a broad-gauged social reform while diffusing the light of education. Next came the great Protestant Reformation following in the wake of the prophetic utterances of Savonarola (the martyred priest and statesman), with Luther, Calvin, Zwingli, Melancthon, and Knox as central figures. Out of the land which brought forth the printing press and which was also the stronghold of the Reformation, came another startling disintegrator of conventional thought, the Copernican theory, which gave to man a new heaven by its revolutionary conception of his relation to the universe. Westward, phenomenal activity of another character was also noticeable. Columbus discovered America and gave to the Europe of this period a new world, and the energetic Portuguese sailing around the Cape of Good Hope reached India, conquered many powerful centres of wealth, and opened the rich treasure house of the far East to western Europe, while Magellan's fleet circumnavigated the globe. Never had there dawned an age which promised so much for civilization as this wonderful century, whose prophecy of continued progress and grander attainments would have been realized had reason, tolerance, and

love prevailed. But in the midst of these splendid triumphs for humanity there rose the fatal figure of blind religious fanaticism, before which the Golden Rule and the lofty utterance of a *religion of life* were obscured by passion and prejudice; man ceased to be just by ceasing to be reasonable; slaughter failed to satisfy those who had once beheld blood flow, and all the inventions of human ingenuity were brought into requisition for the torture of human beings by those who believed themselves to be followers of that One who taught, "Ye are all children of one Father," and that his disciples were "to love one another, to resist not evil," and "whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

As love awakens love, so hate engenders hate, and the manifestation of the persecuting spirit too frequently begets the same cruel spirit of intolerance. Men who claimed to be followers of the meek and lowly Nazarene became murderers. Catholics persecuted Protestants, and Protestants persecuted Catholics. Calvin, who bitterly complained at being driven from France, and declared that every step taken toward exile was watered with tears, compassed the death of Servetus, and banished from Geneva holy characters who could not conscientiously conform to his views. Melancthon, who usually strove to live up to his noble maxim, "In all things charity," justified Calvin in causing the death of Servetus. Thus, through permitting the throne of reason to be usurped by prejudice, and elevating passion, intolerance, and fanaticism to the seats of justice, tolerance, and love, the most wonderful epoch in Christian civilization went out in a night of savagery and hate. Progress was arrested. The lofty ideals of the noblest brains of the age were crushed under foot or pushed aside, and Love, the dearest child of Divinity, was exiled.

I have dwelt at length on this tremendous fact of history, because it carries with it such an impressive warning to our people at the present day. It is the duty of every man, woman, and child to demand justice unbiassed by prejudice for every other child of the Infinite. This course will mark the rise of men above creatures of prejudice and passion. It will prove that at length the Sermon on the Mount is touching the spiritual side of man. It will demonstrate the presence of that far-seeing wisdom which insures continued progress, happiness, and the onward tread of enduring civil-

ization, and, in a word, it will be the realization of the noblest dreams of prophets, sages, and philosophers of all ages. But, on the other hand, if we disregard the promptings of the higher nature by fostering the persecuting spirit, the inevitable and terrible result will be seen in the flaming forth of a fire which shall spread misery and ruin in its pathway, stifle the spirit of fraternity, and check the onward march of civilization by crushing the divinity in man and turning loose the savage instincts from which humanity has been slowly, painfully, and laboriously rising since the first man faced heaven with a question and a prayer.

JAPANESQUE ELEMENTS IN "THE LAST DAYS OF POMPEII."

BY ERNEST W. CLEMENT.

Three Americans, of whom the writer was one, were living, the only foreigners among 25,000 natives, in a provincial city of Japan. They found kind friends and pleasant society among the merry and light-hearted Japanese; but in the evenings, when it is not so fashionable in Japan as in America to "go calling," they lived more or less secluded and quiet lives. For evening recreation in the family they read together "The Last Days of Pompeii," which presented itself to them in a new phase. It appeared not merely as a picture of old Roman life in the days of Titus and Pliny, but also as, to some extent, a reproduction, or, rather, a "preproduction," of Japanese life in the nineteenth century. So frequently was the attention called to the remarkable similarities between Roman and Japanese manners and customs, mental characteristics, superstitions, etc., that the writer, following the sage advice of Captain Cuttle, proceeded in each instance to "make a note of" it, and now presents, in as connected and methodical a manner as the *disjuncta membra* of the subject will allow, the Japanesque features of "The Last Days of Pompeii."

It is interesting and proper to note, first, that the discovery of a general resemblance between Roman and Japanese civilizations is not the result of the possibly too fertile imagination of one person, but is the outcome of the careful observations and investigations of others. A writer in the *Japan Mail* says:

> A few miles from any of the treaty ports . . . one might well fancy himself still living . . . amongst manners and customs for which we should have to go back to the days of Pompeii and Herculaneum to find a parallel. Probably in no other country in the world will we find the reproduction of so many interesting elements of ancient civilizations.

So ardent and thorough an Oriental scholar as Mr. Percival Lowell has, particularly in his "Soul of the Far East," portrayed this striking resemblance in several respects, especially in a comparison of certain Japanese customs and the Roman "*patria potestas*" and "*adoptio*." With less

ambitious designs, it is the purpose of this paper to point out merely such resemblances as would naturally be suggested from a perusal of "The Last Days of Pompeii."

To begin pedagogically and work from the general to the specific, it may first be stated that the plot might well have been laid, instead of in Pompeii, in some Japanese town or city. Bulwer's novel, as its title indicates, covers only the short period of the final days of that Roman city, and culminates in the scenes attendant upon the terrible eruption of Mount Vesuvius. Such an awful event might not unnaturally happen in Japan, where volcanoes, active and supposedly extinct, abound. Indeed, it was only a short time after the above-mentioned perusal of "The Last Days of Pompeii" that there occurred the eruption of the presumably extinct Bandai San. It is true that the destruction of property and of life was not so great and awful in that instance, and never has been in volcanic eruptions in Japan, as in the case of the Italian peak. But the seismological conditions and possibilities in Japan are sufficient to warrant the application of the idea of this article.

The eruption, moreover, of Bandai San in one incident furnishes an exact parallel to that of Mount Vesuvius. Bulwer represents the lion of the arena as having scented the approaching disaster; while an account of the eruption of Bandai San states that "animals in the neighborhood are said to have shown signs of uneasiness and fear shortly before the outburst;" and adds, "That animals are highly susceptible to minute tremors of the ground, is a well-established fact."

If, moreover, the comparisons concerning the location of the novel are continued, it may be suggested that the famous skies of Italy find a counterpart in the skies of Japan; that the climate of Italy may be found imitated in Japan. Geological conditions also are in many respects similar, especially in the matter of volcanoes and earthquakes; and the ignorant and superstitious explanations of these phenomena show a curious resemblance. For, just as, according to Nydia, "a potent witch dwells amongst the scorched caverns of the mountain" (Vesuvius), so in Japanese superstition some demons or wicked spirits (*oni*) people the volcanoes of that land. And just as the giant Enceladus was fabled to lie underneath Mount Ætna, and, as often as he moved his weary side, to make all Trinacria tremble, so an immense

fish is believed to lie under the islands of Japan, and, as often as he moves his huge body, to make all Nippon tremble. Among the Japanese this "earthquake fish" is a catfish; among the Ainos it is called sometimes "a trout" and sometimes "the backbone fish of the world."

In other superstitions concerning animals the Romans and the Japanese agree. The "Witch of Vesuvius" kept a snake and a fox in her cave as pets and companions. The Japanese have a very popular god, named Inari Sama, the deification of a mythical personage who is supposed to have discovered and first cultivated the rice-plant. "He is represented carrying a few ears of rice, and is symbolized by a snake guarding a bale of rice grain. The foxes wait upon him and do his bidding." The fox figures extensively in Japanese mythology and fairy tale, and is in many respects the Japanese "devil" or "Satan." He is believed to be possessed of the powers of changing his form, even into that of a human being, and of bewitching mankind, and is therefore, regarded with great fear by the ignorant and superstitious peasantry.

In fact, in many matters of superstition and worship, there are quite remarkable similarities between the Romans and the Japanese. As the *profanum vulgus* of the former clung to their gods and goddesses, their temples and shrines, their prayers and vows, their sacrifices and offerings, etc., so the common people of Japan cling to their national deities, their temples and shrines, their prayers and pilgrimages, their gifts and sacrifices, etc.; and both alike are examples of an ignorant populace deluded by designing priests and rulers. Among both, emperors and heroes are deified; and such "natural elements" as the sun, the moon, the thunder, the wind, are personified into divinities of the national worship. And as the learned Romans, like Cicero, had no faith in the manufactured deities and religion, so the educated Japanese are not fooled by the national mythology and superstitions. Both peoples, moreover, had no hesitation in resorting to deception in carrying out the commands of their gods in the matter of sacrifices, as shown here below:

ROMANS.

If the god required so many heads in sacrifice, he would be bound to accept garlic heads; if he claimed an animal, it might be made out of dough or wax. — *Wilkins's* "*Roman Antiquities.*"

JAPANESE.

It was suggested that the spirit might be appeased if images of his people, horses, etc., were made and put into the tomb instead of living beings. — *Griffis's* "*Honda, the Samurai.*"

And as the Romans, whether superstitious or sceptical, were not inclined to Christianity, so the Japanese are slow to accept the teachings of Christian missionaries. Indeed among them there is many a Claudius, who says of the believers: "Oh, mere speculative visionaries; they have not a single gentleman amongst them; their proselytes are poor, insignificant, ignorant people!" There is also many a Pansa, who will exclaim with vehemence: "Who ought, however, to be crucified for their blasphemy; they deny Venus and Jove! Nazarene is but another name for atheist." And it is interesting to add that the Japanese goddess Benten is "a naturalized Venus," and is said also to have risen from the sea. Thus Christianity, in both Italy and Japan, has encountered the same kind of misrepresentation and opposition, springing from misapprehension of the truth. But it is gratifying to know that many a Japanese Glaucus may also be found, who sincerely and earnestly professes Christianity, and who, by refraining from "offending openly the prejudices of the crowd," thus forwards the interests of Christianity more than those who have zeal without knowledge.

But it is in the study of manners and customs, of society, that some remarkable similarities may be discovered between the Romans and the Japanese. When Bulwer, in describing a Pompeian house, writes of the hall (*atrium*) in which "the clients and visitors of inferior ranks are usually received," he suggests that in Japanese society also there existed ranks, or castes, and that various entrances to Japanese houses were constructed to accommodate the different classes of visitors. One low, sliding gate in the fence was for servants, who, moreover, must enter, not the front, but the rear door of the mansion; and a large double gate was for otherwise general use. But the visitors below a certain official rank must dismount before entering the gate, while those of highest castes might ride through the gate to the door. Moreover, some visitors, those of the lower ranks, were admitted only into the vestibule of the house, while others could pass into the regular reception room.

In relation to the matter of riding and vehicles, it may be observed *en passant* that the Romans and the Japanese were accustomed to be carried about by slaves or coolies in much the same general style of conveyance. The Roman litter, however, was more comfortable, as it was suited for horizon-

tal repose, while the Japanese *norimono* and *kago* compelled a sitting or cramped-up posture.

Roman and Japanese fashions, likewise, are somewhat similar. Just as Arbaces recognized from Julia's dress that she was unmarried, so one may detect the maidenly or married condition of a Japanese female by certain infallible signs. Blackened teeth and shaven eyebrows, *kimono* of sober color, and less showy hairpins betoken the Japanese wife; while painted lips and face, flowery hairpins, and *kimono* of brilliant colors indicate the maiden; and even the prostitute is publicly advertised by her sash tied in front. And again, in the dexterous and elegant complex style of hairdressing, "the fair Julia" and the charming O Tsuru Sama are not so unlike.

It is possible, indeed, to go still further, and to note the similarity in the general condition and position of woman among the Romans and among the Japanese. Bulwer puts into the mouth of Ione an accusation against man "of making laws unfavorable to the intellectual advancement of woman." If such a charge could justly be preferred against the Romans, it might with equal justice be brought against the Japanese. Sir Edwin Arnold expresses it as follows: "At present it is not very much that the average Japanese woman knows. . . . They learn to write in Katakara and Hiragara, and acquire enough of the Chinese characters to read the signs on the shops and the commoner phrases used in correspondence. Then, also, most of them master the strings of the *samisen* and *koto*, and perhaps learn the arts of arranging flowers, of keeping accounts, of the special etiquettes of social existence, and, above all, needlework." Thus, like Livia, "they make, unmake, and remake all their own clothes."

In re the female sex, the blind singer, Nydia of Pompeii, is a reminder that sometimes among the Japanese blind women make a living from music. Ordinarily, the blind of Japan devote themselves to the occupation of massage (*amma*), in which they have a monopoly; but not infrequently they enter the musical profession, both as performers and as instructors. They accompany themselves on the *samisen* or the *koto*, and their music, whether instrumental or vocal, is sad, weird, and inharmonious. It has been denoted "strummings and squealings;" their vocal efforts are chants or drawls. And whereas the Thessalian Nydia of

Pompeii was young and beautiful, the Japanese blind musicians are ordinarily old and ugly. One old couple, of whom the wife was only partially blind, and who often visited the governor's mansion opposite, still remain a quaint picture in the writer's mind.

The description of the young Apæcides at the Bacchanalian feast of the Egyptian Arbaces, might, if stripped of its features of elegance and magnificence, well represent a Japanese banquet. At least in the use, or rather, abuse, of wine, in the accompaniments of music and women, there is a striking similiarity between the voluptuous and sensual pleasures of the old Romans and the Japanese. Intemperance and debauchery are, unfortunately, besetting sins of the Japanese, as of the Romans in the days of Pompeii's glory and fall. The beautiful and graceful *geisha*, the Japanese dancing and singing girls, are far from immaculate in their moral character. "Wine and women" are the essentials of a Japanese evening entertainment; and the ensuing orgies are too disgraceful to be described.

The reference to banquets suggests a minor resemblance in the fact that both Romans and Japanese may be called epicures on the subject of eels, which are properly to be considered a great delicacy to both peoples. The *murœna* of the Pompeians is the *yatsume-unagi* of the Tokyoans. Both Romans and Japanese, too, are examples of a cleanly people, resorting to daily hot-water baths and to ante-banquet ablutions.

When the rich Diomed of Pompeii, preparing to give a banquet, finds that his cook has engaged other cooks to assist, he scolds as follows: "By what purloined moneys of mine, by what reserved filchings from marketings, by what goodly meats converted into grease and sold in the suburbs, by what false charges for bronzes marred and earthenware broken, hast thou been enabled to make them serve thee for *thy* sake?" In Japan the cook or steward, particularly of a foreign family, and presumably also of a native household, is an adept in the matter of a commission, or "squeeze," as it is appropriately called in the vernacular. This is a firmly established practice, which must be endured, and will only with great difficulty be abolished. Its strength lies in the fact that it is a league between cook and merchant; it is also a double "squeeze," of the master and of the merchant. It may be only a few cents, or even a few mills from each; but

it makes altogether a fairly good fee, additional to the regular salary.

The allusion to "the widow Fulvia clapping her hands" to call a servant brings to mind the Japanese method of summoning. In a Japanese hotel, for instance, from early in the morning till late in the night may be heard the almost incessant sound of hand-clapping and the "*hai*" or "*hei*" of the servant's reply.

In reading that Ione in her struggle with Arbaces let fall a tablet from her bosom, a similarity between Roman and Japanese costumes may be noted. The Roman toga and tunic are almost exactly duplicated in the Japanese robes, which are fastened together with a sash or belt, which is a convenient receptacle for small parcels. Both Romans and Japanese went bareheaded and often barefooted, though they also used sandals and wooden clogs.

Although the style of architecture and the structure of a Japanese edifice may not bear any great resemblance to the same points in a Roman house, yet the purpose of construction seems to have been somewhat the same in each instance. The central idea of both a Roman and a Japanese house, beyond that of a dwelling-place and a shelter, is related to the enjoyment of nature. Not only would the houses of both peoples be constructed with a view to admit as much air and sunlight as possible and to permit outdoor living, but there must also be a garden attached. In the case of a Roman, probably the house would be constructed all around the open court; in the case of a Japanese, the garden would be in the rear of the house. In both instances there is apparent an enthusiastic love of nature, a love which tends often to worship and superstition. But the Japanese are less likely, perhaps, than the Romans to *personify* natural phenomena; for, though they have a sun-goddess, a rain-god, a thunder-god, a wind-god, etc., they have no naiads or fairies of trees, flowers, and brooks; they love "certain of the gentler aspects and humbler charms of nature" in their nakedness instead of in fanciful garments. To a Japanese a flower is nothing but a flower, but as such it is loved. With that meaning Wordsworth's lines may apply to a Japanese:

> A primrose by a river's brim,
> A yellow primrose was to him,
> And it was nothing more.

The funeral and mourning customs of Pompeii and of

Tokyo furnish a few points of similarity. The mourners clothe themselves in white instead of black; and hired mourners are used. Cremation is a practice of both places, and the ashes are carefully preserved in an urn or a jar. Bulwer's statement that "the sepulchre [of Apæcides] was covered with flowers and chaplets and incense kindled on the altar," might have been written of a Japanese.

While the aforementioned similarities between Roman and Japanese manners and customs, social conditions, etc., are interesting, none the less so are the resemblances in mental characteristics. If, indeed, a thorough psychological study should be made of both peoples, the similarity might be found to be even more striking. But for the purposes of this article it will be sufficient to suggest only a few instances.

The first example may be thought to rest as much on a social as on an intellectual basis; yet surely, to a great extent, the habit of flattery is a mental habit. But however it may be classed scientifically, it may be ethnologically classified as a trait of both Romans and Japanese. Bulwer says that "it was the mode among the courteous ancients to flatter whenever it was in their power," and then relates the following conversation at Diomed's party:

"A beautiful statue this of Bacchus!" said the Roman senator.
"A mere trifle," replied Diomed.
"What charming paintings!" said Fulvio.
"Mere trifles," answered the owner.
"Exquisite candelabra!" cried the warrior.
"Exquisite!" echoed his umbra.
"Trifles! trifles!" reiterated the merchant.

Similar inordinate flattery and self-depreciation are characteristic of the Japanese, whose nature seems to contain a strange mixture of pride, or conceit, and humility. In the Japanese language, for instance, there is one set of words or phrases for ordinary use; another set of abasement; and a third set of honorfics. The language used to servants, to equals, and to superiors is in each case very different in style. In no case is there self-exaltation, not even in the relation of master to servant; in general, the fundamental principles of the Japanese language are the humility of the speaker and the exaltation of the person addressed. The following, taken from "Mito Yashiki: A Tale of Old Japan," is a typical conversation:

"You, indeed, state the case most truly," replied Captain Matsuda, bowing low, "and I now most respectfully welcome these worthy gentle-

men to the service of our august master. Honored sirs, have you been long on the way from Kioto?"

"Your unworthy servants have been nearly twenty-two days on the journey," replied the young man.

"And in what way did you travel?" continued the officer.

"We insignificant youths travelled entirely on foot," they replied.

"Truly a most soldierly method of journeying!" exclaimed the Captain.

The Japanese therefore are, like the Romans, excessively vain in the matter of national history and lineage, but are in personal affairs extravagantly humble.

Bulwer's description of the crowd of Romans "pushing, scrambling, hurrying on" to the amphitheatre would not perfectly apply to the Japanese, who seldom exhibit undue eagerness or excitement; but his mention of the "wonderful order and unquarrelsome good humor" of the Italian crowd might be taken literally of a concourse of Japanese. All persons, whether visitors or residents in Japan, are impressed with the calmness, impurturbability, and good nature of a Japanese crowd. No matter how hot, cold, or wet, no matter how crowded or uncomfortable, the utmost consideration is felt, and politeness is shown to others. One writer has said: "Surely, for happiness, gentleness and sobriety, for soft-voiced and always smiling chatter, . . . no other country can even profess to show the match of a festival crowd in Japan. . . . Police in such a throng . . . can have no more to do than the lilies of the valley." Another characterizes the Japanese as "calm and imperturbably polite."

Unsentimentality is a characteristic common to both Roman and Japanese. Bulwer represents Glaucus, after his conversion to Christianity, as writing of the mutual affection of himself and Ione as "a love that has taken a new sentiment in our new creed — a love which none of our poets, beautiful though they be, had shadowed forth in description; for, mingled with religion, it partakes of religion; it is blended with pure and unworldly thoughts; it is that which we may hope to carry through eternity, and keep, therefore, white and unsullied, that we may not blush to confess it to our God." In a note the author further touches on this topic to remark: "What we now term and feel to be *sentiment* in love was very little known amongst the ancients, and at this day is scarcely known out of Christendom. It is a feeling intimately connected with — not a belief, but a *conviction*, that the passion is of the soul, and, like the soul, immortal."

The Japanese, as a people "out of Christendom," show a similar mental condition; they have "an incapacity for appreciating abstract ideas;" they are "lovers of the practical and the real." In their language there are many words which may be translated loosely by our word "love;" but not one of them conveys the depth of feeling, fulness of sentiment, loftiness of idea, expressed by the English word. Mr. Percival Lowell says that the Japanese youth "is a stranger to the feeling" of love, which, "as we understand the word, is a thing unknown to the Far East." The idea of "sympathy" is also lacking to the Japanese: for it they have no term, except a Chinese word which has been manufactured to correspond with the original Greek of the English word.

The Japanese nature, in fact, is a queer blending of Epicurean and Stoic elements. The people, light-hearted, merry, and vivacious, extract from life all the pleasure possible in even the simplest ways. Perhaps, as no other people, they succeed in thoroughly *enjoying* life; and they do not wear themselves out with anxiety and worry. They are brought to this condition by an extreme fatalism which is also an extreme Stoicism. They are never unduly elated by good fortune, or depressed by adversity; or, at least, they endeavor to repress those feelings, if they have them, and to withhold public manifestations of satisfaction or sorrow. They meet disappointment, disease, or death with the calmness of a Spartan or of a Roman. A Japanese of the true mould, with the old *Yamato-damashii* ("Japanese spirit") could have condemned his own sons to death as coolly as Brutus; or could have died for his country as unselfishly as Regulus; or, as a loyal *Samurai*, could have performed *hara-kiri* as calmly and deliberately as Cato committed suicide at Utica. Nay, more, as Sir Edwin Arnold has said, the genuine Japanese woman "can die as well and bravely as she can live, and often, at a crisis, recalls in her own simple way the example of Lucretia." This ardent and unflinching patriotism is, in the case of both Romans and Japanese, inspired by a "profound sentiment of nationality," which is itself "the natural outgrowth and necessary complement of an equally intense and overruling sentiment of consanguinity." In Rome "the family was regarded as both the germ and image of the state;" in Japan "the empire is one great family; the family is a little empire." The Romans and

other European nations have outgrown the patriarchal or paternal form of government and society; the Chinese and Japanese have maintained it, "crystallized into an institution" by Confucius.

It would, of course, be unjust not to acknowledge that in many matters there are contrasts as striking as the similarities noted. It is, however, not germane to the present pupose to consider in detail these differences, any more than to continue to indicate likenesses. Enough has been written without the pretence of exhausting the subject, to show that in a great variety of things there are general similarities which are remarkable between the old Romans of Pompeii and the Japanese of Tokyo.

It now remains to inquire whether this general resemblance is only accidental, whether the likenesses portrayed above are merely superficial. It is undoubtedly true that a similar course of investigation and comparison would reveal striking resemblances between the old Greeks and the Japanese in certain lines, especially in the artistic natures;* it is perhaps true that in the same way some, possibly many, similarities might be detected between the Japanese and other peoples of ancient times. Mr. Percival Lowell speaks of the civilization of Japan as "a most interesting case of partially arrested development," in which "the nation grew up to man's estate, keeping the mind of its childhood." But at what stage or stages of the progress of civilization was the check received? Mr. Lowell's "Soul of the Far East," which is a careful psychological study of Oriental, particularly Japanese, characteristics, gives two answers which seem too different to be harmonized. In one place it is stated that *in re* paternal government "the interesting fact about the yellow branch of the human race is, not that they had so juvenile a constitution, but that they have it; that it has continued practically unchanged from prehistoric ages;" and in another place it is written that "until within thirty years Japan slumbered still in the Knight-time of the Middle Ages." And yet these two statements, assigning epochs far remote from each other, are only seemingly contradictory. Both paternalism and feudalism are of barbarous origin and of ancient ancestry. In Europe, paternalism reached its full development in the Roman Empire, and fell with the fall of that huge structure; then feudalism grew

Vide Century Magazine July, 1892, page 369.

up with the increasing power of the Teutonic tribes. In Asia, at least in Japan, paternalism and feudalism were developed almost together, and thus produced a social and political condition which reminds one both of a primitive state in the dawn of history and of the mediæval times. It may therefore not be improper, "striking an average," or "splitting the difference," to compare Roman and Japanese civilizations, which appear to have a resemblance more than accidental or superficial. Even the foregoing comparison in matters suggested by reading one book, incomplete and imperfect though it be, serves at least to indicate considerable of an identity between the inner natures and the outward manifestations of the natures of both peoples, and warrants the opinion that the Japanese had in their secluded growth succeeded in reaching almost the same stage of progress in civilization as that of the Romans in the early days of the Empire.

Moreover, even in the manner in which Japanese civilization was developed there is a remarkable resemblance to Roman civilization; for both peoples were inveterate borrowers. "Just as frankly as Rome borrowed her models from Greece, so did Japan borrow hers from China," writes Mr. Ernest Fenollosa in the June *Atlantic Monthly*. To China, either directly or indirectly through Korea, may be traced the origins of Japanese language and literature, law and government, music and art, medicine, pottery, sports, social manners and customs; and Buddhism and Confucianism, both imported, are the sources of Japanese morality and philosophy. Japan, like Rome, in some cases slavishly copied or adopted, in other cases adopted and assimilated, nay, even improved, the elements of civilization, but seldom originated. If then, "on the whole, and in spite of temperament, it may be, we are forced to say that China has played the part of Greece for the whole Eastern world," we may be warranted also in saying that Japan has played, is playing, and will play the part of Rome for the Orient, not necessarily in the establishment of a vast empire, but in the development and diffusion of a new and better civilization.

Thus it will certainly be an interesting study to trace more widely and more deeply this line of investigation; to find out how far these evident likenesses enter into the very natures of both Romans and Japanese; to ascertain whether it is proper to call the Japanese, who in their æsthetic natures

are truly the "Asiatic Greeks," in many, if not most, other respects, the "Romans of the Orient." It certainly looks as if the Japanese civilization, in its isolated development, had succeeded in reaching in military, political, social, intellectual, moral, and religious elements, just about that stage of advancement to which the Romans had attained in the last days of Pompeii.

FREE SILVER *vs.* FREE GOLD.

BY PROF. FRANK PARSONS.

A falling market means prostration, panic, paralysis. The downward trend of prices is the path to industrial perdition; the upward slope of rising values is the plain road back to energy and life, the way out of Darkest America into the light of prosperity. This giant evil, falling prices, is caused by contraction of the currency, or by increase of business and changing conditions of production unbalanced by a due expansion of the currency. The salvation of rising prices can be secured by increasing the volume of the currency. Gold has caused or permitted a falling market, and carried the nation far on the road to — Hades. For thirty years we have had falling prices, with consequent oppression of debtors, depression of business, and industrial disaster. The train of events has been running to destruction. Free silver will reverse the lever, inaugurate a rising market, afford a just relief from overweighted debt, and stimulate commerce, manufactures, and agriculture to new activity. The first silver dollar coined will buy as much as a dollar does now. Silver will rise to $1.29 an ounce; no one will sell it for less than that sum minus the expense of sending it to the mint, because he can have it coined into that at the mint. This increase in value to be gained by minting silver will bring large amounts of the white metal into circulation. The consequent growth of the currency volume will raise prices 10, 15, perhaps ultimately 20 per cent, relieving debtors and developing business with an energy unknown in this country since the period of the war. This is the heart of the silver philosophy.

Gold is the standard of value all over the civilized world; only a few inferior nations like China, Mexico, and Japan retain the silver base. Gold has proved more stable than silver in reference to labor; commodities have fallen in value, not because gold has appreciated, but because invention and overproduction have depreciated commodities. The free coinage of silver at 16 to 1 will debase the currency, defraud creditors, destroy the credit of the country by an

act of deliberate repudiation, bring upon our markets a flood of American securities from Europe, thereby greatly depressing their value, drive our gold to foreign parts, place us out of relation with the rest of the civilized world, disorganize our foreign commerce, derange our entire industrial system, temporarily at least, and not improbably produce paralysis and panic, giving a new opportunity to the wealthy to buy vast masses of property at a fraction of its present worth. Such is the core of the gold philosophy.

It appears to me that there is much of truth on both sides of the argument. Gold has advantages and disadvantages, and the same is true of silver. If we limit our gaze to the evils of the present *régime* and the benefits of silver, we shall become enthusiastic advocates of silver; whereas if we contemplate the benefits of gold money and the evils of silver we shall be equally warm in support of the present standard. The right way is to look with impartial eye at the advantages and disadvantages of each system, to see which on the whole will be best for the country, inquiring also if there may not be another plan that is better than either the gold or silver or bimetallic method.

If we study the subject in this quiet way, we shall find, I think, that our present financial *régime* is objectionable in several decidedly serious aspects:

1. It leaves the control of the currency volume to chance and private manipulation.

2. It causes or permits a falling market, which leads to depression, disaster, and panic, and increases the burden of every debt public or private.

3. It affords opportunities for Wall Street speculators to capture millions of wealth produced by the labor of others.

Against these evils we must credit free gold with giving us the benefit of harmonious monetary relations with Europe, supplying an automatic base of considerable stability in reference to labor, and affording a monetary system which enjoys in a high degree the confidence of the capitalistic and investing classes.

When we turn to the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 we find the results would probably be:

1. The retirement of 5 or 6 hundred millions of gold from our monetary resources.

2. A possible panic through the fears or the desperate opposition of those who have large control of money and industry.

3. A vast gift to the owners of silver mines and silver bullion here and abroad.

4. The temporary scaling down of salaries and wages.

5. Injustice to creditors in respect to all debts contracted in recent years under the present standard, including depositors in savings banks, as well as more wealthy lenders of money.

6. A just relief to debtors whose obligations were contracted when prices were much higher than at present.

7. An ultimate enlargement of the volume of the currency accompanied by a rise of prices, stimulation of industry, reabsorption of a considerable amount of unemployed labor, increase of wages, and a change from general depression to general prosperity.

8. A special benefit to the burdened farmers of the West and South, and through them to the whole country. Even a creditor may find it better to have a silver debtor who can pay than a gold debtor who can't.

9. A clearing of the atmosphere, so that other important measures may be seen in their true proportions and receive the attention that is their due. The victory of free silver also involves the triumph of democracy over plutocracy, the victory of the great common people over the monopolists and the money power. The men who will go into office if free silver carries the day are men who believe in making laws in the interests of the people and not in the interests of Wall Street trusts and combinations; their success will mean not merely a speedy release from falling prices, but a far better chance for securing the public ownership of monopolies and for the introduction of the Initiative and Referendum, the fundamental institutional reform, because it will constitute an open doorway for the easy entrance of all other reforms.

10. Free silver legislation alone, without further changes in our monetary system, would still leave the control of the currency volume to private manipulation and the accidents of production, and after the influx of silver had brought prices to an equilibrium the country might again be afflicted by a falling market with all its consequent evils, and Wall Street would again be able, though with more difficulty perhaps than at present, to rob the producing masses of their hard-earned wealth.

The free coinage of silver means, of course, the establish-

ment of bimetallism, since it is not proposed to destroy the free coinage of gold. Just now silver only would be coined at 16 to 1, but the time may come in the future, as it has in the past, when silver would go to a premium and gold pour into the mints. Bimetallism does not necessarily mean that both metals will remain in circulation to any considerable extent at the same time; it simply means that all who have payments to make may choose which of two metals they will use for the purpose instead of being confined to one.

It is true that England, France, Germany, and other leading nations are on the gold basis, but it is equally true that the gold standard was not established by intelligent action of the masses of the people, nor by any action of the people as a whole. Financial legislation has been left to the bankers and their friends, with the natural result of adopting a gold base because gold money promises, in this age, the most appreciation of the dollar and consequent enrichment of the bankers who lend four dollars to one they receive on deposit. England is the great advocate of the gold standard because she is the great creditor nation of the world.

When we look at the interests of the whole country present and future, it appears, in spite of the temporary injustices of the change, that free silver plus free gold will be an inprovement upon free gold alone. Two metals are harder for speculators to manipulate than one, the weight of obligations to the past will be lightened, and the rise of prices sure to come after a little with the influx of silver, will lift our industries out of the slough of despond in which they have floundered so long. For these reasons, and the further reason that the trial of silver will relieve the mental tension of the people and permit them to give their attention to other most vital and urgent reforms, it seems probable that in the choice between free silver and free gold, free silver should have the preference. But such a choice is a choice between two evils; a far better system than either could be constructed with a national currency carefully adjusted in volume to the movement of business so as to maintain prices at a uniform average, or give them a slight upward tendency as occasion might require. Such a system, *substituting intelligent control of the currency in the interests of the whole people for control by accident and speculative manipulation*, would be a vast improvement upon any system that leaves the currency volume and value to the mercy of chance and the cunning schemes of financial Cæsars

and Napoleons. And if we should add to a national currency of regulated volume a system of postal savings banks keeping the people's money safe and lending them funds at low interest, we should do more to free them from the unjust burdens of overweighted debt and the sluggish industrialism of our depressed and panic-stricken age,— yes, infinitely more than can be expected from the free coinage of silver.

Let us examine more fully a few of the matters thus briefly hinted at.

A falling market is a calamity almost as much to be deplored as civil war. It ruins merchants, manufacturers, and farmers, throws men out of employment, and leads in a double way to failure, depression, and panic. A very slight fall between the time a merchant or manufacturer buys his goods or materials and the time he sells, may turn his expected profit into a loss. He borrows money to tide him over, hoping next year to recover; but prices fall further the following year, and instead of relief he finds the loan an ever-increasing weight about his neck. Year after year he struggles to regain what he has lost, but prices continue to fall and his difficulties to increase, until at last he fails. His creditors, some of them wrestling like himself with falling prices, are further embarrassed by his bankruptcy, and their names are soon upon the list of wrecks. Failures and the natural impairment of industry due to the discouragements of a falling market throw many out of work. Having no employment they cannot buy as they used to, and a shrinking demand is added to the dangers and perplexities of commerce, causing a further fall of prices and new ruin; and so the interacting causes continue their sad work till stoppage and destruction reach such vast dimensions that we call them panic. We are told sometimes that overproduction is the cause of business depression, and sometimes it is true; but generally it is not overproduction, but under-demand or lack of ability to buy. There is no overproduction so long as human wants remain unsatisfied. The warehouses are full of pianos; it looks as if too many were made, but are there not millions of families that would like to have a fine piano? It is better to develop the power of purchase than to cut down the production, and when a glut has come wholly or partly from the shrinkage of the power of purchase, the cause should be recognized and an effort made to restore the lost power.

Falling prices are often unjust to debtors; their debts remain the same, but their means of payment shrink. The note calls for as many dollars as ever, but the number of bushels of wheat or bales of cotton that must be sold to get those dollars is double what it was when the money was borrowed and the note was written.

Here is a table that tells the story of the farmers' falls — the Niagara of agriculture:

VALUE OF AN ACRE'S PRODUCT.[1]

	1866–70.	1871–5.	1876–80.	1881–85.	1886–90	1893.
Corn	12.84	11.30	9.62	10.25	8.81	8.35
Wheat	13.16	11.90	12.00	10.20	9.07	6.00
Oats	10.92	9.81	8.58	9.17	7.50	5.75
Hay	13.28	14.38	11.57	11.15	10.19	10.00
Cotton	28.01	28.55	17.65	15.63	13.84	10.65
Total	78.21	75.94	59.42	56.40	49.44	40.75
Average	15.64	15.19	11.88	11.28	9.89	8.15

Such is the history of the thirty years' war upon the products of the soil. As the value of an acre's yield diminishes, the value of the acre itself decreases also. Many a man who put his savings into farm land years ago, giving a mortgage for the balance of the purchase price, finds to-day that the mortgage has swallowed the farm. Suppose he had saved five thousand dollars, borrowed five thousand more, and bought a ten-thousand-dollar farm in Kansas, giving a mortgage for the money he had borrowed. To-day the farm is not worth the face of the mortgage; falling prices have devoured his five thousand dollars, and left only the debt. At the start the farmer and the mortgagee had equal interests in the farm; now the mortgagee's interest covers the whole farm, and the farmer has nothing. This is a fair example of one of the disastrous processes that have been going on all over the country, and especially in the West and South, and no one can wonder that our people should become desperately hostile to a monetary system that causes or permits such evils.[2]

[1] From "The Key Note," by Albert Griffin, p. 197.

[2] The entire product of our farms in 1895 was worth less by 6% than in 1873, although the increase in the number of hands was about 50%, in the number of acres also about one-half, and the product in tons and bushels had grown about 100%.

One of the most striking illustrations of the extent and effects of falling prices in the last thirty years is the fact that, after having paid over four billions and a half in interest and principal on the national debt, the people have still to pay more in terms of commodities to settle the remainder of the debt, than would have sufficed to cancel the entire debt at its maximum figure just after the Rebellion. Upon an average of 25 leading commodities, including land and labor, the debt is bigger now than in 1866, in spite of the billions that have been paid on the principal since that date. President Andrews of Brown University says: "Our national debt

I say causes or permits because there is a dispute whether gold has appreciated or not. It is not essential to determine that point. It makes no difference whether gold has moved away from commodities or commodities have moved away from gold; whether gold has appreciated or commodities have depreciated or both; the result has been a falling market with all its disastrous consequences. A good officer does not go away from his troops nor lag behind them, but stays with them. The monetary standard is the captain

---

on Sept. 1, 1865, was about 2¾ billions. It could then have been paid off with 18 million bales of cotton. When it had been reduced to a billion and a quarter 30 million bales would have been required to pay it." ("An Honest Dollar," p. 13.) Careful estimates by the eminent historian John Clark Ridpath will be found in THE ARENA for January, 1896, p. 271. The results briefly stated are as follows:

AVERAGE PRICES.

	March, 1866.	Close of 1895.
Wheat, per bushel	$1.90	$ .58
Flour, per barrel	10.75	3.50
Cotton, per lb.	.48	.085
Mess pork, per barrel	28.37	8.20
Sugar, per lb.	.11125	.05
Wool, per lb.	.53	.215
Beef, per cwt.	15.25	9.50
Bar iron, per lb.	.0675	.0267
Superior farm lands, Ohio and Mississippi valley, per acre	75.00	35.00

The National Debt, March, 1866, was $2,827,868,959
The National Debt at the close of 1895 was 1,126,379,106

It will cost more to pay the little debt now than the big one then —

More of wheat, by about	43 %
" " flour, "	38 %
" " cotton, "	140 %
" " pork, "	50 %
" " wool, "	8 %
" " bar iron, "	10 %

It will cost a little less in sugar (2½ %), beef (30 %), and land (6 %), to pay off the remnant of debt; but to pay a billion now will take about double the sugar, beef, and land that was required to pay a billion of debt in 1866, and upon the average of the nine great staples above mentioned it requires a great deal more of them to pay a billion now than it did to pay three billions at the close of the war.

On the average of all commodities a dollar now will buy 66 % more than in 1873, and over 100 % more than in 1866. These changes have benefited labor in some respects — a day's wages, as a rule, will buy more than in 1873 or 1866, but the disastrous effects of falling prices upon productive activity and the distribution of wealth have more than counterbalanced the advantages of the change, — the appreciation of money is of little avail to the workman out of employment, or the merchant whose business has shrivelled into insignificance, or the farmer whose mortgage appreciates as fast as the dollar, — the increased power of the dollar is of no use to a man who can't get the dollar; a positive detriment to him when it is that very increase of power that crippled his business or threw him out of work, and a terrible disaster to the man whose debt grows bigger with the growth of the dollar while the crops or other property with which he expects to pay the debt depreciate and disappear.

The United States Monetary Commission, Vol. I, p. 50, says that "falling prices and misery and destitution are inseparable companions;" and our great economist, Francis A. Walker, says, "Mr. Balfour was fully justified in saying that 'a slow appreciation of the standard of value is probably the most deadening and benumbing influence which can trouble the springs of enterprise in a nation.'" (American Economic Association, Economic Studies, Vol. I, No. 1, April 1896, p. 44.)

The tables prepared by R. A. Southworth, secretary of the National Farmers' Alliance, show in another way how fierce has been the fall of prices and how strong has been the tendency to pour the product of the country into the laps of the official and directing classes. I have taken Cleveland, 1896, instead of Harrison, 1892.

Lincoln's salary, 1866, $25,000, equal to 10,310 bushels of wheat.
Cleveland's salary, 1896, $50,000, equal to 86,000 bushels of wheat.

Paid to	1866.	1894.
Congressman	$3,000 = 1,240 bush. wheat.	$5,000 = 15,000 bush. wheat.
Governor	$3,000 = 1,240 " "	$5,000 = 15,000 " "
Legislator	$4 a day = 1 2/3 " "	$7 a day = 21 " "
Lawyer	$5 a case = 2 " "	$10 a case = 30 " "

Mr. Southworth has taken the average prices given by the American Almanac,

general of industry; at times the officer may move a little ahead of his troops to lead them against a foe, but he will never allow them to march on and on while he lies still or moves in the opposite direction, seeing his soldiers demoralized by his distance from them and making no effort to overtake them.

Falling prices are disastrous, whether they result from the movement of business and invention while gold stands still, or from the movement of gold while business stands still, or

---

but even if the very conservative averages of Prof. Ridpath are taken for the calculation, the results still show that while the farmer has continually greater difficulty in obtaining the means of livelihood, the "upper classes," as they are called, obtain 6 to 8 times as much wealth in return for their services as they did in Lincoln's time.

The contrast is not by any means confined to wheat. Some of Mr. Southworth's other figures are as follows:

	Lincoln's yearly salary 1864 to 1868 would buy at average New York prices	Harrison's salary 1892 would buy
Corn	18,248 bushels.	100,000 bushels.
Cotton	132,275 lbs.	625,000 lbs.
Wool	48,356 "	166,666 "
Rice	110 tons.	960 tons.
Butter	68,870 lbs.	250,000 lbs.
Sugar, raw	193,708 "	1,111,111 "
Mess pork	959 barrels.	5,263 barrels.
" beef	1,042 "	6,060 "

Mr. Southworth remarks that in the early period from 1864 to 1868, when the people were comparatively free from private debt, $100 for payment of interest or principal could be obtained with 40 bushels of wheat, while now, when the people are weighed with debt, it takes 2 or 3 hundred bushels to get the same number of dollars that used to be bought with 40 bushels.

One cause of falling prices is currency contraction. Some years ago an eminent economist went over the history of industrial crises, and found that a contraction of the currency was an antecedent factor in every panic that had occurred up to his time (Asa Walker's Political Economy) — not always the initial cause, not always the principal cause, but always present as at least a part cause of the crises. During the Rebellion the currency expanded, prices rose, and prosperity was great. Contraction began with the National Banking Act of 1863, which provided for retiring greenbacks and issuing national bank notes — $90,000 in bank notes for every $100,000 of currency cremated — a contraction of 10 % on the whole volume of currency, used in supplying a basis for the national banks, though population and business were growing all the time. But this was only the prelude. The curtain rose on the real contraction act April 12, 1866, when it was enacted that the Secretary of the Treasury should be authorized to sell 5-20 bonds and with the proceeds retire United States currency. The following table depicts the results:

Year.	Amount taken from circulation.	No. of Failures.	Liabilities.
1863	———	495	$7,899,000
1864	———	520	8,579,000
1865	———	530	17,625,000
1866	$41,200,000	1,505	53,782,000
1867	101,778,000	2,386	86,218,000
1868	473,000,000	2,608	63,774,000
1869	500,000,000	2,799	75,054,900
1870	67,000,000	3,551	88,242,000
1871	35,000,000	2,915	85,250,000
1872	12,000,000	4,069	121,058,000
1873	1,609,000	5,183	228,499,000
1874	74,484,000	5,832	155,238,000
1875	40,817,000	7,740	201,060,000
1876	85,000,000	9,092	191,000,000

National bank notes partly supplied the place of the retired currency, but the absolute contraction remaining was still large, and the consequent fall of prices and

from the combined effect of the two movements in opposite directions. In a competitive society, falling prices and disaster are inseparable companions regardless of the cause of the falling prices. It is the business of a monetary system to adjust itself to changing conditions so as to maintain a uniform level of prices in reference to the great staple commodities on which our industries are based, in order that injustice to both debtors and creditors may be avoided, and security given to the whole industrial system so far as possible. It is perfectly possible for the currency to fulfil this

---

embarrassment of business were so severe that by 1873 the accumulated effects produced a terrible panic from which the country has not even yet entirely recovered. It is said that in 1865 labor was fully employed, but by 1873 about 500,000 men were idle; a year or so later an army of tramps began to travel, and three years later there were more than a million of them on our highways and another million of idle workmen in our homes.

Some of our foremost financiers, including John Sherman, vividly predicted the ruin that would follow the contraction of the currency incident to the scheme for resuming specie payments. The United States Monetary Commission of 1876 thoroughly investigated the panic of 1873, and concluded that it was caused by the contraction of the currency and consequent fall of prices The Commission says:

"However great the natural resources of the country, however genial its climate, fertile its soil, ingenious and enterprising its inhabitants, or free its institutions, if the volume of money is shrinking and prices are falling, its merchants will be overwhelmed with bankruptcy, its industries will be paralyzed, and destitution and distress will prevail."

General Ewing, in a strong speech in Congress 17 years ago, estimated that the depreciation of values due to contraction amounted to ⅓ of the whole, and that the resumption law constituted a practical confiscation of $3,500,000,000 of property.

The loss to the laboring classes was $3,000,000 a day, or more than $900,000,000 a year.

In recent years, although the currency has not contracted absolutely, but on the contrary has increased in volume, yet it has not increased sufficiently to keep pace with business and changing conditions of production, so that prices have continued to fall, and the industrial thermometer, though showing slight yearly movements up and down, has on the whole persisted in a downward course.

Speaking of the post-contraction period in England, 1819 to 1845, the historian Alison says: "There never was a period in which a greater amount of financial embarrassment has been experienced by the Government or more widespread and acute suffering endured by the people. Wages were in many trades low, employment difficult, suffering general, and yet the period was one of great increase in material resources. It may safely be affirmed that the anxiety and distress which were felt during this brilliant period of natural growth have never been surpassed. The distress among the mercantile classes for years after the dreadful crisis of 1825 — of the agricultural interests during the low prices of 1832-35, and of the whole community from 1837 to 1842 — was extreme. The extraordinary fact has now been revealed by statistical researches that in an age of unbounded wealth and general and long-continued peace, a seventh part of the whole inhabitants of the British Isles are in a state of destitution, while 70,000 persons have among them an income of 200 million pounds or $14,000 each per year. Frightful strikes occurred. Crime made unexampled progress, serious detected offences having multiplied sevenfold while population increased but 70%. — with rapid growth of wealth and great effort at instruction crime has augumented 10 times as fast as the numbers of the people. The coexistence of so much suffering in one part of the people with so much prosperity in another is unparalleled. Capital exists to profusion, labor adequate to any expansion of industry is at hand, yet millions are pining for employment." Mr. Alison examines the various theories advanced to account for the above situation (so like the story of our own country since the beginning of contraction here), and finally concludes that "the contraction of the currency which was unnecessarily made to accompany the resumption of cash payments has been the chief cause of all these effects." Contraction and falling prices oppress the poor, ruin the middle classes, and increase the power and affluence of many of the wealthy. Those who control large amounts of money are able to take advantage of the distress of others to accumulate vast property for themselves, the power of the dollar and its possessors is increased, the congestion of wealth into the hands of a few materially favored, and the industrial interests of the nation in every way disastrously affected. Contraction and its sister, failure of due expansion, are among the most powerful, insidious, and, to the masses of the people, unrecognizable causes of evil that exist in this world of mischief.

purpose by increasing in volume in proportion to the progress of business and invention. From 1850 to 1866 art and invention and business grew marvellously, yet prices did not fall; on the contrary, they rose. After a period of falling prices it may be best that the currency should move a little ahead of business so that a period of rising prices may follow until unemployed labor is reabsorbed and then return to the purpose of maintaining a level average of prices.

The recent issue of 262 millions of bonds in time of peace illustrates another serious evil of the present monetary system. The necessity the Government is under of redeeming greenbacks in gold upon demand enables scheming men to draw large amounts of gold from the treasury and then say to the Government, "Your reserve is getting low; you must have gold or you will be in danger of failure to keep your promise in respect to specie payments; issue bonds and get the gold back again." So the schemers get bonds for their gold, sell the bonds at a premium, take the greenbacks they get for the bonds and draw the gold out of the treasury again, till the Government is frightened into a new issue of bonds, and so on in an endless chain, with a premium profit for Wall Street on every issue of bonds, and nothing but accumulating debt for the nation. When bonds are issued in time of war the Government gets a substantial equivalent, but these millions of bonds that are issued to keep up the gold reserve have secured to the people nothing at all of any real worth to them. The speculators rendered no service to the Government; they simply drew out gold in order to speculate on the bonds that would be issued to get it back. The Government might start with thirty millions of gold in the treasury and, through the repetition of the above process, issue a billion of bonds, and at the end be just where it started, with thirty millions of gold in the treasury, and not a thing to show for the billion of debt but the keeping of a foolish promise that is of little advantage to any one except the schemers who have found out how to gear it to a bond-printing press and make it turn the people's millions into their coffers as fast as they dare to turn on the current.

The danger and injustice of the present system is clear. The question is how to correct it. The popular answer seems to be, "Silver, — free coinage of silver at 16 to 1;" in other words, put silver where it was prior to 1873, so that any one who takes 371¼ grains of silver to the mint can have

it coined into a dollar, the gold dollar containing 23.22 grains of pure gold, or $\frac{1}{16}$ of the weight of pure silver above named. This plan has some advantages and some disadvantages.

In the first place the coinage of silver at 16 to 1 will probably drive gold to a premium, and our 5 or 6 hundred millions of gold money will mostly desert us. It is true that during three-quarters of this century, from 1800 to 1873, the ratio between gold and silver remained substantially stationary, being within a fraction of 16 to 1 year after year and decade after decade, although the relative output per year varied from less than 30 cents' worth of gold for each $1 worth of silver to $2.60 worth of gold for each $1 worth of silver, or, measuring by weight, the output varied from 6 ounces of silver for each ounce of gold mined the same year to 56 ounces of silver for each ounce of gold.[3]

In 1873, however, the ratio began a steep ascent, and silver now stands at 30 to 1. The reason that the two metals kept the same ratio under such diverse conditions of production lay in the fact that the free coinage of both created a demand for both that, in reference to mining possibilities, was practically unlimited. When silver was demonetized the demand for it greatly diminished; instead of commercial demand plus monetary demand there was left only the commercial demand. At the same time the monetary demand for gold was intensified, since it had to do duty for silver as well as itself; the result was that gold rose in value and silver sank. If the monetary demand for silver were re-established, silver would rise in value; if it were re-established in the chief nations of Europe as well as in America, it would again become possible to keep the two metals at a ratio close to 16 to 1. But if silver is remonetized only in America, leaving gold alone in possession of the monetary demand of western Europe, it seems likely that the great disparity of demand for the two metals which will still exist in the civilized world will prevent silver from fully recovering its former position in reference to gold. Impartial students of the question believe that American remonetization would bring silver up to about 20 to 1, in which case the intrinsic value of a silver dollar would be about $\frac{4}{5}$ of the value of the present gold dollar. A gold dollar melted would

[3] For the facts in respect to variations of output and ratio most admirably tabulated, see the speech of Hon. Chas. A. Towne of Minnesota in the House of Representatives, Feb. 8, 1896. See also Atkinson's "Bimetallism" and the files of the *Bimetallist* and the *American*.

then be worth about 20 cents more than its coin value, and gold would go out of circulation, except so far as it might be bought at a premium in order to pay interest or principal on obligations expressly payable in gold. The loss of our gold money may cause temporary trouble, although not as much as might at first appear, for the reasons that only a small portion of the gold is in actual circulation, and that even if it were all in circulation, the knowledge of a rapid influx of silver would do much to prevent the fall of prices that would ordinarily result from such a shrinkage of the currency. It must be remembered that we don't certainly *know* what gold will do. In 1878 great financiers predicted that the coinage of 50 millions of silver under the Bland Bill would drive our gold across the sea; yet we have put 548 millions of silver into circulation in specie or certificates under the limited coinage acts of 1878 and 1890, and from 1878 to 1892, the period of most rapid coinage of silver, we imported 100% more gold than we exported, whereas, since the practical stoppage of silver coinage in 1891, we have exported $231\frac{1}{2}$ millions of gold in excess of our imports. The probability is, however, that the *free and unlimited* coinage of silver will have a different effect from limited coinage in respect to the movement of gold. The limited coinage bills did not permit the Government to pay its bonds and redeem the whole currency in silver; gold remained the base in chief, the ruling standard of value; but free and unlimited coinage of silver will change the base to silver entirely, for a time at least, since silver is cheaper at 16 to 1 than gold, and even the great additional demand consequent on opening the mints to silver can hardly be expected to lift it from 30 to 1 to a level with gold at 16 to 1 so long as the mints of Europe are free to gold only and the relative production of gold and silver remains substantially as at present.

So long as we have an unlimited demand for both gold and silver while Europe has an unlimited demand for gold only, it is likely that silver will come to us and gold will go to Europe. I do not see anything alarming in this, however. Gold has been going to Europe pretty fast in recent years anyway, and the movement will become less dangerous rather than more so when silver is pouring from the mint to take its place. Moreover, if 5 or 6 hundred millions of gold emigrates to Europe rapidly, it will be apt to raise prices and develop industry in Europe thereby creating a new demand for

our products and indirectly benefiting us far more than the gold in our vaults.

On the other hand, I see no reason to fear any tremendous inflation of silver. A very large part of the population of the globe use silver money; even Europe has over a billion of silver money coined at $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, a higher ratio than ours. No doubt mining will be stimulated and a good part of the yearly product will come to us together with considerable amounts of bullion, etc., now in existence. But there seems no reason to fear an avalanche; the very necessity of minting and the time consumed therein will prevent the extremely violent inflation predicted by some, mostly those who seem to be anxious to find something to be scared about. The idea that free silver will debase our currency to one-half its present value is also without foundation. It would do so if silver remained at its present value, but it will not remain at its present value, when the present commercial demand is increased by an unlimited monetary demand.

In the second place, free coinage at 16 to 1 means a munificent gift to the owners of silver. Those who are first in the procession to the mints will receive a full dollar's worth at present prices for each 53 cents' worth of silver they offer for coinage. As prices rise the profit will become less, but it is thought by high authorities that the purchasing power of the silver dollar will not fall below 80 or perhaps 85 cents of the present standard, so that even the owners of silver do not go early to mint — the owners of silver mines, for example — will be legislated into a clear profit of 50%, an unearned increment of one-half. The free-coinage law will increase the value of silver mines 50%; and if it is bad policy to legislate millions to Wall Street via an issue of bonds, it seems equally wrong to legislate millions to mine-owners.

In the third place, free silver means injustice respecting all debts contracted under the present standard. It is just that the man who borrowed in 1870 should pay in silver if he chooses, but the man who borrowed last year ought to pay in last year's money; if he is allowed to pay in silver his creditor is cheated as much as the debtor of 1870 is cheated by compelling him to pay in gold. The gold dollar is dishonest in respect to such a debtor, and the silver dollar will be dishonest in respect to recent debts. The gold dollar is a 200-cent dollar in respect to former debts, and the silver coin will be a 53 to 85 cent dollar in respect to recent debts. If

your brother borrows 100 yards of cloth of you, and before he comes to return it you legislate the yard-stick up to 72 inches in place of 36, so that he has to give you twice as much cloth as you lent him, you would do just what legislation and conditions have done with the gold measure; and if the borrower legislated the yard-stick down to 19 or 29 inches before he paid back the cloth, he would do just what free silver will do with the dollar in respect to recent debts payable by those in present possession of silver or by general creditors respectively. The probability seems to be that free silver will bring back the prices of 1892 or 1893. From April, 1893, to April, 1896, debts were scaled up 18%. If the silver dollar rose to 82 cents of the present standard it would put things back where they were at the beginning of 1893, doing some injustice to creditors of 1893 to 1896, giving debtors of 1892 their rights, and affording partial relief to debtors of longer standing.

In the fourth place, wages and salaries will be scaled down by free silver. Prices will rise sooner than wages, and the workman will get less for his day's work than he gets now. The ultimate effect upon labor, however, will be beneficial through the stimulation of industry, the increase of employment, and the consequent rise of wages.

The great advantage of free silver lies in the fact that it will introduce an era of expanding currency and rising prices in place of the falling market that has so long depressed us. Although the immediate effect of free silver may be to lessen the volume of the currency by driving our gold away, yet very soon the influx of silver will more than make good the loss of the gold and the volume will rapidly expand.[4] The

[4] I hear it said sometimes by men who regard the world and the English language simply as accessories of the gold standard and means for its defence, that free silver will mean a contraction of the currency to the extent of at least 700 millions of purchasing power, 500 millions of gold lost, and the remainder of our 1,500 millions depreciated 20% or more; and as the world's total production of silver is only about 200 millions a year, they say it would take 3 years and a half to bring the currency up to its present volume even if all the gold produced comes to our mints, which it will hardly do, since much of it will be needed in the arts. There is some weight in this argument, but it is greatly exaggerated. There is a vast amount of silver already mined which would come to the mints under the stimulus of 50 to 100 % profit. It is estimated that 800 millions would quickly come from foreign countries, and there are considerable quantities in America. There are 450 millions in the United States vaults which could be used to replace the gold; most of it could be put into circulation. A small part of it as a reserve would be sufficient to float the currency just as it is with the gold standard. Then the mining of silver would be immensely stimulated, and it is quite probable that a good deal of silver here and abroad that is not in the form either of money or bullion would be melted up and taken to the mints. At one time prior to 1873, when silver had still the right of free coinage, its production was so small compared with that of gold that it went to a slight premium above the existing ratio — a premium of 3 cents on a dollar. The result was that silversmiths melted up the dollars because the silver they could get out of a silver

consequence will be that prices will rise, commerce and manufactures will be encouraged, labor will be in demand, many who are unemployed will get work, competition for employment will become less severe, wages will rise, and, in the end, workingmen will be benefited as well as merchants and manufacturers.[5]

Debtors who have been wronged by the shrinkage of prices will secure at least a partial justice and be able to pay off their notes and mortgages with something like a fair equivalent for what they got when they borrowed.

These are great advantages, and I do not wonder that the farmers of the West and South believe them weighty enough to overbalance all the possible evils of free silver. It must be admitted, however, that these evils are not insignificant. Even the expansion of the currency, the great benefit free

---

dollar was 3 % more than the silver bullion they could buy for a dollar. It is fair to suppose that a premium of 50 to 100 % in favor of money would bring the melting-pot into requisition the other way round, and silver utensils and ornaments, especially of the plainer sort, will be melted for the mint.

[5] That a gradual and moderate increase in the volume of money at a rate of increase exceeding the growth of business and invention tends to elevate prices and stimulate industry is fundamental in political economy. John Stuart Mill, McCulloch, Jevons, Ricardo, Bonamy Price, Francis Walker, and many other eminent authorities clearly affirm and fully illustrate the principle.

The currency volume may be enlarged without lifting prices, for the opposing tendencies of increasing business and improved production may overcome the lifting tendencies of expanding money volume. And even when the expansion exceeds the development of business and invention, the habits of the people in respect to the use of money may change so as to neutralize wholly or in part the price-lifting power of the overlapping expansion. The very increase of money may increase the demand for it; people have been getting along without it, but when it comes it finds an appetite fully equal to the banquet. Notwithstanding all this the tendency of expanding currency is to raise prices. A given expansion may not raise prices in proportion, may not raise them at all, because opposing forces neutralize the lifting effect, or may even fail to prevent a fall of prices because the expansion was not sufficient to cancel the power of opposing influences; but expansion tends all the while to produce a rising market, just as the buoyancy of the air tends to produce ascent though gravity may overcome it. A contracting currency or a currency that fails to increase as fast as business and production develop, tends to cause falling prices, and an expanding currency that grows faster than business and invention tends to raise prices, and will surely do so if the expansion is continued with sufficient vigor and persistence.

In the 16th and 17th centuries the silver discoveries of South America enormously increased the volume of the precious metals, prices rose materially and marked prosperity resulted. In his "History of the Precious Metals" Mr. Jacob concludes that the increase of the money supply during the first generations after the discovery of America amounted to about 500 %, and that prices rose almost in the same degree. Subsequent investigations have reduced the estimate of price change, Prof. Leslie deciding that prices rose about 200 %. The new silver gave the people the habit of using more money, population was growing all the time, old industries were developed and new ones started, so that the increased demand for money absorbed a part of its potency, leaving but 40 % to become effective in raising prices.

In 1850 the simultaneous discovery of the gold mines of California and Australia poured a flood of gold into the markets of the world, and the result was a gradual rise of prices and large prosperity.

During the American Revolution the Continental Congress issued fund after fund till 18 millions of silver were replaced by over 300 millions of paper. The expansion was too great and too rapid; prices rose till a colonel's pay would scarcely buy oats for his horse; they rose too fast. The money waves came so fast and so large that instead of stimulating industry they abused and maltreated it like one who attempts to bathe in the surf when the waves are high with storm.

In the Rebellion the North was careful to issue new money in moderate volumes, prices gradually rose and industry was energized as never before. The South, on the contrary, issued its money too fast, and in the later years of the war the over-issue, together with the probability of the collapse of the Confederacy and its consequent

silver offers, is not likely to come in the gradual way that such expansion ought to come. There will be first a sudden contraction of half a billion or more, and then a very rapid expansion to an unknown extent. These sudden changes are bad; jolts are no better for a nation than for an individual; to fall over a precipice or go up in a cyclone is not altogether wholesome for a man or for society. Moreover, when the climax has been reached prices will begin to fall again, and Wall Street syndicates will begin to play with silver as they do with gold to-day. It is true that since 1873 the price of silver has kept pretty nearly even with the average of commodity prices, falling as they fell, but it must be remembered that silver monetized cannot be expected to behave like silver demonetized. Remonetization will vastly increase the demand for silver and lift its value materially.

---

inability to enforce the legal-tender quality of its paper, caused such an abnormal rise of prices that it took $1,200 to buy a pair of boots in Richmond.

In the French Revolution the assignats were issued by tens of thousands of millions of francs and prices again rose too fast.

During the early years of the Napoleonic wars (1793–1797) England was in a most alarming condition. Her money had fled (as our money did at the breaking out of the Rebellion, as metallic money always does in time of calamity), a financial stringency crippled her business, a panic swept over her commerce, and ended in a run on the bank and mutiny in the fleet. The Government was induced to give relief by loans to the business classes, and was at last in 1797 compelled to suspend specie payments and rely entirely on a paper currency. Immediately the business of the nation revived, and for 18 years England enjoyed unparalleled prosperity in spite of the heavy drain of the war. And she might have retained her industrial glory forever had she retained the policy of supplying the people with an abundant currency and raising revenue by a heavy income tax and continued the public employment and direction of all the surplus labor in the country, not in army and navy as during the war, but in the construction of roads, parks, buildings, and all manner of public improvements. But in 1816 she demonetized silver for amounts beyond $10, provided for the resumption of specie payments by a bill passed in 1819, and in preparation therefor began to fund the paper currency into public bonds. Prices immediately began to fall. Profits and wages declined. Riots broke out in manufacturing towns, and agricultural laborers burned cornstacks and hayricks, for which some of them were hanged. The ruined farmers petitioned the Government for loans at low interest, based on land and crops, but they were told the trouble was with the tariff; but years of tariff and no tariff were alike disastrous. Prices fell 30 to 40% and harvests were abundant, yet the laboring classes were unable to get bread. The net results of the contraction and accompanying fall of prices were wreckage, poverty, decades of misery, enormous growth of the fortunes of the wealthy, and ruin of all others. The story is told with so much power by the historian Alison that I will quote a few sentences from "England in 1815 and 1845." Speaking of the period of expansion from the suspension of specie payments to the beginning of contraction, he says: "The next 18 years were the most glorious and, taken as a whole, the most prosperous which Great Britain had ever known. Ushered in by a combination of circumstances the most calamitous, both with reference to external security and internal industry, it terminated in a blaze of glory and a flood of prosperity which has never since the beginning of the world descended upon any nation. Agriculture, commerce, and manufacture had increased in unparalleled ratio, the landed proprietors were in affluence, and wealth to an unheard-of extent had been created among the farmers." Every class in the community, you see, had prospered under expansion.

In his "Essay on Money" David Hume wrote:

"It is certain that, since the descovery of the mines in America, industry has increased in all the nations of Europe, except in the possessors of the mines; and this may be justly ascribed, among other reasons, to the increase of gold and silver.

"Accordingly we feel that, in every kingdom into which money begins to flow in greater abundance than formerly, everything takes a new face; labor and industry gain life, — the merchant becomes more enterprising, the manufacturer more diligent and skilful, and even the farmer follows his plough with greater alacrity and attention."

Commenting upon these passages Francis Walker says.

"I think that in the foregoing remarks Mr. Hume even understates the advantage

The closing of the mints of India changed the value of silver from 70 to 50 cents in four days, and there is little doubt that the opening of the mints of the United States will lift it from 53 to 80 or perhaps 85 cents. The growth of population and business will continually intensify the monetary demand for silver, while education, invention, discovery, and industrial combination continually diminish the cost of commodities. At the same time capitalistic schemers will try to control the mines and corner the bullion, and there is little doubt that after a time falling prices will begin again with all their distressing consequences.

It is frequently urged against free silver that it will interfere with foreign trade; our money will not be good in Europe, they say, if they have the gold standard and we have silver or bimetallism. This objection appears to have little weight. It is not necessary that our money should be

---

of a metallic inflation. In addition to all which he alleges, there is the important consideration of the effect of such a cause upon the burden of existing indebtedness, both public and private. The world is always in bonds to the generations that have preceded. The industry, the activity, the enterprise of the generation upon the stage are heavily weighted by obligations to the past. These obligations cannot be repudiated, they cannot be intentionally lightened by act of government, under impulse from the debtor class, without social and economic retributions that will produce a mischief far outweighing any benefits which may be in view in such ill advised measures. But when the effect is brought about by natural means, if not too sudden and violent in operation, I believe it to be wholly beneficial and harmonious economically. That the great silver discoveries of the 16th and 17th centuries, diminishing the weight of feudal burdens, cutting down the effective revenues of existing dynasties, and reducing the weight of obligations derived from the past, had an influence wholly in addition to that mentioned by Mr. Hume, in not only extending commercial activity, but lifting society and industry to a new and higher plane, seems to be beyond question."

One remark in this paragraph may need explanation, perhaps criticism. It is true that a just obligation of the same weight that it was at the start ought not to be lightened by law at the impulse of the debtor acting from selfish motives, but it is not true that obligations which have increased in weight should not be reduced to their original weight by act of law, nor is it true that any law diminishing the pressure of the past would not be justifiable if the motive of those enacting it was the public good. If it is a good thing to have the burden of existing indebtedness lightened by chance, then it is a good thing to lighten the burden by intelligent action provided the motive is really the public welfare and not selfish advantage.

President Walker also says in "Economic Studies," vol. i., No. 1, already referred to:

"With a moderate progressive increase of the money supply and a general upward tendency of prices, it can hardly fail to result that the man of business, whether manufacturer or merchant, will be readier to assume the initiative, will be more courageous and hopeful, will display greater enterprise and energy, that when prices are falling.

M. Chevalier says that the increase of money aids those who live by present labor and hurts those who live by past labor, and is "progress." J. R. McCulloch says that inflation lightens principal and interest of public debt, and he favors a gradual reduction of the burden of debts, through natural increase of precious metals, to promote industry, and diminish the obligations which press on the producing classes. While, like a fall of rain after a long course of dry weather, it may be prejudicial to certain classes, it is beneficial to an incomparably greater number, including all who are actively engaged in industrial pursuits, and is, speaking generally, of great public or national advantage."

Prof. W. Stanley Jevons says ("Investigations into Currency and Finance," pp. 96-7.):

"I cannot but agree with McCulloch that, putting out of sight individual cases of hardship, if such exist, a fall in the value of gold must have, and I should say has had already a most powerfully beneficial effect. It loosens a country, as nothing else could, from its old bonds of debt and habit. It throws increased rewards before all who are making and acquiring wealth, sometimes at the expense of those who are enjoying acquired wealth. It excites the active and skilful classes of the community to new exertions."

good in Europe; foreign commerce is carried on by means of bills of exchange. Balances are settled with commodities, when gold is used it is used as a commodity, not as money; as bullion, not as coin. It could be used in the same way no matter what sort of a home-currency we had. If it could not be had in this country, a cargo of wheat, beef, cotton, or other commodity could be sent over the sea, sold in Europe for coin or bullion or bills, and the debt settled with that. Such shipments of commodities are the fundamental facts in international commerce. It is upon such facts that bills of exchange are based. Foreign exchanges would go on all right without an ounce of gold. A change to free silver will make our demand for silver greater than the demand in Europe, and our demand for gold less than the demand in Europe; wherefore silver will come to us and gold will go from us. Until wages rise in equal proportion with the rise of prices, free silver will give our manufacturers a greater advantage in foreign markets than they now possess. But ultimately, when conditions have had time to adjust themselves to the new system, our foreign commerce will show no change or very little change in consequence of free silver. Our foreign trade is only 4% of our whole business at any rate, and is of small importance compared to our internal affairs. In respect to the use of money in other lands, there is little room for doubting that after gold and silver have readjusted themselves and reached an equilibrium our money will be taken in Europe at the same value it has here; and if it were not so it will always be easy to obtain letters of credit, which are in fact at present the ordinary means of obtaining funds and making payments while journeying in foreign lands.

Another objection far more serious is the belief of many wealthy and influential men, even among the wisest and best, that the motive of free silver is confiscation, that it means great disturbance and possible panic, and that it is the first step in a campaign of anarchy and ruin.[6] It is difficult

[6] If the uncontradicted newspaper reports of Andrew D. White's letters and interviews truly represent him, he has gone to absurd extremes, asserting that the free coinage of silver is confiscation, anarchy, and socialism. When Andrew D. White was president of Cornell University, he was regarded as a man of high intelligence and upright character. His address called "The Message of the Nineteenth Century to the Twentieth" is one of the noblest things in the language, calling attention to the national danger of allowing the pursuit of wealth to become the ideal of our youth; but if President White really wrote the letter ascribed to him he must have lost one or other of the fine qualities above mentioned. A man of high intelligence would know in the first place that anarchy and socialism are precise opposites, and that no single idea or measure could be both anarchistic and socialistic at the same time; and a man of high character would not endeavor to frighten the people

to understand how men of high intelligence and liberal thought can hold such views, but the fact that they do constitutes another danger in the path of silver. If the capitalists of the East cannot be made to see that the motives of the free-silver movement on the part of the bulk of the people at least is justice and not confiscation, public policy for the whole country and not simply class legislation, they may go to great lengths in their opposition and in their efforts to render free coinage of no avail. A small group of great capitalists can at any time by acting in concert in the withdrawal of loans, tying up money, manipulating stocks and bonds and and gold, flooding the market with securities, produce a flurry or a panic. And even without concerted design, if capital believes free silver will cause a panic, that of itself is one strong reason to fear that it may cause a panic — such belief and free silver together may bring a panic, though free silver in a reasonable community might have no such effect. At the worst, however a panic would not last — the rise of prices would speedily check it and turn the tide of affairs toward prosperity.

As to the predicted deluge of American securities from Europe, I do not think it probable — there may be an effort to sell American stocks, but if any large mass is put on the market the price will fall and the majority of holders will then withdraw their securities, knowing that if they insist on

by the use of a parcel of scareful words which he knew were falsely applied. A politician might do that, but a wise, fair-minded man would tell the people how and why he thought free silver would do harm, and rely upon their sense of justice to do the right thing.

So far as confiscation is concerned, it is true that free silver will injure the owners of recently contracted obligations; but no law was ever passed for the public good that did not injure some individuals or some class of individuals, and the confiscation caused by free silver will be but a drop in the bucket to the confiscation that has been caused by the gold standard, or to the confiscation that will be prevented from consummation by the coinage of silver.

If a debtor votes for silver believing that it will release him from a just indebtedness, and that belief constitutes the motive of his vote, he is a scoundrel and a repudiator; but if he believes that silver will simply reduce his debt to its original size, and prevent his creditor from getting more than his due, his ballot is that of an honest man; and if in addition he thinks free silver will change depression to prosperity and benefit the country as a whole, his vote is the vote of a patriot.

Suppose that you should borrow 100 yards of cloth from me, which I should measure off with a yard-stick 36 inches long, and before you returned the cloth I should legislate the yard-stick up to 72 inches, or should fail to enact proper measures to check a tendency of the stick to expand, so that by deliberate fraud or by unprevented expansion the yard-stick came to be 72 inches long, and when you brought back your 100 yards of cloth, as long a piece as you had borrowed, I said, "That won't do; you'll have to get some more cloth; that's only half enough," and you at last puzzled out what was the matter and discovered that the yard-stick had increased in length, and you said, "This is all wrong; if you did it intentionally it is a fraud; and if you did not intend this result it will still be a fraud for you to insist on receiving twice as much as you gave; I shall write a few words on the statute book that will reduce that yard-stick to its former dimensions." Would you not be justified in such action? I think you would, and I believe that the farmers of the West and South do not intend to vote for confiscation, but for justice and the public good. Their self-interest coincides on the whole with equity and the welfare of the nation, and their votes will be the votes of righteous men.

selling they will get little or nothing, while if they wait till the new silver can make itself felt the renaissance of business will swell the profits of the railroads and other enterprises and their stocks will be worth more than ever. It is dividends and earning power, not the gold standard, that constitute the value of railway stock. If Europe *should* insist on getting rid of large blocks of American stock, why, our own people can buy them at a low figure, bringing back the ownership of our industries to this country, and keeping the profits of the subsequent rise of values on American soil.

One of the strongest reasons for wishing success to the free-silver movement is that it will clear the air and will put in office the representatives of the producing classes. The West and South, the most progressive part of our people, have become convinced that in free silver lies their hope; until they have tried it they will think of little else, so that it will be a good thing to get the silver question settled in order that other burning questions may have a chance to secure the attention they merit. At the best silver cannot cure the evils of monopoly. The monopolist can fix his own prices whatever your currency may be; he will tax you his hundreds of millions a year just the same with silver as with gold. Free silver will not make the Government honest, nor destroy partisanship and political roguery, nor abolish the slums, nor overcome the liquor traffic, nor free our country from the aristocracy of wealth. Even in respect to the redistribution of labor free silver can do but little compared with what ought to be done. The main cause of panic and depression was not the demonetization of silver, but the lack of any intelligent method of redistributing labor displaced by combinations or inventions and the absence of any intelligent plan of adjusting the movement of the volume of the currency to the movement of business. Every invention throws men out of work, so does the formation of trusts and combinations. There is plenty of work to be done if those who want work would go to the right place and do the right thing; but labor has much inertia. Every man wants to go back to work at the old trade and in the same place or near it, and he sits down and waits for something to turn up. Free silver will stimulate industry for a time and give a little temporary relief, but it does not go to the root of the trouble, nor will it supply any adequate means of adjusting the movement of the volume of our currency with the movement of

business. The diffusion of wealth by wise taxation, etc., the protection of children from vicious influences, there distribution of displaced labor, and the elevation of our laboring classes, the purification of government, the removal of private monopoly in land, transportation, and the means of production, a better system of banking, railroading, telegraphing, — all these and others of the great questions of the day may get a proper hearing when free silver is disposed of.

On the whole it appears that the rise of prices and consequent stimulation of industry so that it may be able to climb out of the slough of depression in which it has wallowed so long, together with the hope that the victory of free silver will clear the air and allow the problems of monopoly, good government, etc., to come to the front, at the same time turning the plutocrats out of office, or at least replacing the present incumbents with men more fully in sympathy with the people's interests, constitute sufficient reasons to wish that silver may carry the day, in spite of the temporary dangers, disadvantages, and injustices incident to the change. It seems, however, exceedingly unfortunate that the attention of the people should have been directed to silver so strongly as it has. As between free silver and a continuance of the present monetary system, the silver is probably preferable if we look to remote as well as to immediate results; but if we ask the broader question, "What sort of a monetary system should we adopt?" free silver is not the answer any more than free gold.

Under a strong and stable government able to enforce its legal-tender laws the most important monetary fact is the movement of the volume of the currency; control of this movement means the control of prices, and the control of prices involves the power to command prosperity or panic.[7] A matter of such moment should not be left to chance or private manipulation. Free gold leaves the volume of the currency to be determined by chance and speculation, and therefore leaves prices and prosperity to accident and Wall Street. Free silver will ultimately do the same. A scien-

[7] See notes 2 and 5. It is sometimes said that credit will expand to take the place of money, so that a decrease of the currency does not necessarily affect prices. This may be so in some cases, but as a rule it is, as President Walker remarks, "a question whether the operations of credit are not less active, rather than more active, when contraction of the currency is going on than when the currency is undergoing a moderately progressive increase." ("Economic Studies," vol. i., No. 1, pages 44-5). Contraction depresses business, and men are less willing to give credit, more insistent on cash, when trade is bad and danger is ahead, than when business is brisk and the sea is smooth. Walker, Price, and other leading economists declare that the credit system may modify but does not destroy the relation between currency volume and price, there being a large field of exchange in which cash and credit are required.

tific money needs more than a gold or silver or bimetallic base; it needs intelligent regulation of the movement of the volume of the currency in reference to the movement of business, so as to keep the average of agricultural, commercial, manufacturing prices at a uniform level, or on a gradual upward slope when necessary to overcome depression and industrial disturbance.

Again, it is unwise for the nation to promise to redeem its money in any one commodity or any two commodities. Two are better than one, but twenty, thirty, forty, etc., are better than two. The moment the Government promises to redeem in one specific commodity, schemers will begin to speculate in that commodity, trying to corner it, seeking to establish an endless chain of bond issues and speculative profit, endeavoring to enhance its value by controlling its production, etc., so as to increase the value of the debts that are owing to them. The nation should not promise payment in gold or silver or any other specified commodity, but should simply guarantee the holders of national greenbacks that a dollar in United States currency shall pay for a dollar's worth of taxes or government service, shall buy a dollar's worth of *any* commodity that is in the market, and shall cancel a dollar's worth of debt public or private, — shall be, in other words, a full legal tender without exception, and shall be enforced as such in every court of justice in the land.

It is also unwise to dig silver and gold out of the ground at enormous cost in order that the precious product may be used for a purpose that can be answered as well or better by a product that is almost costless. Paper at less than 1 cent an ounce will do the work of money better than gold worth more than $20 an ounce. Is it not folly to coin the gold and bury it in vaults, or scatter it over the world in the fine dust that wears from its surface as it passes from hand to hand and counter to counter? Better reserve the gold for purposes paper cannot serve, — beautiful watch-cases, fine table service, etc., where it will last practically forever.

It appears that a wise monetary system would include (1) a national currency redeemable in service, a full legal tender in every market and for every debt, adjusted to the movement of business by means of intelligent regulation of its volume, and beyond the reach of accident or private manipulation;[8]

[8] Metallic money may be used together with paper, and it may possess an "intrinsic" value equal to its coin value or it may not; the important matters are that the volume of the currency should be intelligently regulated in the public interest,

(2) a system of postal savings banks, wherein the savings of the people would be absolutely safe, and from which the farmer could borrow money on his land at the same rate of interest that a banker pays when he borrows on his

---

and that the nation should not promise to redeem in one or two specific commodities subject to private control. If it is thought best to retain metallic redemption, then the nation should become the owner of the gold and silver mines, so that it may be able to protect its currency from speculation. But in truth metallic redemption is unnecessary and unwise; the use of "intrinsic" money for domestic business is a needless waste; paper money and alloy with commodity redemption or labor redemption will do exactly as well and better if the volume is properly regulated.

John Stuart Mill and Ricardo, Bonamy Price, and President Walker, in fact the whole line of leading political economists expressly declare that neither intrinsic value nor redemption in coin is necessary to constitute good money, it being perfectly easy for any stable government to maintain the exchange value of paper money by making it a legal tender and regulating its volume. (See Mill's Polit. Econ. and Walker's "Advanced Course," where the conclusions of Price, Ricardo, and other eminent economists are cited.)

Those who oppose a paper currency containing no promise to pay gold or silver are fond of calling it "irredeemable," but that is a very misleading description; it is redeemable in service, for the nation promises to take every dollar of it in payment for a dollar's worth of governmental service, — that is involved in making the paper receivable for taxes; it is redeemable in commodities, for the nation agrees that its courts shall enforce every dollar of it as full legal tender for a dollar's worth of anything in the market and for the payment of a dollar's debt. *Independent* paper is a truer designation than irredeemable paper.

If the paper is not a *full* legal tender, or if it is issued in too great quantity, or if the Government is tottering and unable to enforce the legal-tender quality, the currency will depreciate in value, as in the case of the French assignats, the Continental currency, the Confederate scrip, etc. Even the North depreciated most of its paper by denying it a full legal-tender quality; it was a legal tender *except* for the payment of duties on imports and interest on the public debt. If you curtail the utilities of the paper you cut down its value, of course, but if you give it full utilities in exchange and do not issue it too fast it will remain at par with gold or above it; it has all the internal exchange utility of gold and consequently all the internal exchange value of gold.

Early in the Rebellion 60 millions of paper were issued without any promise to pay in coin, and yet those 60 millions remained at par with gold all during the war; because they contained no *clause of exception* their legal-tender quality was complete; they were as useful in exchange as gold and therefore had the same exchange value.

Examine one of your silver certificates, of which there are 625 millions in the United States (*Review of Reviews*, July, 1896, page 64, where the currency of the world is tabulated) — you will find that it is redeemable not in gold, but only in silver, the intrinsic value of which is only about half the face of the certificate; yet it circulates at par with gold because it is redeemable in service, it is a legal tender for customs, taxes, etc., and that keeps it at par without reference to the silver in the government vaults, which could not of itself keep the certificate anywhere near par, because it isn't worth anywhere near par itself. If the Government should issue a bit of paper purporting to be a ten-dollar bill and promising to pay the bearer 10 bushels of wheat and to take the bill for $10 worth of taxes, customs, etc., it would be the latter promise that would keep the paper at par and not the promise to pay the wheat. No one would take the note for $10 because it was redeemable with ten bushels of wheat, because ten bushels of wheat are only worth about $5 or $6.

In Pennsylvania from 1723 to 1772 (till England interfered) a paper currency not redeemable in coin was issued from time to time in considerable amounts and did not fall in value. Franklin, Hume, and others who have written accounts of the period declare that it was one of remarkable prosperity, which they attribute to the plan of issuing independent paper in government loans to the holders of land. (For a full account see Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science, May, 1896, Philadelphia.)

Brazil has kept an independent paper currency at par with gold for many years and even sent it to a premium. After the Paraguayan war, Dom Pedro refused to paralyze the country's energies by contracting the circulating medium. Instead of doing that he decided to stimulate them by vigorous expansion (as France did after the Franco-German war), and the consequence was that within 7 years after the war the paper money which had depreciated nearly one-half rose again to par, and even commanded a premium of $1\frac{5}{8}d.$ in gold. It took the United States 15 years to bring its paper to par with gold via the contraction road, while Brazil reached the same goal in less than half that time, by way of the expansion turnpike. Moreover, our people suffered inexpressible hardships during the journey, while hers were never more prosperous and happy. ("The Key Note," Griffin, pp. 98–9.)

Our counties frequently pay the expenses of constructing public works with county scrip receivable for county taxes, and even this paper money with its very limited legal-tender qualities passes at par if not too largely issued. North Carolina

bonds;[9] (3) a non-partisan commission to watch the flux of prices and report to the Government from time to time the adjustments of interest, taxation, and public expenditure neces-

at one time carried 4 or 5 hundred thousands of such scrip at par with gold when only $100,000 was receivable yearly for taxes.

Perhaps the most striking example of what can be done with independent paper money is afforded by the history of the Bank of Venice. For 600 years, until Napoleon conquered the city and overthrew the Government, the Venetian Bank maintained an "irredeemable" paper at or above par with gold in all the leading markets of the world. Its paper was so superior to gold in its convenience and safety that it frequently stood as high as 20% above gold in the great centres of commerce.

In 1171 intrinsic money failed to meet the requirements of the Venetian republic, and a book credit or inscription money was adopted and made full legal tender for all debts public and private. It had no intrinsic value, was not redeemable in gold or silver or coin of any kind, nor was there any promise or expectation of such redemption at any future time; yet for 600 years it did the business of the republic and stood at par with gold or above it not only in Venice but all over the civilized world. There was no panic in the nation in all those 6 centuries, and Venice became and remained the centre of commerce and the clearing-house of the world.

Persons who have not studied the subject nor thought much about it, on hearing an advocate of independent paper, are apt to declare that, history or no history, it is perfectly clear to them that the Government cannot create value, and that paper without gold or silver behind it must be worthless. They fail to recognize that the paper has the whole field of service and commodities behind it, and that they are making a pun on the word value. The Government cannot by stamping paper give it the *intrinsic* value possessed by gold, but it can give it the same *exchange* value, and it is the exchange value that makes gold good money. It is not because gold will make fine watch-cases and table plate that we take it for our labor and goods, but because we know we can exchange it for food, clothing, books, labor, or goods of any kind; and if we can do the same with paper we will take paper as readily as gold, more readily, in fact, for it is easier to carry.

The Government can give even intrinsic value of a certain kind to practically worthless paper by stamping it and limiting the number of pieces; men will pay far more than the legal-tender value of such pieces in order to possess them as curiosities or art treasures.

It is clearly absurd to say that the Government cannot give value to paper. An individual can do it, why not a nation? A deed has value, and a note, and a bit of manuscript. Tennyson could make a sheet of paper worth $1,000. A postage stamp has value and is just as good as gold or silver all over this country, although it is "irredeemable" in coin, redeemable only in service. Anything that is useful has value; the difference between gold money and paper money is not that gold has value and paper has none, but that the gold money has a value aside from its character as money. It has another utility and therefore another source of value, while paper in general has only value as money because it has only that one utility (or rather its other utilities are insignificant in comparison with its money utility bulk for bulk). But in that utility it is as useful as gold and therefore has the same value for money as gold and frequently more.

Those who object to paper point to the Continental currency, the French assignats, the Confederate notes, etc., and say, "That is what paper does when not redeemable in coin." The truth is, however, that it is the overissue and not the independence of the paper that caused its depreciation, as we know from the numerous instances in which independent paper not issued in excessive quantity has maintained its value at par with gold or even reached a premium. To condemn paper because it has sometimes been misunderstood and abused is as illogical as it would be to condemn government because of the excesses of Nero, the abuses of Tammany, or the errors of Congress. There is another fact that must never be lost sight of: though overexpansion is a very serious evil, it is a heavenly blessing compared to contraction and falling prices.

It is sometimes objected that in case of the collapse of the issuing Government, paper money becomes worthless, while gold and silver remain as good as ever. For example, when Napoleon conquered Italy the Venetian currency breathed its last, while gold would have stayed in the pockets of the people as valueful as ever. It is true that in case of conquest coin may have some advantages to certain individuals, though it is also true that gold and silver usually take flight at the first note of danger, as they did at the opening of the Rebellion. It is paper, not gold, that a nation in distress and war have had to rely upon. Paper bore us through the Rebellion and carried England to victory over Napoleon. If a nation has a paper money and a billion of gold in use in the arts at the time its Government is conquered, its intrinsic wealth remains the same as if it had used the gold for money instead of the paper; and at the opening of hostilities and during conflict a nation with a paper money stands a far better chance than a nation with a gold money that is too cowardly to do its work in the face of danger.

[9] Equal rights to all, special privileges to none. It may be all right for the Government to lend money to bankers at 1% a year on good security, but it ought to be impartial and lend to every farmer, merchant, manufacturer, any citizen whatever, at equally

sary to maintain a substantial level or a moderate upward slope as may be desired.[10]

We have replaced chance and private war with intelligent co-operation in the administration of justice and the general defence; it is time to replace chance and private aggression with intelligent co-operation in the field of finance. Education, health, supplies of water and light, protection from fire, etc., are no longer left to accident or private initiative; it is time to apply the same wise methods to our money. Chaos and aggression are as disastrous in finance as they can possibly be in any department of life; it is time to end their sway. The ship has long been left to drift in the wind, subject to every changing gust, and defenceless against the attacks of piratical craft; she has drifted into stormy seas, been robbed and broken, her sails are torn, her sides are leaking and her ballast is badly shifted; it is time to put the ship in good condition, make her seaworthy for the voyage of the

---

low interest on security of land or other good property well insured. From 1723 to 1772 Pennsylvania lent national currency to farmers—to each farmer one-half the value of his farm, a part to be repaid each year till all was settled, then he could borrow again; and Franklin told the English Government that the system had produced a most astonishing prosperity. If you are going to favor any class, better favor the farmers than the bankers, for the whole industrial system is built upon agricultural interests.

Postal savings banks with loans at low interest would enable our debtor classes to turn their obligations without injustice to any one. The Western farmer could exchange his 8, 10, 12 % mortgage for a 1 or 2 per cent government mortgage, and he would soon be able to get out of the woods.

The private banker would no longer be able to borrow money from the Government—from the people, that is—and then lend it to the people several times over every year at rates that net him 5 to 50 cents on a dollar above the cent he pays the Government. A profit of 500 to 5,000 % is not compatible with justice or democracy; it destroys the just diffusion of wealth, and creates a moneyed aristocracy. Let the people start their own banks and handle their own money.

[10] By a non-partisan commission I mean a commission composed of members from each party and each division of the country, so that each interest will watch and check any possible indirection of any other.

If prices showed a tendency to fall, interest could be lowered so as to encourage borrowing government funds, or more money could be issued in payment for government services and public improvements than was taken back in taxation. In either or both these ways the volume of currency could be increased so as to bring prices up to the level again.

If prices inclined to ascend above the desired level, postal savings bank loans could be called in, or less money spent for public works than was gathered by taxation, so reducing the volume of currency and diminishing prices.

Control of the currency volume is all that is needed to keep prices reasonably steady or give them an upward slope and at all times prevent any serious fall.

John Stuart Mill says:

"That an increase in the quantity of money raises prices, and a diminution lowers them, is the most elementary proposition in the theory of currency."

Ricardo says:

"That commodities rise and fall in price with the increase or diminution of money, I assume as a fact that is incontrovertible. That such should be the case, the most celebrated writers on political economy are agreed."

It is simply one application of the great law of demand and supply.

In a co-operative commonwealth it might be best to keep the money unit level in value with respect to labor; the fall of commodities would injure no one. But in a competitive society it is better to avoid the terrible evil of falling prices and leave labor to secure its rights through rising wages. Even in a co-operative commonwealth a creditor would have no right to expect more than a return of the same number of days of labor of equal quality with those he lost, and a day's labor with the complex machinery of advanced production is hardly the same in quality with a day's labor under simpler conditions.

future, displace the officers who have slept on duty or connived with pirates, and put a wise, just, clear-sighted man at the helm who will turn the prow toward the port of universal prosperity and keep the vessel steady in her course till she reaches her destination.

THREE TRAVELLERS.

BY WARNER WILLIS FRIES.

Three travellers began the journey of life together. Flowers lifted toward them bright, dew-laden faces, and birds warbled their morning carols. Fruits ripened in great variety by the wayside. The sun threw mantles of golden warmth over all, impartially.

One looked heavenward and saw only God. In grim forebodings or, at times, enraptured visions of an anticipated future he lost the glory of the present. Fear, the grim overseer, with lash of scorpion stings scourged him along the way. He saw humanity a writhing mass of worms, of which a favored few were by God's mercy saved, while all the rest were through His vengeance lost.

He made great sacrifices; he did terrible penance; he supplicated; he entreated. He worshipped with flattery, but without reason, which he shunned as a thing of darkness and child of the Evil One, born to lure the unwary into paths of vice.

His every thought paid tribute to the sovereign he served. Each gift to another was either a peace-offering or a loan made to his God. His acts of self-denial were born from the fear of punishment or the hope of a reward.

To the afflicted he murmured: "It is the will of the Creator. This life is but a drop in the great ocean of eternity. Repent, and be saved before it is forever too late."

Poverty sought his tears. "Why should I weep?" he asked. "Ye are an honored instrument in the hands of the All Powerful. I question not His providence." To all he spoke of this world as at best but a vale of tears. Comfort and hope, consolation and relief, existed only on a far distant shore.

Old Age and his companion, Death, waylaid him as the shadows of night were falling, and gently robbed him of his heavy cross. He fell asleep with a servile prayer for mercy on his dying lips.

One looked through eyes of selfishness upon a teeming world, and cried in ecstasy: "Lo, it is mine! MINE!"

Strength was his gift, enjoyment his pursuit. To press Joy's cup to eager lips, to shut from out his heart all forms of sorrow and of pain became his highest hope.

With the plummet of Desire he sounded the deepest depths of the Gulf of Indulgence. Under exultant heel he crushed the fairest flowers. Satiety fawned upon him, and Ennui wrapped him in her stale embrace.

Dark clouds obscured the brightness of the sun. Looking back, up the way he had come, he saw Old Age approaching from afar. He observed that the old, the feeble, and the helpless bought or begged, or perished by the way. He began to prepare for his own time of need.

With his strength he kept others from the choicest fruits, and sold them for a price; and the price he kept. He also became the bondsman of a god — the god of Self; and when he gave some dole of charity to check the cries for mercy or relief from those his strength and avarice had parted from their own, he worshipped Self as one who did a godlike deed.

He also feared and shunned a demon dread — Material Loss. He grew blind and deaf and dumb to all things good, yet knew it not. Unselfish Love he never chanced to meet. Death came at last and freed him from his clogging weight of dross, and left him rich — in infinite Regret.

One gazed upon the world with mingled joy and grief. Its beauty and its wealth struck pæans of thanksgiving from his soul. "Yet, why," he questioned, "there being food for all, should any starve for lack of it?" For love of Justice touched a chord of pain in every happy thought. He could not feast while Hunger stalked the earth, nor dress in costly garb with rags the common lot.

"Oh, Wrong," he cried, "that persecuteth Right! Right's cause is mine, and thou mine enemy." He saw Humanity a perfect whole, preyed on by myriad parasites. His one ambition was to foil their greed. The bliss he sought was happiness for all. Another's wants by him relieved, relieved his own.

Greed hissed, "Thou fool!" but sobs of famished children drowned the taunt. Caution urged, "Beware! For self provide." He made reply: "I, part of all, best serve myself when all I serve."

While humbly plucking fruits to fill poor empty hands, the birds' songs filled his heart with happy prophecies, until it seemed a joyful thing to live, in harmony with Universal

Good. Unselfish Love, touching each quickened pulse, revealed to him the secrets of the blest.

Gaining in strength and power he upward climbed; and down the mountain's cragged sides his cheering words rang clear for waiting echoes to repeat to starved, receptive souls below, until, where once his love could aid but few, it reached the multitude. And when the time was ripe for his brave soul to burst the limits of his robe of clay, it rose to greater heights — a glorified Guardian Angel of Humanity.

THE QUESTION OF GENIUS — PATHOGNOMONIC LAW, DUALITY, AND RETROSPECTION.

BY SOPHIA McCLELLAND.

What is genius? "A capacity for taking infinite pains." According to some authorities, any one able and willing to take "infinite pains" might become a genius. After the most careful of workers had exhausted his highest powers to bring something to perfection, and had failed, how would his failure be accounted for upon this theory? Lack of capacity? Then in what does this desirable capacity consist? One talented man, it seems, may have it, while another may not. It appears to be something undefinable after all. To do what the world does is to guide behavior by imitation. Deviating from ordinary usages is declining to imitate, and the noticeable fact is that a smaller tendency to imitate goes along with a larger tendency to evolve new ideas. Obtaining novel and striking results by methods differing more or less from those of other men, and consequently more or less unfamiliar to the world at large, is the particular power implied to men of genius by Spencer.

Such an illustration harmonizes perfectly well with the popular and the true conception of the meaning of genius. So far from being the "capacity for taking infinite pains," genius, as the world correctly understands it, is the capacity for doing what the vast majority of mankind cannot accomplish by any amount of pains — and doing it with apparent ease. How the works of genius are done is a secret of the mind, and seemingly an incommunicable one. No genius has ever been able to show any commonplace mortal how to become a genius. The historian, the orator, the philosopher, represent things as they are; but it is the prerogative of genius to introduce, as it were, another nature and nobler features than those which exist. Other arts may be said to resemble actors, who content themselves with the parts which they find set down by the Divine Author in the drama of existence, with the thoughts, the passions, and characters which they have actually read. But genius not only transfigures the things which are into a new and unfamiliar beauty, but

in a certain sense represents the things which are not as if they were, or as they possibly might be or ought to be under certain conditions. So that genius seems to resemble not so much the player who narrates that which is written down for him, as the creator who moulds a new world. Perhaps it would not be quite so far from the truth to say that genius signifies a powerful and special psychical condition — a medium of inspiration through which celestially prepared thought is poured down already made — a condition to which few human minds are ever developed; so rare that the world has never had a fair chance to study its working, except by attempted analysis of the results. The highest creations of the imagination spring from the unconscious inspiration or involuntary invasion, as it were, coming out of the depths of being, wholly impersonal and not the result of any previous consciousness. Poets, artists, prophets, and martyrs have ever acknowledged their subjection to a higher power than their own *ego*.

All that comes under consciousness is results and not processes. But there is one theory which seems to us positive. It is that experience shows that mental development to be always and everywhere subject to organic conditions, while it does not show the converse to be true in a general way.

Lombroso defines genius, from a scientific view-point, as a "degenerative psychosis of the epileptoid group," which might account for the analogies and coincidences between the phenomena of genius and of mental aberration. Leaving out certain great statesmen, men of genius are lacking in tact and moderation in the virtues which are alone recognized as useful in social affairs.

According to an old French adage, "good sense means the absence of every strong passion, and only men of strong passions can be great." Good sense travels on the well-worn paths, genius never. Moreau states that highly endowed mental gifts are not obtained without some disturbance of the brain and nervous system. Professor Huxley expressed an opinion "that a large proportion of genius are likely to come to grief physically and socially; the intensity of feeling which is one of the conditions of genius is especially liable to run into the fixed ideas which are at the bottom of so much insanity." Poets and artists, as a rule, are generally of extreme sensibility, often leading strange, unconventional

lives, not favorable to health or longevity. Barring these exceptions, history can point to many examples of celebrated persons who have suffered with diseases more or less remotely connected with the nervous system.

Julius Cæsar, Alexander the Great, Cromwell, and Napoleon are claimed in this record, besides a number of others of modern times. It is sad that a conception which tends to lower the most sublime manifestation of man's intellect to the level of the sorrowfully degenerate and insane should exist, but it is entirely in harmony with scientific results as presented by Lombroso. This sentiment was generally entertained long ago about genuis and insanity, but the world of letters was unwilling to receive so repugnant a sentiment unsustained by reason or science.

Talent requires to learn how to work, which genuis does not; and talent is peculiarly liable to err from impulse, which genius is never supposed to do. The moral psychology of the spasmodic school is always splitting the moral character into two selves, the outward "I" given to folly and other questionable practices, and the inward "I" delightful in virtue and able to draw fine pictures of it. We are like the little boy who said when asked why his clothes were just like his brother's, "'Cause I'se twins." The one of us makes the other to err; the one of us arranges life with careful reasonableness, while the other is but the ghost of perished virtue, walking restlessly through the chambers of memory, maundering over the good that the will is too impotent to attain. A certain old-fashioned preacher — one Paul of Tarsus — said, "For the good that I would I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I do."

The character is at least conceivable. Edgar Allan Poe, for instance, possessed rare gifts and endowments, was a poet and a wit, a sot and a scamp as well. The fairest flowers are those which cast a delicate shadow of sorrow on the hot, hard stones of human life. Man is one great antithesis of glory and of degradation. His starry spirit burns in a lantern of perishable flesh. It alternately shines upward to its golden kindred, and downward to the dunghill.

We stand, as it were, upon a little strip of strand, wet and weary, where our business is to pick up a few shellfish to fill ourselves, and our amusement to scrawl lines upon the shore, though we know we stand there but for a season. We can see the ocean stretching far away in leagues of purple and

violet, and the western heavens in a blaze of golden glory. We have the assurance that we shall yet sail over that boundless tract.

All experience proves that those only who have in them the stuff for immortality have conformed to the regulative principles of human nature. When Shakespeare describes the end of the fallen Falstaff, he indulges in no rant about the compatibility of "goodness" with "passionate sins." There is an awful intermixture of the habitual thoughts and companionship of the degraded courtier with others of a different complexion.

Great artists do not make a character as a sculptor makes a statue, carving out now a head, now a hand, polishing the marble finger-nail by finger-nail. They work in it like nature in the growth of a flower, "from within outward."

Not without days of intense labor and thought, not without "slashers" from

> the *Quarterly*,
> So savage and Tarterly,
> Which killed John Keats,

did Alfred Tennyson win and wear the laurel which so worthily encompasses his brow. His "In Memoriam" is white and firm as marble, and beautiful as a gallery of sculptures; but a keen eye can see, as it were, stains from the artist's sweat of anguish dropped down upon the stone. A comparison of his earlier volumes in their present with the first edition will show how the minutest stroke of the chisel has been retraced; how, to vary the figure, the honey has been strained and re-strained, until it has lost all its coarser particles.

True greatness does not consist in bulk or volume or profusion of imagery, but in a strong, vigorous intellect that seeks no trappings of pearl or gold, but is content to abide in its white veil of marble, or take the lava at white heat when there are no light bubbles.

There comes to my vision the face of a boy. It was gently outlined as that of a maiden who had lived beside mountains and never heard the hum of cities; whose heart was kind as that of a child; who looks abroad upon the world without one sad reflection, one mental reservation, one thought of evil, and clasps to its little breast a larger bulk of affection than manhood in its noblest form can support, — the God of Love, the love of a man and woman over whom no

priest prayed, save nature, which blessed the union of rose with rose and of tree with tree. He went forth into the world to fulfil his mission. His soul answered to the beautiful around and above him, as rhyme to rhyme. No note was there in nature, from the deep full base of the tempest to the exquisite treble which rises from the forest's trees, when the wind floats with the branches, but touched an answering chord in his breast.

He walked through life like a song which had taken form and flesh, and act followed act in easy and flowing rhythm; stern fights had he with evil, but alas! he wielded no weapon but his harp. His thoughts were his warriors — they moved to battle like Homer's gods, in a halo above them. Rash men encountered them, but they moved right on to the future, and are marching still. They carried a scroll on which is written "Love," and they will plant it before they halt on the summit of the millennium.

But one sad summer day, on a bright Italian lake, with a laughing sky above and clear waters below, a light shallop sank quietly and forever, and Shelley, the apostle of Love, sank with it. The body was recovered and burned. They could not burn his heart, however, for it was destined to be the heart of the future.

The second had a heart of fire — his veins were as warm as if the sun became fluent and rose and ebbed within them. His mind was like the heart of the ocean which rolled a tidal wave to every shore. He received the blows of envy's dagger by turning them back upon the heart that drew them. Firm-hearted, bright-featured, he went forth to grapple the world — he tripped and threw it too. Before twenty-five winters had cast a chill upon his heart, he had spoken with the witch of the Alps — wandered amid the wrecks of Greece — had walked with the ghost of Rienzi through the ruins of Rome. Wayward and rash in his youth, irregular as the flight of a banished angel, who knows not where to rest, and, like a worn-out volcano, is sinking into itself. Quick was his ear for all the discordant notes of the universe, and only a stray waif of harmony was floated to him on the waves of thought.

The grandest note which passed through his heart like inspiration, that which we call liberty, he heard and understood. The pomp and pride of youth were forgotten. The bright eyes of Venice were left to dim themselves with tears.

The loves and hatreds of a fiery soul were trampled in the ashes of the past, and he closed his course on earth in grief and darkness. "Poor Greece," he murmured, "poor town, my poor servants! Why was I not aware of this sooner! My hour is come. I do not care for death, but why did not I go home before I came here? There are things which make the world dear to me; for the rest, I am content to die!" Too late the sad refrain that breaks the heart in its remorse and the burden of all the tragedies of individual life.

In a land of romance and heroism, where freedom fought every inch of ground, mountain and moor, and fell at last with a broken and a bloody sword in hand, the third was born. When he walked upon his native heath, it became rich and generous and flowers sprang beneath his feet. From the embers of his country's past he snatched a few sparks, and his heart made them a conflagration. He lit a watchfire on the Highlands, to tell the world that the great dead were encompassed in the valleys; at his command their wraiths arose and haunted the hills.

Foray and feud, torch and claymore, the heavy tramp and the sledge-like blow, the charge, the retreat, the mountain fastness, the lighted cave glancing its beams across the lake, the hand-to-hand grapple, and the fall of a gallant race, pass before our view at his beck like a magnificent panorama.

But there was another man — in the eye of many the mightiest man of all the world — who stood before the altar in the name of the eternal God to accept the consecration of a plighted faith. A man whose will seemed like prophecies dared to make a calculation; he who pierced the Alps as a smooth highway, and classified the dark pages of the law into the luminous simplicity of the French code; he who saw into men as into crystal, and combined vast armies upon a point like watch-work; he who made empires his playground and kings his playthings; he dared, not without trembling, to slight and repudiate the partner of his struggles with fortune, the companion of his majestic schemings.

He dared to set the Austrian crown, the hope of imperial lineage, the alliance of the Hapsburgs, in the scales against Josephine. From that hour his star darkened, and went down. The exile of St. Helena with the vulture of baffled ambition at his vitals was the miserable wreck of the apostate of Fontainebleau.

The statues of Greece are in ashes, and the music of Zion has not left an echo. Time not only wears out arts, but ultimately it will alter nature.

The only immortality is thought and that which thought inhabits — spirit.

> Who pants for glory, finds but short repose;
> A breath revives him, or a breath o'erthrows! -
>
> *Pope.*

ARE OUR CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES IN INDIA FRAUDS?

BY REV. J. H. MUELLER.

Ever since the Christian people of America have sent Christian means and Christian lives to foreign lands for the propagation of the Christian religion, there have been conjectures as to the possible successes or failures of the undertaking. Of late this agitation has received an added interest, because one Virchand Gandhi, a native of India, has undertaken to state the reasons why Christianity must prove a failure in that ancient land of story and religion.

Virchand Gandhi represented at the World's Parliament of Religions one of the multitudinous religious sects of India. In the *Forum* of May, 1894, he undertook to prophesy the utter uselessness of the Christian religion along the Ganges and in the shadows of the Himalayas, basing his prognostications mainly on the assumption that a religion like Brahminism, ancient and venerable, cannot be supplanted by Christianity, which was born but yesterday. In the *Forum* for the month of June, 1894, Mr. F. P. Powers answers some of the Hindu's arguments, giving at the same time a few statistics showing that even at this early day the Christian religion in India is not a total failure.

In the January, 1895, number of the ARENA, his Hinduship replies to Mr. Powers' article of the previous June. I think no one can read the Hindu's words without being thoroughly incensed. He seems to have been greatly offended by one of Mr. Powers' statements which, by the way, is one of the brightest things that has been said in many a day; it is positively shrewd and unanswerable, and the Hindu knew it. Hence, for the lack of something better, he takes offence,—claims that he and his people have been abused, and their religions in India insulted and reviled. He is sure that our missionaries never come to India "with gentleness." And then, as if fully justified, he himself begins to pile up the abuses. The Christian people are either fools or knaves. To the Hindu's mind, Christianity is synonymous with falsehood, gluttony, and drunkenness.

In America he finds much that is commendable, both "In this great country and in its grand people—except only its religion," in which he does not even find "the common practice of the brotherhood of man." He seems to be more eloquent than informed. It were an easy thing, indeed, to array a long list of splendid lives who not only laid the foundations, but from the first bore the burdens, of this land, and whose characters were moulded by the religion of the Nazarene. Moreover it is passing strange how, in the face of all the splendid history which this country has made for itself, and for the sake and in the name of freedom and equality,—how anyone, after all this, can still declare that here in this land, the home for the world's oppressed, religion lacks the common practices of the brotherhood of man. Here greatness is mainly indebted to religion. If we lacked the common practice of the brotherhood of man, the Hindu would in all probability never have received the invitation to come over and speak freely of his religion.

Mr. Gandhi dauntingly declares that all the criticisms against him and against the like of him have come from the orthodox churches and periodicals—"soul-savers and soul-lovers," as he calls them. I propose, then, to look at a few of the Hindu's ludicrous positions, and to throw on them now and then a comment as we run along.

Perhaps the ugliest position which he takes in his last contribution is that Christianity in India will prove a failure because of the character of our missionaries. Through long paragraphs and ponderous sentences, where he does not say so outright, he insinuates that our missionaries do not know what it is to speak the truth. With some feeble authority, of the piping sort, he bolsters up his own opinion, that our missionaries in India live like princes—that they go there only to enjoy a life of ease and voluptuous indulgence. Indeed, he wants you to infer crimes much darker.

Speaking of the number of Christian converts in India, he says these "numbers are, of course, furnished by the missionaries." This is as cruel a thrust as was ever made at Cæsar. He intimates that missionaries know how to manage it, so that some of the Christian converts "are often registered in several churches." In the same connection, he goes on to say, with an undisguised sarcasm, these missionaries "are all *well* known in India for their *truthfulness*," and he suggests that they thoroughly understand "how to swell the list."

Furthermore, Mr. Gandhi tells the world how the Hindu is converted under our Christian missionaries. He reminds

us first that the rank and file of Christian converts in India come from the poor, the low, the ignorant people—men and women of the lowest caste, for whom the aristocratic Brahmin has but little use. Here in America, let me say incidentally, we are only too glad for, and we do not sneer at, that religion which goes down into the slums and tries to save for civilization and humanity the thief, the liar, and the outcast. Following his statement as to the social standing of the converts, his Hinduship informs us as to the methods that are used by the Christian missionaries to save the scum of Hindu life. We are told that this wretched people of India is often induced to become Christian by the promise of food. Mr. Gandhi says that additions to our missionary list are secured by giving to each low-caste man or woman "half a peck of rice per week, until conversion is secured." I am not quite sure whether Mr. Gandhi wants us to infer that after their conversion these wretches are again thrown back on their former miserable rations. There is hardly a sentence that does not savor of malice. Others, according to his statement, "are secured by giving large dinners and serving sweetmeats prepared with intoxicants, which generally bring the largest harvest of souls."

One can see the dark suggestions running through it all. Our men and women—for there are women, too, who have gone from our midst to minister in other lands—physicians and teachers—for there are such among our missionaries—these all have left behind them friends, position, advantages, and what not, only to play the part of knaves on the banks of the Ganges, or in the mountain recesses of India, to be indolent, gluttonous, and sensual, to lie to and in every way deceive fathers and mothers and kindred, here in the far-off West. It is probably safe to say that India has never yet offered to our missionaries what they have left behind. We remember, too, that such reproaches and slanders are wellnigh as old as the hills. In Judea, of old, it used to be said by the bigots: "He eateth with publicans and sinners; He is a winebibber and a gluttonous man; He hath a devil." In fact, nearly all of Mr. Gandhi's statements remind one of musty things, taken from some junk-shop of religious slanders, and not of observations made personally on the mission field in India.

I for one want to protest against these slanders. When I studied theology at Yale, I sat for three long years by the side of, touching elbow with, a young man who was making ready to be a "soul-saver" in India. In the name

of friendship and sweet memory, I cannot but say that if India has some such missionaries as he promised to be, then it is not wholly in the hands and under the influence of Christian frauds and liars and drunkards. I have known others,—for they have gone out from every plain and hillside—whom for honesty and diligence and purity of mind and heart we could back at any time against the best in India.

Mr. Gandhi is sure that Christianity in India must prove itself a failure, because so far very few of the high-caste Hindus have forsaken their venerable faith and run over to our Christianity. It is only the good-for-nothings whom our missionaries have thus far reached. But, unless we are misinformed, this is not the first time in the history of India when its aristocracy has held itself strictly aloof from some new religion, even stoning it in bitter persecution, at last only to fall into its arms and cherish it for generations as a treasure. When, some six or seven centuries before Christ, Guatama began to preach his strange, new gospel in India—that the waste of the body was good neither for the mind nor for the soul—he was looked upon with abhorrence. When he abandoned fasting the Brahman followers were struck with awe. They fled from "Buddha's blooming countenance" as if another glutton and winebibber had arisen in their midst. He was rejected. The high-caste Hindus wanted none of Guatama's humanities. The cry of heresy was loud and strong against him. India rose up against its new prophet; and he was of no repute in his own country. Nevertheless, we are informed that for him and his gospel there came better days. Kings greeted the new teacher. They provided structures, some of them built in beautiful gardens, for the propagation of the new faith. It is a well-known fact that among the converts to Buddhism were men of rank. Princes were not slow to do honor to the prince of the house of Sakya. Max Müller says, "He preached to high-caste and to outcast." So that, if we may somewhat judge the future by the past, it is as yet too early to prophesy the utter failure of our Christianity in India. Christianity has gone to possess the sublimest portions of the Aryan world; and there is no reason why it should not also gain firm footing where first swung the cradle of the Aryan race.

Mr. Gandhi in his second article says, "I believe in the principle of heredity." And in his former article, he claims the religion of India to be too ancient and too venerable ever to be supplanted by any other order. He dwells fondly on

those dim ages in which some hoar generations, brooding under their banyan trees, wrought out religion and philosophy, furnishing wisdom to the best ages and nations of the world. As one reads some of these ponderous and bombastic statements, one is inevitably taken back to other times and scenes. They recall circumstances when a great Master, admonishing certain of His hearers to be just, to be honorable, to love one another, to drop their self-righteousness, always received the supercilious answer, "Why, Master! we are Abraham's seed; we be the sons of David."

As a matter of fact, the religion of India, so venerable and beloved, has never proved itself sufficient for the needs of the country and the people. For the most part, India has been a wretched land. Samuel Johnson, in his good book on India, says in substance, the Hindus have never been able to organize themselves into a united people. From the beginning India has been divided among very many different tribes which have constantly warred with one another. Now and then some great chief would master a few of his neighbors, and build up some brilliant dynasty; but it lasted only for a little while. A famine in one province has often starved out thousands, while in some adjoining province there was a "glut of food." It is to be hoped that his Hindu ship has found out how we here treated our neighbors in Nebraska last year. He ought to go back to India feeling that after all the people of America do practise to some extent the principle of the brotherhood of man. Mr. Johnson says that at this very day there are more than twenty distinct nations in India. And that peerless Orientalist, Max Müller, claims that there are in India at least sixty different religions. And yet his Hindu ship, Mr. Virchand Gandhi, in one of his attacks on Christianity tells us that in India they do not know to which Christian church they ought to belong, because there are so many of them, and you cannot tell "which is right, if any."

One of the noticeable features in Mr. Gandhi's article is that he weighs all the failures and successes of Christianity in India in balances in which men ordinarily weigh their silver and gold. In one short article he is careful to remind us very emphatically that every convert in India has cost the Christian world "at least a thousand dollars." It is a pity that he has not at the same time also figured out for us how much of this money has been spent for rice, in every case, before conversion was secured. To read certain paragraphs in Mr. Gandhi's articles one would think

him unworthy of taking such a low view of things; he scorns the West with its rank materialism. Nevertheless, when he is off his guard, he harps upon the dollars. It would hardly do for us to say to him, "For what shall it profit a man," etc.; he might only answer back and say, "Well, well, those words are barely more than eighteen centuries old."

He says it would seem more economical if these "soul-savers" would do a little mission work here on American soil. As a matter of fact, they have not forgotten their own land and kin. And his Hindu ship must have known this thing as well as anyone, if he has, as he claims, studied our religion, both in his native land and also here. Some of his statements can only be explained when one assumes that he wanted to play the Pharisee, saying, "Physician, heal thyself."

Perhaps I ought to have said before this that Mr. Gandhi disclaims any immediate knowledge of the Christian missionaries in India. He says: "I do not represent any phase of Brahmanism, Vedism, or Buddhism. I am a Jain. The Jains, neither as a community nor as individuals, have any contact whatever with the missionaries." We are glad to know, indeed, that his information about our missionaries must be second- if perchance not third-hand. There may be a terrible mistake about it all. Knowing that Mr. Gandhi has had no "contact whatever with the missionaries," we may consider with a little more complacency one or two further stories from his pen, which reflect somewhat on the character of our missionaries in India.

The cow in India is or has been sacred. It appears that the Hindus will eat no beef. Our friend informs us that Christian converts in India sometimes go and fling a chunk of beef through the window of some high-caste Hindu, and thus defile his habitation. "And," he continues, "it is said that they were urged to commit these contemptible crimes by the missionaries themselves." In a country of incalculable millions, it is not wholly to our satisfaction when one coming from among them declares, "it hath been said." But at any rate, "it is said," that the converts go and do the missionaries' bidding, when the former are under the influence of wine.

There is another missionary story told by Mr. Gandhi, reflecting somewhat on our missionaries. It is so good that we must not omit it. The Hindu evidently is thoroughly convinced that our missionaries are all hypocrites. There is, indeed, some danger that we shall think with him, when

we have heard the story! He remembers to have been told by an American that he, the first American, once heard a second American, " a missionary of the highest standing," preach one Sunday on board a steamer carrying several hundred passengers. The missionary is represented as having stated in his sermon that "he had endured every kind of hardship and privation, that he and his family were living from hand to mouth, that they might save and win souls for Christ." All the while, the first American knew that the second was a liar. After the first had "cornered" his fellow-countryman, he admitted that he had "a handsome residence, where he kept in his employ twenty servants." He also had a fine cotton estate in India, and an interest in two cotton mills, one in Bombay, the income of which brought him every year eight thousand dollars; furthermore, he had an interest in a prosperous mine; and finally, our he-and-his-family-living-hand-to-mouth-sort-of-missionary owns a magnificent palace on the Hudson in America. And he lives there now. I read this paragraph a number of times to make certain that I had not omitted any of the missionary's material possessions.

Now, in all this, let me not be understood as favoring one side and that alone. I think there is bigotry on both sides. When our missionaries and their magazines begin to dish up old stories of widows burned living, and of infants thrown into the Ganges or crushed by the ponderous weight of idols, they come dangerously near to being ridiculous. When, on the other hand, a Hindu retaliates by reminding us of Christian persecutions, and the stains resting on the Luthers and the Calvins, then he also is dangerously near to being a bigot. When a Christian man laments the fact that even American women have begun to study the religions of India, he makes himself ridiculous. Christianity in any land must not only teach, but learn. And when Mr. Gandhi thinks there is nothing fit in our Christianity for the aristocracy of India, he clearly does not understand the gospel of the Son of man. However, I have not written for this. Chiefly I want to protest with all my power against the accusations and the vulgar insinuations that Christian America is sending its loafers and refuse of humanity to convert the heathen. There cannot but come some final good from this touch of the world's religions. Only we must not accuse each other of being moral imbeciles and hypocrites. I am a foreigner myself, but fifteen years of life in this land, and under various conditions, have given me a higher conception of the Christian people of America.

THE DIVINE AFFLATUS OF THE ETRUSCAN GOLD-SPINNERS.

BY MARY S. LOCKWOOD.

We have been told that in Italy there is no laugh or love-song without a sigh, no velvet mask of mirth and passion without the marble mask of art and death. We may verify the truth of this when we have done with old Etruria; for we hope to give the reader a glimpse of her buried and lost arts. We find that behind her lie abysses of mighty memories; but the beauty of the past goes with one at every step and upon it is shed the radiance of sunlight and life.

Old Etruria! there is a sad, tender grace hanging over her; a whole nation swept off the soil, and but a few dead here and there, that melt to dust, as the air touches them, leaving nothing but a handful or two of delicate golden chains, a few gems, a scarabee, a funeral-vase or two, that neither rust nor time has altered. Her temples, her palaces, her laws, her armies, her very history, have all perished. Her beginning and her ending is a blank, and we must needs go down into the tombs to read her story of the past. Who is there that would not like to know more of these ornament-makers? What manner of men were they, those early gold-workers whose art is the despair of modern goldsmiths? Was it the love of art or the greed for the shining metal for which they labored?

We have touched the delicate gold traceries that were rifled perhaps from the tomb of some far-off king, and after more than two thousand years his nameless dust was disturbed for the sake of gain; and as we handled the fairy-like web we knew that we held in our hand the perfection of an art that was ripe ages before Rome was, ages ere Horace sang of Socrates, ages before the chariot of Augustus rolled over the broad Umbrian plain, — and the lost people of unknown Etruria lived again. We can give you some idea of the beautiful tracery of this art in the legend of Pascarel. Listen while the improvisatore sings:

"There was a gold-worker in Etruscan Arezzo. The delicate

metal bent to his hand fine-drawn as the thread of a spider's web. He was poor and alone, but quite happy. An old olive grew by his door, and he worked in its shade all the day. The gold was in his hands like a maiden's hair, and he talked to it and wove it and loved it.

"One day the king's daughter went by, and her horse sought a drink at his well. She rode on and took no thought of him; but his olive was no more the tree of peace by his threshold. He haunted the steps of her temples and palaces until the king's people beat him away with rods. He could work no more for his masters, and he fell into great wretchedness, and the olive tree pined for him and withered away gray and useless as the silver beard of an old dead man.

"Now it came to pass that there was a famine in the land, in these broad plains of Tuscany and Umbria, where the yellow waves of wheat spread so far and wide, and all the people sought the *bona dea* whose curse was on the black and barren land. And the oracle of the temple spake and said, 'Let a sheaf of corn be made of gold and bound up with twelve thousand gossamer threads in gold, finer than the web of the spider, and the land shall blossom and bear full harvest."

"Etruria was full of gold-workers, and hundreds on hundreds essayed the task, but all failed; for who should work gold so that the spider's spinning should be less fine and less frail?

"Then he who had loved the king's daughter rose from his wretchedness, and remembered his ancient learning, and said, 'Give me gold; I will try.' At first they mocked him, — a poor naked outcast, crawling feebly in the sun. But the famine increased. All the city was full of lamentation by day and night; mothers slew their children, not to hear their piercing cries.

"The king came down from his weary throne and said, 'Let the beggar have gold and try; it can be no worse with us if he fail, since thus we perish.'

"So they gave him gold, and he shut himself alone for six days, and on the seventh he opened the door, and came out into the sunshine, among the multitude of breathless people, and in his hands were the golden webs of twelve thousand threads, so fine that the spider's gauze beside them seemed coarse.

"The people were silent; the passion of a great joy and fear was on them; by tens of thousands they dragged their

fleshless limbs after him, always in silence, to the temple of the *bona dea*.

"There was great blight everywhere; the black earth sickened under it. The famished people watched with bloodshot, ravenous eyes. Was the weaving fine enough? Would the goddess accept the offering?

"There was silence in the temple. The strong sun shone on the web of twelve thousand threads. Then the oracle spoke and said, 'By gold shall Etruria live. Let the earth rejoice and bear.' And in one moment, on all the earth whereon Etruria held dominion, the green blades broke through the parching soil, and grew and ripened in a second's space in every valley and on every hill.

"Then the multitude cried with one voice, 'Bear him to the palace; crown him on the king's right hand. Let him have his will in all the land. From the bonds of death he has set us free.' But he, still on his knees on the threshold of the temple, looked up and said, 'Nay, I want nothing,—has it made *her* smile?' And with that he stretched his hands gently outward to the sun and died.

"The king's daughter never knew that it was for her the golden web was woven. But the gods knew, and said, 'By its gold-workers let Etruria live. For this man's love was great, and its witness shall endure when the nation has perished from the earth and its records have passed away as the clouds dissolve before daylight.'

"So to this hour, through all the Etrurian land, the banished people are ever to be traced by the golden links that shine through the dust of the tombs; and the Etrurian gold is without speck or flaw, or equal anywhere, but rises from its burial ever and again where the olives shiver in the summer winds and the maize-feathers blow over the buried cities."

Who shall dare say that these treasures of the past have not become the weapons of the present? Tuscany is the inheritrix of the old Etruscan grace and Latin power, the daughter of her mighty dead. By divine obligation, from these beautiful arts that lie in the mouldering dust has sprung the soul-kindling fire, and from her descended nobility have come the greatest poets, artists, and musicians the world has ever known. The great law of differentiation by its wonderful environment found expression in men great in art, thought, and science.

Among these let us mention one of whom Ruskin said:

"The central man of all the world, as representing in perfect balance the imaginative, moral, and intellectual faculties all at their highest, is Dante," the grandchild of Etruria; his birthplace, fair Florence. He has brought the past down to us, and instead of the gold from the sepulchres of the Etruscan kings, beautiful and full of lustre, the growth of his genius brought to us the fruit of the "Divina Commedia," "The Inferno."

And Virgil, too, how could he help telling the story of the Æneid? Born near Mantua, he was fanned by fresh breezes from the Adriatic and inspired by the winds from the Apennines. Every tower, every gable, every road, every line, held some story of the past; every tocsin had a chronicle, every highway united the genius of the living with the heroism of the dead.

Of Donatello, whom the world knows for his group of Judith and Holofernes, and for his St. George, the finest ornament of the Church of St. Michael's in Florence, some one has said: "Nowhere is the rugged, changeless, mountain force of hewn stone piled against the sky, and the luxuriant, dream-like, poetic delicacy of stone carven and shaped into leafage and loveliness more perfectly blended and made one than where St. Michael's rises out of the dim, many-colored twisting streets, in its mass of ebon darkness and of silvery light." And here it is that St. George leans upon his shield in the beauty of youth and serenity of years. It is said that when Donatello had finished the statue he showed it to his master. The master said, "It wants one thing only," but did not tell him what. Donatello pined and sickened, and just before his death sent for his master and said to him, "Tell me before I die, what is the one thing my statue lacks?" The master smiled and answered, "Only speech." "Then I die happy," said Donatello. To-day, as four hundred years ago, in Florence it is "our Donatello." Donatello chose to set his life up in stone rather than to weave its light and tangled skein with golden threads; but we find the gold-workers of old Etruria and the genius of the fifteenth-century sculptor hand in hand.

Brunelleschi and Ghiberti were Florentines and competitors for the gates of the Baptistry. History tells us that the supreme aspiration of the Florentine citizens forced them to live in poverty and clothe themselves in simplicity, to give up their fortunes to bequeath miracles in stone and metal

and color to the future. So it was melted in the foundries of Ghiberti and cemented in the mortar that joined the marbles of Brunelleschi; and to-day Florence has her gates that Michael Angelo said were fit for the gates of Paradise, and her Duomo, which made St. Peter's possible. Brunelleschi and Ghiberti, the gold-workers and gem engravers of Etruria, drank from the same cup of inspiration. Generations have come and gone, tyrannies have arisen and fallen, many a time the plains have been lurid with the invader's fire, and the curling flame has burned the fruitful land to blackened barrenness; the silence of the olive thickets has been broken by the tumult of war and revolution; but her glorious inheritance, the breath of art, has never been wrested from her.

We have not to leave this planting-ground to find the home of Galileo; and the old tower still stands where he learned the hidden mystery of the stars and the story of the sun. Here, too, in his two months' visit to Galileo, Milton dreamed of Paradise. And yet never since the morning stars sang together were men more maligned.

However, this was the leafage and the fruitage of that genius, as old, perhaps, as deity itself, that had settled in old Etruria two thousand years before; it seems almost that if man walked the ground he caught some divine inspiration. Michael Angelo was born in the commonwealth of Florence; and you have but to cross the Apennines to reach Urbino and find the boyhood home of Raphael.

Leonardo Da Vinci was born in the palace bearing his name near Florence. Palestrina, through whom the world has heard the highest and noblest musical expressions in the solemn words of the mass; Cherubini, whom nature armed with baton as the world's moderator, whose grand Requiem and Messe Sacrée are left noble monuments of genius; the Amatis of Cremona, who made the violin an instrument of such importance in beauty of form and sweetness of tone that through the ages the ear of the world has been hushed in silence, that no note be lost of the clear calm of harmonies that floats from it over the earth, — all these are children of this mother of divine inspiration. What is there left to know of painting, sculpture, music, or architecture that these men have not given as a legacy to the children of men? They were the guides, the torch-bearers who bore a message from the gods to man. Michael Angelo has left

behind him St. Peter's and the sublime frescoes of the Sistine Chapel; Raphael's Madonnas, his "Christ Bearing the Cross," and, grandest of all, "The Transfiguration," would make up in rounded completeness one life. Perhaps the highest effort of Christian art is Leonardo's fresco of "The Last Supper" and next his "Adoration of the Kings." It would seem almost that the gates of Paradise had been opened and some angel's hand had guided the brush, — and still we are in the land of the Etrurians.

If we go to Arezzo we find the same cloudless sky, the same olive orchards, the same odor of flowery vines as when Mæcenas, a child, played among the iris lilies in the meadows; the same olive trees under which Petrarch dreamed of his ideal Laura, and the same hillsides upon which Pliny played before nature became to him an open book. There is the same stretch of olives and vines, and dark plains spread out like a sea, as when the old kings reigned there ages ago. The gold-worker's art, that went to sleep with the death of the Etruscan kings, awoke again in the land of Virgil; but it took on new forms, was born into a new life, and spoke with a new tongue; so that the past, beautiful and full of lustre, breaks forth into a glorious light in the epics of Tasso. And Dante, wandering at will, wherever the Italian tongue was spoken, wove a golden web of the sweetest truths the world has seen. Brunelleschi lifted the mound of marble to the upper air as easily as the child flies his kite. Savonarola, St. Chrysostom, the golden-mouthed, beneath its shade, in eloquence of speech told of the new creation wrought in Christ, which set discordant souls in harmony; and the spirit of the fisher of Galilee came to fill the desolate place of the Cæsars. Again the sky lightens and the air grows softer, for Giotto steps upon the scene. He, too, was a wanderer; but how unlike the wanderings of Dante! From Florence he strayed from town to town, to Arezzo, to Pisa, to Bologna and Verona, and amid the feasting and the fighting, leaving a mild-eyed Madonna here, a group of saints there, jogging along for pleasure or profit, everybody's friend, pursuing his pleasant way with a merry word or jest, with no hand in the strife of men, but, amid the din and confusion, with pigment and brush he marked his course wherever he strolled, leaving some bit of color; every old bridge or mill or rude common wall blossomed into an immortal thing.

It mattered not whether it were Guelph or Ghibbeline one day, or the Albizzi or the Medici the next, the fact of strife went on for centuries. They did not count the golden years in that land where God's servants wait to see the fruit of their labor and have it sooner or later as the centuries come and go. And so it was that the divine afflatus that illuminated old Etruria in that early morning of the world, which faintly flickered when the nation vanished, was the vital spark which kindled the fires of immortal genius in Italy, and by the radiance of the after-glow has become a pharos to aspiring art in the land of the gold-spinners.

SOUL EVOLUTION.

BY JOHN FRANKLIN CLARK.

Soul is the consciousness of being and is the third and innermost element in the trinity of self-existence, this trinity being constituted of matter, spirit, and soul.

On the primal plane of self-existence, matter is static feeling, spirit is static knowing, and soul is static consciousness; and, in passing from the static to the dynamic state, soul attains to manifestation as an effect in response to the action of spirit and reaction of matter, these effects appearing as force on the inorganic, as life on the organic, and as self-consciousness on the human plane of being; and thus, step by step, through the process of evolution the soul element of self-existence embodies itself in forms, thus gradually attaining to the condition of self-consciousness in all its parts.

The highest expression of feeling is love, and the highest expression of knowing is wisdom, and matter and spirit as feeling and knowing attain to consciousness as love and wisdom in the soul of man, and to complete union and oneness and full self-consciousness in soul as God.

Self-existence in passing from the primal or subjective plane, where all is only potential in being, essential in form, and static in state, to the objective and manifest, which is its dynamic state, expresses itself as force as the first active manifestation of soul, and thus force becomes the formative soul of being on its lowest and outermost or inorganic plane.

Life is a higher and more interior expression of soul than is force, and only passes from the static to the dynamic state after force has evolved worlds and so far developed them that the conditions needful for the evolution of organic forms are prepared, and then, at this point, soul, expressing itself as life, becomes active and embodies itself in matter which, under the action of spirit, it builds up into organic forms, and thereby attains to an individualized expression of itself in differentiated forms as the ego, I, or soul of such forms, each of which expressions manifests a personality of its own.

Thus, force is the formative principle of all inorganic forms, and life is the formative principle of all organic forms,

while soul, acting upon and through the several individualized forms evolved by force and life, expresses itself as an individualized soul or ego of consciousness that is personal to each of such forms, and the character of these manifestations of self-existence as individualized souls is always determined by the objective form through which soul acts.

The soul element is inherent in self-existence, and the character and fulness of its expression is dependent upon and determined by the objective form through which it manifests, and its fulness of expression through any individualized form is determined by the degree of perfection attained by such form.

The passing of the soul element from its potential to its active condition is effected by its attaining to manifestation in objective forms; and as the inorganic is the first to be evolved into being out of self-existence, and next the lowest and least complex of the organic forms, and onward, upward, and inward to the most complex and highest forms, it follows that the active and manifest expression of soul must begin at its lowest and outermost and step by step attain to its highest, innermost, and greatest.

If you have grasped the full meaning of the statements just made you will readily perceive that theology, as taught by the religious dogmas of the world, places God at the wrong end of the evolved universe of being. God is conceived by the human mind to be the divine soul of universal self-existent being, the highest expression and manifestation of all, that governs, guides, and directs all, and this conception of the infinite father, mother God is the true one, and this expression and manifestation of soul is only attained by its expression through the deific form, and this organic deific form is the highest, innermost, most perfect, complex, and differentiated of all forms and the last to be evolved, the last because it is the innermost and highest, for the outermost and lower forms precede the innermost and higher in attaining to objective and manifest expression, and the lower make the conditions out of which the higher spring.

As the human form is necessary to enable the soul element to attain to expression as an individualized human soul on the human plane as man, so is the deific form necessary to enable the soul element to attain to its fulness of expression on the divine plane as God. The soul element of self-existence in its manifestation expresses itself as an individualized consciousness of personal existence, and in each individual-

ized form it manifests as the I of that form, feeling itself to be a separate and distinct entity from all other manifestations of soul, and this applies to all individualized forms, whether it be a world, a blade of grass, an insect, animal, or man.

Soul is the consciousness of being, and this consciousness of being attains to partial expression in each and every individualized form that is evolved from self-existence, attaining to fuller expression as the evolved form becomes more complex and more fully differentiated, until, on the human plane and in the human form, it expresses itself as a self-conscious man, standing forth as a God to all of its expressions on all planes below the human, with power to guide, direct, control, improve, intensify, and refine such manifestations.

All individualized expressions of soul on the mineral, vegetable, and animal planes culminate and unitize in the soul of man, and therefore every individualized expression of soul as man will eventually unfold as a God over all expressions of soul below its own.

While there is but one soul element which manifests as force, life, love, wisdom, etc., still there are as many different expressions of each and every quality of self-existent being as there are individualized forms through which it attains to manifestation; nevertheless there is but one soul in all the universe of being which partially expresses itself as force, life, love, wisdom, etc., and all these partial expressions through the process of evolutionary development attain to a oneness of expression in unity on the divine plane where soul manifests through the deific form as God; for as self-existence has through evolution from its essential to its manifest, from its static to its dynamic state, reached its highest degree of differentiation in the human form, and therein soul has attained to self-consciousness of personal existence and power as man in each individualized human form, so by the evolution of the deific form, which embraces in its organic structure all of the individualized human forms that the universe has evolved, and will absorb all that may hereafter be evolved, therein self-existent being again attains to unity and oneness of expression in the deific form, and soul attains to its fulness of expression as the deific God, self-conscious in all its parts, the tender, loving, helpful parent of humanity, the father, mother God, who knows our every thought, who hears our every cry, in whom we live and move and have our being, of whom we are a part.

Hence, as is the molecule to the individualized human form, so is each human form to the deific form; and as each molecule because it is an organic form has a conscious soul of its own, and yet the souls of all the molecules combined do not constitute the human soul, the I of your individuality, but soul, expressing itself through the organic human form built up by the aggregation of these myriads of individualized molecules, expresses itself as the soul of man, the I of your personality, and this man-soul is a god to all the molecule-souls, and these molecule-souls represent the souls of all forms below the human, so the God-soul of the deific form is not the combined souls of all mankind, but the full and unified expression of soul as manifesting through the organic deific form built up of the soul organisms of all human forms, manifesting itself as the deific God, wherein self-existence comes into the full consciousness of active and manifest existence.

THE FUTURE.

BY GOTTFRID E. HULT. A. M.

Still giant Wrong stands boastful and elate,
But ominously laughs the brook of Fate;
And History, breathless, hears it polishing
Five pebbles for some epoch-marking sling.

BETWEEN TWO WORLDS.

BY MRS. CALVIN KRYDER REIFSNIDER.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Little mother had long since been dead, while those few who knew and remembered her thought she was alive because she was not buried. She had no friends and wanted none. Her memories were her sole companions now; like blessings from heaven they came in her solitude to console her. She counted death an enemy no longer, but her one fast friend, and only waited the time to come when she should walk out of her prison-house with him, when he should unveil her spirit and set it free indeed.

There was a time when letters from Salome had come with promises she vainly looked to see fulfilled. Hope cheered her then, and she worked and looked forward to better days. But now the silence no longer oppressed her with its gloom. She had felt it sorely once; but she had become familiar with desolation now, and it was no longer any pain.

By and by, as time went on, she would fain forget that the world had been aught else to her, and then memory served her only as an unkind friend.

The nimble fingers worked more slowly, and the once beautiful eyes must borrow artificial aid. Ruby's letters came to help and cheer her on, and ofttimes enclosed material aid. Her husband, though a sober man, could not earn a dollar now. Little Lois was her mother's only help. She went to school, and gave what aid she could give early and late. Salome gave a monthly sum, small indeed in proportion to her great earnings, as little mother believed them to be, but she accepted the pittance with gratitude and tried to make it supply their daily needs.

At last she grew too weak to sew, and indeed to do her housework had she consulted her own feelings, but she bravely struggled on with old death beside her. Sometimes she stilled her pride and asked for an extra dollar to buy a little something that her wavering stomach craved; but when it came

her appetite was gone, or she cheated it into the belief that it was needless, and Lois might have something to wear like other girls of her age.

Oh, little mother! little mother!

There had been hints, once, in Salome's letter that it would be well to learn to economize as others had learned to do; which brought great tears into little mother's eyes and a resolve never again to ask for a penny. But there was no work. She forgot and forgave. She could not see Lois nor little Jim go hungry.

There was, however, a very comfortable supply of food and fuel in the house just now, and comfortable clothes and an extra suit of underwear made by little mother's hands laundered and carefully put aside. Ah, well! little mother was going to make a journey.

She had learned some vital truths in her silent communion with her own soul, and when the tears welled up at the thought of Salome's neglect, she bravely drove them back, saying, "Oh no, for her sake I must not. If she causes me to weep, these very tears of a wounded mother's grief will spring to life in curses upon her head. Oh! give me strength, my God, to remember her as she was, a little child, my comfort and my hope. Let me believe she died in the purity of truth of those blessed years and keep her embalmed in this poor shrine. God bless her. God forgive her and me," little mother prayed. "But oh! to have seen her face once more.

"After all was Salome an ingrate, heartless, unnatural? Let me see. I was too busy entertaining and helping others to give proper care to my little daughter, even though I loved her very dearly. She grew up surrounded by selfish, superficial natures, who as visitors lived upon the bounty of her father and forsook him when they had shared his all.

"She saw nothing of gratitude, she heard nothing of it. She saw the power of money to bring comforts and friends, and the misery the lack of it gave. She saw that girls envied her even while they courted her favor when her father was considered a rich man, and slighted or shunned or patronized her when he became poor. Her evil tendencies had been all developed and brought to the surface by her environments, while the good lay dormant and would continue to be so until awakened by a great sorrow."

What sorrow? Little mother smiled sadly.

Sorrow brought by the death of her mother will first truly

awaken her, and from thenceforward the world will see the chastened nature of a noble woman.

From that time on she will idealize her mother. Her own bitter childhood and youth made her exaggerate her mother's natural weakness, for she looked no deeper than the surface, and saw not the rich love, the noble purpose, the pure, unselfish heart that moved little mother's hands. Salome would have had all that love and labor for herself, or else been satisfied with gentle words of love and praise, or thought she would.

We breed our own greatest sorrows. Our children seem bent upon misunderstanding us first. And then the evenings at home that would brighten the life of mother, the young man wastes with a frivolous girl, if no worse; the daughter worries or slights mother all day and smiles on her admirer to-night, who may be the husband of a better girl next year.

Why is it? Where lies the cause of this inversion of things as a rule?

Men see Salomes every day; they are everywhere, without her talent and genius, and her industry, perhaps, but the same miserable, restless beings.

Salome had been taught that to avoid evil she must avoid the appearance of evil. Thus little mother had seen her start upon her journey to London with every confidence that at least her inward purity of character could never be sullied, no matter how success might spoil and flattery and money lead her to forget the home that, God knows, to her rebellious soul had been anything but what a home should be.

She recalled that in her school days Salome had formed one or two strong attachments, and had either of them consummated in marriage, the probability is that she would have settled down into an expert housewife and devoted mother. All that her own young life had missed of love and petting she would have lavished upon husband and children; but like all others she had known the lovers were fickle, false, or else entirely misunderstood Salome.

Yes, little mother grew wiser as she prepared for her journey. She seemed to gather up all her treasures of memory to take with her, and to separate, to leave behind, the dross and delusion.

"Salome! Oh to see her once more! But when that journey is done we will part no more, my child. Then thou

wilt see thy mother as she is, and not as she has appeared to thee. Salome, my child! my child!"

Weaker and more weak little mother grew, but she thought only now of her journey, and wondered if it would be long and painful, or swift and quiet. Pain racked her little frame most horribly; but a memory of her journey caused her to smile, though she was icy cold, and told Lois she must do the best she could, and when she was gone upon her journey she might write to Salome.

Lois was pleased and thought how surprised Salome would be when little mother stepped in upon her; and she wondered if Salome would send her some pretty clothes and give little mother some.

So the weary days numbered a week. One morning Lois went to take her a cup of coffee. How beautiful she looked in that calm sleep!

"Mother, little mother!" She opened her eyes, smiled upon her child, folded her hands upon her breast, closed her eyes, and the lips smiled.

Little mother had started on her journey. Her husband was stunned, and Lois exhausted every effort to call her back; her father called a physician, but little mother was far out upon her journey when they came. She somehow paused long enough to whisper to Salome far away, who started up in sleep, remembered that she had forgotten to send little mother a Christmas present, and a pain shot through her heart and something said:

"Sleep no more to-night, Salome! Awake and think of her!"

Little mother! Oh, little mother! God bless thee and have mercy upon thy unhappy child.

When Salome awoke from a light slumber which came upon her weary senses just before dawn, it was with a dreary sense of loss. Something had suddenly disappeared out of her life, leaving a vague sense of loneliness and dread, a feeling that robbed victory of its charm. Applause seemed mockery; a memory of her mirrored form in last night's costume and her gems grinned at her like the most horrible skeleton, and she buried her face deep into her pillow and shuddered.

A rap upon her door startled her. She rose, trembling from head to foot, and spoke to the messenger as she held the door open only a few inches.

"A telegram; ma'am."

She took it with cold, trembling fingers, opened it like one in a trance.

"Mother died this morning. Father."

The walls in the room seemed falling in, the floor rolled like a rough sea. Salome, alone, unseen save by God and His angels, played her part in that great tragedy.

How long she lay unconscious she never knew, for she had not noted the time when she rose from the bed. When she recovered, her mind grasped the situation but slowly, but she knew her engagement bound her to appear each successive evening. She must carry on the mockery.

After all, was it as bad as it had been? Little mother free from pain, no longer waiting and watching for a letter or a visit, was far, far out upon her journey now, robed in spiritual garments made with loving hands ungrudgingly. The silent lips could not respond to the ardent repentant kiss; the dead ear could convey no cry of grief or pain to the now inactive brain. Only the material house in which little mother dwelt in sorrow, pain, and sore neglect was there. But oh! how dear to this awakened soul was that little house of inanimate clay! Only to hold it in her arms once more. Only to press those cold dead lips. Only to make one day bright on earth for her, then she could give her up.

No tears came to Salome's eyes. A heavy, heartbursting grief shone on her flushed cheeks and burning eyes.

She telegraphed orders for a handsome burial, abjuring black. Little mother had loved white, and in her prosperous days had worn it more than anything else.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

"What is it that guides my hand? Whose thoughts possess me? Who bids me look forth to the unknown and welcome the advancing day and scorn the shadows? To look no more behind me at the old familiar places that lie like landscapes stretched in the distance? To bury the sweetest memories of the past, when I loved her and made her poor heart glad, and to magnify only the objects I now behold, yet tells me they too must vanish? Who is it that points like the angel of the apocalypse, ever ceaselessly forward, assuring me that there is no way to redeem the past save with the present, and tells me that behind the veil there is no past nor future?

"What is this I hear? A sound and then a silence!

Imaginations, dreams, illusions! A vision in which things that are not seem to be, and for a moment are, while familiar forms rise up and play out each act, and the spirit that guides me tells them what to say like a drilled prompter behind the curtain. I record their words, and describe them as they appear before me; and should this influence desert me now would the tale remain half told? Ah, where could I find that pen of magic power and the lost clew regain? On, on, speed on, nor lose one word again till all the tale is done.

"What I called inspiration once, I know is but the whisper of my disembodied friend, speaking to me, urging me to complete his own life work that he had left undone; now pleading, now commanding; promising to uphold me all the way, and telling me the result shall be my own reward.

"It is a joy to listen to that prophetic voice that fills the very air about me and seems to give my pencil wings. On, on; at this rate we will soon be done. Oh, what a joy is work like this, when angels nerve the arm and unseen powers bring strength on every side!

"There, master, have I done?

"Now then I will play it and see if I can make it thrill the world as it thrills me.

"A note to Achille? Our master bids him come."

She seated herself to write the note, and when finished exclaimed:

"So now my task is done!"

"Adieu," whispered the spirit.

"Ah, not adieu. Do not leave me till the end, till I have played the play," answered Salome.

CHAPTER XXIX.

"Well," said Salome, after the first greeting was over, "I sent for you as the most merciless critic I know, to give me your opinion of a play I have."

"Thank you."

"Without more ado I shall proceed to read the play. By the way, I have studied it until I can take each or every part, and though I lay the manuscript out before me, I could as well recite it without."

She read the names and characters, and then proceeded in a most perfect manner to render the entire play in the very choicest elocution.

Her guest was at first interested, then amazed at the ren-

dition. She was so wholly absorbed as to entirely forget his presence, but read and acted the parts with that care and precision which indicated that she had a large audience in imagination before her.

When she finished and turned to him with sparkling eyes and animated cheeks, he said:

"Where were you so fortunate as to secure that wonderful production?"

"Do you consider it such?" she asked eagerly.

"I do, indeed; and you certainly cannot regard it otherwise, for you have studied it with heart, soul, and brain, to be able to render it as you do."

"I want you to take the part of the husband, The Deserted; and now to help you to impersonate him better I want to tell you I wrote the play."

"You!" He looked at her in bewildered admiration. "If you were not so fine an actress I should say you should have been a playwright."

"I wrote it, and I did not. Listen. I never attempted to write anything before in all my life. I used to long so to do something great, but after I made up my mind to go on the stage I gave up all idea of writing, because I had no talent in that direction — "

"Why, you are a genius!"

"Wait a moment until I tell you. One night I sat in my old, dingy room, brooding over my own misery, when all at once I felt a queer sensation in every nerve; then my blood circulated more quickly, a thrill caused me to feel as though I suddenly had new blood transfused into my veins. I rose, looked into my mirror (a dingy thing it was) and scarcely knew myself. The old dull look was gone, eyes and cheeks glowed; my complexion was clear; I stood proudly erect and gazed upon a Salome that I had never seen before, and a voice whispered to me:

"'Write!'"

Her face was illuminated as she spoke, and but for its softened expression her companion would have thought all this the delirium of fever, or else superb acting.

"I took up my pencil and paper, unable to resist obedience to the imperative command. What do you suppose I wrote, or this hand wrote, or the pencil this hand held, or the spirit which guided both?"

"I — I — can form no comprehension."

"'*I died three days ago.*' You may well start and turn pale. I felt rather pale myself just then, but I continued and wrote three lines: 'Live a pure, good life; work with a pure, good motive, and success and peace and happiness shall crown you. I shall help you still.'

"I had been trying all the evening to persuade myself to go to our old master, Mr. Gladstone, and ask him to continue instructing me during the vacation, allowing me to pay him when school opened in the fall. I felt sure that he would willingly do it; but I was stubborn, proud, rebellious, ashamed to let him know I had not saved enough in nine working months to carry me over three idle ones; ashamed of everything that I should have been proud of; proud of everything I should have been ashamed of; but my resolution was taken; I would go to him the next morning. I went, and found him dead; laid out in the Temple, if you remember, in that quaint style. *He had died three days before.*"

She laid her cold hand upon his, and her breath came quick and hard.

"Yes, three days before; and as I gazed in trance-like wonderment I recalled the words and wondered if his spirit had visited me that night; if he still had words of cheer, promises of help, for Salome. He gave me the first help and hope I ever had while he lived; would he, *could* he, carry it on *after death?*

"I thought over the peculiar religious belief of those four; their strange life in the Temple; their diaphanous appearance; but I fought against anything that looked like superstition.

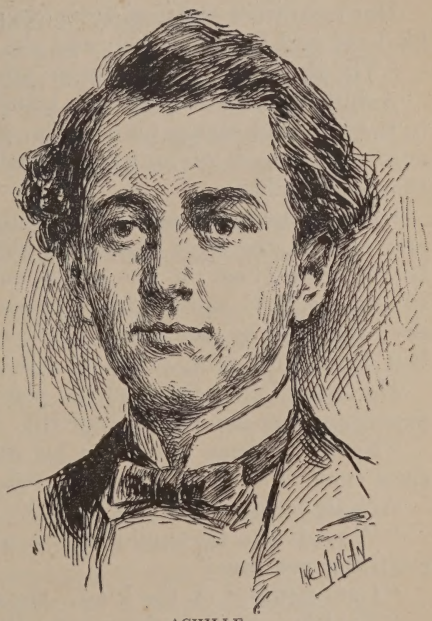
"Now you may ask me how I could afford to go to London; if that were a miracle of loaves and fishes? No; Ruby refunded the money I had paid her father, and added sufficient to it to enable me to fit myself to pay it all back.

"Whenever I have studied, this unseen but conscious presence sat beside me; whenever I have rehearsed, it gave me strength and prompted tone and gesture; whenever I have been despondent it has brought hope. But always and ever came the word, 'Write!' And when I have taken up my pen it has given words of love, hope, encouragement, and pointed out the better way.

"Success in this play I am convinced, am told, means

much to others as well as to myself. Knowing our old master, having been trained in voice and action by him, let us make him one of the characters, and you impersonate him. While in Paris I purchased the most exquisite doll to represent the sleeping child. I shall take the character of the three women, for no two of them appear at the same time, except in the last scene, and there I have an admirable figure which, with a toilet of my own special design, will fill the bill. You must, Achille, you must help me out. My all is at stake and the lifelong happiness of some one else, to whom, in my softened mood, by the memory of her kindness to my mother, I would do a favor, as well as cancel a debt."

Achille was silent. He was revolving many things in his brain. He loved Salome; he had followed her to England, France and back to New York; kept sight of her always, but had never intruded himself upon her. She had shown him no favor, but had always been frank and courteous. He had chosen the stage as his profession, that he might be always near, or in the position to serve her. She had been at once his inspiration and his despair. She was growing famous; so was he, but he thought only of himself as a reflected light, for he knew that without her inspiration he could do naught.



ACHILLE.

"Why do you hesitate? Have you a previous engagement for that time?"

"No, oh no!"

"Then speak, man. You do not want to be persuaded?" She was half ironical.

"No, I need no persuasion save to persuade myself that I could personate that man, a memory of whom causes my

blood to rise in temperature and beat in a strange rhythm. Why! I'm beginning to experience the very feeling you described that eventful night. Why, I am obsessed, or — You have hypnotized me, Salome."

"No, no! But now quick, man, just while the spell is on you! Take up the manuscript, turn to the deserted man's soliloquy, — here it is. Read!"

"Why, I remember it without reading. You burned it into my brain."

He dropped his head upon his hands and in the direst woe cried:

"Deserted! deserted! deserted!"

"Great God!" cried Salome, starting up.

Her eyes were starting from their orbits. Achille raised his head and looked at her, and she gazed at him.

"The dead man stands beside you!"

Achille turned like one in a trance, first to the right, then to the left, and seeing nothing, he gazed at her in a sort of daze. The look of horror vanished from her face, but she trembled visibly.

"It was there and laid its hand upon your shoulder, just as you uttered the first word, and remained until you ceased. It was not a ghost; it was a real, substantial thing, woven of silvery cloud, — those white clouds that float in a summer sky, touched by the sun, — but every feature was exact. But here it is again, — quick, a pencil — I must write!"

He noticed that she held the pencil but did not look at the paper, and her hand moved swiftly.

"Fame, fortune for you; joy and peace to those I love shall come from the play 'Deserted.'"

Achille looked over and read the words.

"Why, it is a fac-simile of his writing. Salome, you are a writing medium."

"I am nothing of the kind," she said.

"That is just what the world calls it," he answered.

"That is all the sense the world has! Look here, Achille, don't ever say that to me again, nor repeat this interview. Will you or will you not take the part of The Deserted?"

"I will; but answer me; do you propose to tell the truth as to how you wrote this play? I mean as you have told it to me, — that it was dictated to you by our dead master, and that had he deserted you at any act you could not have gone on and finished the play?"

"Why, you don't suppose I am going to make a fool of myself, a laughing-stock for the whole world. Of course I am not!" she answered with scornful indignation.

He bowed his head once more; a peculiar quiver passed over his frame, and he was silent for a long time. She looked at him in silent wonder.

"Speak, man! Have you seen the spirit, too?"

"No, but, Salome, I have felt him." He spoke reverently, as he was wont to do when he remembered his old master.

"Felt him!"

"Yes, and, Salome, unless you tell the truth, the whole truth, that is, tell Ruby all, your play, 'Deserted' will fall flat. In fact, you cannot play it."

"You are mad, man; mad, Achille, stark mad!"

"Hold, ye wiseacre. Plato has said there are two kinds of madness; one produced by human infirmity, the other by a divine release from the ordinary ways of men. To the latter class of madmen belongs the prophet. There is a kind of madness which is a special gift of Heaven and the source of chiefest blessing among men.

"Yes, prophecy is madness, and yet prophets out of their senses have conferred great benefits on mankind, but in their senses few or none.

"Behold the prophet who foretells your fate. Do not attempt the play without honestly telling how the inspiration was given to you. You may be pronounced mad, that is true, but the fortune and the fame will come to you, and — well, you know how the world will bow to the fortune and the fame even in a mad woman's hand."

Salome sank down into a chair.

"Achille, as surely as Samuel heard the voice I have heard that voice say 'Write,' in the morning; I have heard it in the dark, silent hours of night so persistently that I got up and obeyed. I have felt the inspiration of a poet, an artist. I have been thrilled with the eloquence of the orator. These things have been my teachers, companions, friends. I never thought of being mad; but do you honestly, really do you believe that sane people have any such visitations?"

"I never felt more sane than at the moment I felt the gift of that prophecy," he said, with his bright, sweet smile.

"Oh, as to that, you are too honest to appropriate a thing you feel is not your own; but all writers may write under a similar inspiration, and do not tell it —"

"Oh no, not at all! Some may, and unconsciously, but most of them weave their fiction from their brains."

"Just spin it out like a spider spins his web, for instance," she said. There was a satirical smile upon Salome's face. "You know our old master maintained that the human form was a *receptacle only;* born with the *capacity* to receive divine influx, or influx from the spiritual world," she continued seriously.

"Did he? Well, I never heard him discuss the matter; but the last hour's experience would make me a ready convert to such a theory. He certainly has spoken with my tongue."

"How?"

"It was he, I know it, who uttered the prophecy, for I should have said with my material mind just the reverse. I should have said, 'Play your play, but do not tell anybody how you wrote it.' He says, 'Do it at your peril.'"

They sat for some time in thoughtful silence, Salome recalling all the wonderful experiences of that time during which she wrote the play, and at last she thought audibly:

"Yes, surely it was he. 'Write,' and when I obeyed there was no effort; the words came from my pencil as though it were a living thing with brains instead of lead, and thought and motion of its own; and at times before it was finished there came a feeling of doubt and dread lest the spirit forsake me ere my task was done, and the consciousness that if the clew were then lost I could never find it. I talked aloud to this spirit; it was loving and patient with me, but I never saw him until to-day. (Oh, if I could only see my mother thus; dear little mother!) But I never dreamed he would want the credit of the play; it does not seem he should need to care for worldly fame now. But there it is again. The dead man lays his hand upon your head!"

She clasped her hands and started up.

"I must be mad, indeed!" putting a hand upon each temple. Then she put the fingers of her right hand upon the pulse of her left wrist, and seemed counting its beats.

"He says," said Achille, speaking in that trance-like way again, "that the purpose were all lost if you claim authorship. There would be no impression made by it upon those he loves, more than by an ordinary play; but tell them the truth of its inspiration, and your work for him, or, rather, his writing through you, and it will accomplish more for you, and at

the same time reach the hearts and convince those he wishes to see and hear it."

A silence fell, broken at last by Salome.

"I am tired, Achille, and must dismiss you. Come, confess this has been a weird experience with our spirit-friend; and by the way, I feel just a little nervous at your prophecy. Of one thing I am sure, you cannot laugh at me again, either at my manner of writing the play or of the fact of seeing a ghost, since you had your own tongue used by it. Good by."

He renewed his promise to support her in the play, and so earnest was he that he took the manuscript to copy it, and they separated.

CHAPTER XXX.

Who is this we find in a private parlor of the —— Hotel in New York, in a superb evening dress, standing before a pier glass? Diamonds sparkle in her dark hair and flash from her neck and arms, but even their brightness is dimmed by the flash of triumph from her dark eyes, as she surveys her own superb figure, and throws back her head in proud, defiant scorn to watch its effect in the mirror.

Her name is on every lip; her picture in every show window. Infatuated youths, infatuated bachelors, infatuated benedicts, pay rare tribute to the charms of her person and the magic power of her acting.

"Good by to shame and poverty and scorn!" she cries to the figure in the glass. "We will shame others, and scorn them too, and do as they have done, — hide all our baser passions with velvet, lace, and satin, and deck it with rare gems, and bring all the world to our feet, no matter what vile dirt they once have waded through to reach the goal; no matter how we came through shame and sorrow, tears or blood, we are here to stay.

"And now, Ruby, thou gem of women, whose pure blood was never tainted by so much as the taste of cabbage or a sip of black coffee, and whose pure lips were taught only the honeyed words of love and the saintliest forms of prayer, whose pearly teeth ne'er found their way into anything grosser than rare nectars and luscious fruit or angel food, — I'll give thee a rare treat to-night!

"Ha, was ever mortal so favored before, so helped on to glory by devils and angels as I have been? And this one

angel, this pale-faced girl who sets all the devils about me to tremble, whose beauty is as famous as my acting, — I — why, — I will start up all the emotion there is in her to-night as I play this play dictated by her dead father to me.

"Write, write, write! Why, the words were ever in my ears, and at last to get peace I obeyed. The result was my new play, 'Deserted.' My manager says it is capital; all the tickets are sold; the city is full of visitors, who come flocking in, from the President and his bride to the baker of the town; and Ruby, rich and beautiful, who has just returned from her travels around the globe, will be there, and, ha! ha! my missionary friend, who thinks theatres a crime and actors and actresses devils, why, she too has agreed to come, for she crossed the ocean with me. Little does she dream what I have in store for her. Little trouble will she give herself about my soul after to-night. Oh, you barefaced hypocrite!

"But tell me, ye silent spirit that doth ever glide beside me and prompt me, why didst thou prompt me to write this play, then torment me till I wrote that loving letter to Ruby and pleaded with her to see me render it, and then force me to seek that brazen missionary, who has told more lies for the heathen than ten thousand of them ever did for Satan, and induce her to come, and to give them boxes so near together. Why, old man! thou who cannot go to hell and wilt not go to heaven until thy mission is fulfilled, why dost thou cling to earth and torment me?

"To-night, ah! Shall I find out to-night? Very well, after to-night I shall know whether to believe in the power of disembodied spirits to finish a life work left undone, or not."

Salome's success had been phenomenal, which only inspired her to renewed exertion. No other woman had ever achieved so much in so short a space of time. But had any other woman ever worked so heroically, so untiringly? Had any other woman ever been prompted by just such impulses? Besides, as she acknowledged to herself, her help came in the form of inspiration; a genius of peculiar power took possession of her soul and worked his will through her, and somehow Salome grew wonderfully beautiful. Her master's predictions had been fulfilled; there was no thought nor feeling to which her lithe figure and mobile face could not give expression. Her skill in acting was only equalled by her taste in dress. She was a marvel of grace and elegance. Her motion was as free and untrammelled as the tigress in her

native jungles. It was a joy to watch her, a revelation among stage artists.

There was no trace of the old life upon her; her face and manners were of that high-bred cast that one only expects to see perfected through a long line of aristocratic ancestry. The compact her master had advised between herself and her mirror had been made and sacredly kept by her, and the transformation it had wrought was marvellous. No frowns darkened her face when the reflected image returned the gaze. She saw that her complexion even changed into a dull leaden hue with those broodings of evil. She smiled upon it and received an answering smile.

CHAPTER XXXI.

The streets on every side of the great theatre were packed with carriages, and the masses of the living bodies moved like a surging sea in great billows as they made their way to the entrance.

"Let me watch it," said Ruby to Mr. Goode, "just for a moment before we get out of the carriage; once in the crowd I can see nothing."

"And this is our old friend Salome, who is creating all this excitement!"

"Well, well," said Mrs. Goode, as she was lifted out of the carriage, unchanged since we last met her except that she is a trifle rosier and stouter, and the neckerchief is replaced by a lace fichu.

"I only wish her mother could have lived to see it, and that her father were here, but I rather think she can send him money for a home pretty soon at this rate."

Once seated in their private box, Ruby compared the interior of the building with different theatres of other countries they had recently visited. It was of vast and elegant proportions, superb in all its appointments.

Ruby then took a programme and began to read the argument of the new play. It was Salome's first year as a star, and she had been successful since her *début;* of late she was the rage of the theatre-loving world.

Ruby, too, had grown famous for her beauty and wealth, for her father's purchases had multiplied their value many times every year. She had been well received in those cities and countries where she had been introduced by her father

and his friends where he had lectured. She had arrived quietly in New York to-day in answer to Salome's letter of gratitude and love, begging Ruby to see her in her new drama, "Deserted."

It was with mingled emotions of interest and curiosity that Ruby had come. Salome had been silent, and apparently ungrateful, all these years; but her one letter made ample explanation, and pleaded with her, and as an overpowering argument, claimed to have written the play at the dictation of Ruby's dead father.

And now in the buzz of voices, the glare of lights, the glitter of jewels, and the rustle of silks, Ruby mentally recalled how strongly her father had been interested in this girl during life — how, since his death, he had seemed to prompt her to carry out his own intentions toward educating her, and how she had seemed to do it spite of herself, as though propelled by his unseen hand.

Supposing it were true that her father had dictated the play? Why, her heart trembled! It would be like seeing him again on earth. She was so absorbed that the clapping of hands in the gallery first announced to her that the curtain was raised, and presently, amid the thunder of applause, a beautiful woman appeared. Could that be Salome? Ruby raised her opera glasses with bated breath. Yes, that was Salome, and not alone, for near her, as though leading her, was — Ruby suppressed a cry — it was the spirit of her father!

The magnetic presence was felt by every one in that vast hall. Ruby saw stern brows relax and beautiful faces smile surprised approval.

The first act represented a ballroom scene, and Salome was the queen of the dance, richly and tastefully attired. Suitors crowded to pay her homage; among them a handsome, courtly man seemed most favored. He was her support, and played his part well, and, sitting apart, at last he vowed his love and was there accepted. Then followed the wedding by a tired clergyman, who roused up by the ardent lovers, united the bride in her ballroom dress to this enamored disciple of Blackstone.

There was a glimpse of a happy home in the next act. Then there was a thrilling religious revival, where earnest prayers and sighs and groans brought the proud votary of the dance to her knees.

The whole play was one of magnetic power, taking hold of every observer, for Salome lived what she acted, and Monsieur, her support, was her equal through it all.

When the curtain dropped before the last act Ruby was lost in reflection. The power of Salome's acting was no common power. The spirit of the play was one of powerful energy of purpose, all drawing with strange, thrilling interest to a close that no one could predict, — the beautiful, ambitious, impulsive wife, who had charmed her courtly husband to blind infatuation and lured him to the speedy secret marriage; then her stronger religious fanaticism, when frightened by an exhorter's picture of hell and by the dreadful construction of the words of that much-abused and misquoted Jesus of Nazareth, who said: "And every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundred fold, and shall inherit everlasting life." Then she pleads with her husband to turn missionary, and he, indignant and surprised, bids her never again invite under his roof the strolling vagabonds who call themselves ministers of the gospel, but who are poisoning the minds of weak men and women and breaking up honest men's homes. How satisfied he is that this last step to which he has been driven will have the desired result, and yet his confidence in her love, the strength of her character, is shaken!

Ruby looked with strange fascination upon this man. His voice seemed familiar, the gestures, as he pleaded with his mistaken wife, were those of some dear friend. Then as he takes their little child in his arms and conjures her never to think of this dreadful interpretation of the divine word; tells her she had better be ignorant as the heathen than enlightened and make so fearful a mistake; and failing in prayers, entreaties, and tears, rises in the full majesty of his power as father, husband, citizen, and forbids her to go again to hear this wicked man, Ruby recognizes Achille, her father's old pupil.

Mr. Goode touched her arm to rouse her, and drew her attention to a woman in the next box. Her face was deadly pale, and two great staring eyes seemed ready to start from their sockets as they watched the drop. She had attracted the attention of everybody near her but Ruby who was lost in her reflection of the drama.

When the curtain rose again Mrs. Goode started to her

feet and spread out both hands at the picture before her. Before a dying fire sat a heartbroken man with whitened locks, his elbow on his knee and his face bowed upon one hand, while the other gently moved the little cradle in which lay a sleeping child. Upon the floor of the neglected room lay the torn fragments of a woman's dress, which maybe he had torn and trampled down in that frenzy which preceded this awful calm. The candle was burned low. The whole assembly held their breath. There was a magnetism in that awful grief that attracted and held the vast audience in silent awe. Ruby and the pale woman near her seemed united in that awful moment. The man bowed over the cradle was her father; that little baby was herself; and now as the man is disturbed and raises his head to see the intruder, he is confronted by a stout Englishwoman and her husband, who apply for the position of housekeeper and nurse.

Who but Salome could counterfeit Mrs. Goode like that, who but the French student, whose voice and gesture had been drilled by him, could thus personate her dead father? Who but the woman who had lived that play could interpret it in all its striking pathos? And that woman leaned over, crushed her fan in her hand, and, with a gasp, lay like one dead. No one came to her aid. Every one was listening to the bargain made by the deserted man with these people to take care of his little child; and then the tableau, which was nothing but a light thrown upon the deserted man which effected a picture of the chiaro-oscuro, which Ruby and Mrs. Goode knew was never but once produced, and which lay in the Temple — their home — caused the assembly to gaze with bated breath, and the drop fell.

It rose. Years had passed. The little child grown up to womanhood stands in solemn, majestic silence, the embodiment of all the graces and virtues of purity and truth, in the centre of a large room; to her right, but in the background, stands her faithful nurse and her husband; at her feet, with face toward them but both hands uplifted, lies the returned missionary, imploring forgiveness and recognition. The firm, statuesque beauty of the daughter seems to be gazing forward for an answer; the spirit calls its spirit-guide for answer. It comes: the spirit-form of her dead father appears and, pointing to the prostrate figure, says, "Behold thy mother, child! In vain ignorance she hath sinned. She is more worthy now of thee than ever in her

life, for only now has her mother-heart awakened. Deal with her as thou wouldst have thine own child deal with thee!"

The daughter found voice and motion now and stooped and called her mother. Then the curtain fell.

There was a murmur of satisfaction that was solemn, intense, almost bordering on the sublime.

Ruby waited for Salome, who desired to speak to her after the performance. Salome had a rich cloak thrown over her and a lace shawl on her head. She approached them with eager steps, and cordially shook the hand of each, but evidently she saw the missionary first and her whole interest was centred there.

"I saw her faint," she said to Ruby. "I was watching this box almost constantly as I acted. She was the missionary of my play. The whole plan worked like a charm. Ruby, as God lives, as your father did live, and as he in the spirit wrote that play through me, this woman is the very same who appeared before you to-night in my ballroom scene; she was carried away by the preacher's exhortation, turned from home, husband, and child, and fled to follow that man's teachings, to go among heathen to preach the gospel, and left behind her every tie of nature and humanity — and, Ruby — no, no, let her lie there, I have ordered a carriage for her — that woman, Ruby, as God lives, *is — your mother*."

Mr. Goode bent over and felt her pulse. Mrs. Goode turned her head with an indignant sniff, while Ruby looked sorrowfully at the prostrate form.

Salome had sent a messenger before she sent the note for Ruby to wait for her, and now a woman and two or three men came carelessly forward, in the foremost of whom Ruby recognized the London solicitor who had visited them before their journey. No need for introduction when their eyes met. They had cause to remember each other, and Ruby took their address that she might call next day.

CHAPTER XXXII.

The curtain has fallen, the lights are out, the theatre is deserted, and as the spectators wend their way homeward they praise the play and the actress. Her name is upon every lip, her face in every show window, and the photographers have reaped a rich harvest from "Salome as

Imogen, Desdemona and Juliet," and now she has reached a wider fame in her own play "Deserted."

But where is she, Salome the gifted artiste, the star from whose radiance the stage sheds a new glory, spanned by a bow of promise? Once more the pledge is given that her fame shall not go down in a flood of weak sensationalism, but that Shakespeare shall live again and speak in his divinest inspirations through Salome.

In a luxurious room in —— Hotel she lies. Her brain is busy with crowding thoughts, her pulse beats deep and slow. Do thoughts of victory drive sleep away, memories of that shout of glad welcome to her native land? The door leading into the parlor stands ajar, the breath of flowers steals upon her senses. Tokens of love, of pride, of welcome — they have come from every side. She lies prone upon her snowy bed. She has dashed the pillows to the farthest corner of the room, and lies stiff and straight upon her back. Her long dark hair floats about her; a white silken robe drapes her superb figure in artistic folds. The brilliant eyes are closed to all around her, and the shout of applause to which she bowed and smiled so recently seems but the memory of a thing long past; the footlights before which she stood, the admiration of an enthusiastic audience, seem but will o' the wisps in some weird, fantastic dream. Her hands are clasped upon her chest and she lies there deaf, dumb, dead to all the living, moving, sentient world about her; she dimly realizes that all that the world can offer lies at her feet but finds her ill at ease. The inward life, known only to herself, has become a mystery and a constant pain; her mind perplexed with doubts and anxieties; disgusted with her life and with the world, her lips move and she murmurs:

"Oh, could I stop this painful wrangle in my soul and harmonize the discords of my life! By this mysterious thing called death I am constrained to live between two worlds and thus I grow confused; and oft I feel that I must tune my heart strings to a higher key than earthly melodies. When this sad life is ended and Salome is dead, the world will but remember her graceful form, the beauty of her speech and her inimitable acting. And never will they know the secret of her life locked up in silence. I shall go through my life-work on the stage, and then shall leave it, and some one else will take it up, and, like a piece of knitting, perchance unravel

it and make a new garment of the thread. At times I pause and would stand still, did not that spirit ever whisper *on*. All that I hitherto have done is lost to me and is no longer mine. And I have passed beyond each deed and left it like a milestone on the way. What lies before me is still mine, and while it is unfinished no one shall ever tempt me from it. I shall work on as mother did, till death surprises me, and puts an end to all my dreams."

And as she lies so still, so rigid, all save the active brain, and thinks of Death, he seems very near to her. She glances down at her clasped hands, which rest upon her bosom, and sees by the dim light her own form lying there, heavy and dead along the full length of her bed. She thinks what a long coffin she would take. She thinks of how it would be deep under a grassy mound, her body stiff, rigid, cold, with closed eyes, sealed lips, clasped fingers, motionless limbs and feet, and she wonders where this thinking, breathing Salome will be when it is dead. This heart, whose troublesome longings have caused her so much pain, whose ambitious loves led her from home and mother and held her fast, — no more can it prompt to vain, utopian dreams. She goes through all the horrors of the grave and suffers all the tortures of the damned. And then her mind goes wandering to a real grave, a little grave, she pictures it, in which a casket lies, a thing of beauty, holding a lovely form, and within that form a stricken heart, and within that stricken heart lies what? — The image of a proud, ungrateful child, shrined in a mother's faithful love.

"Oh, God! by Thy immutable law is retributive justice meted out. And were our punishment sent from heaven and executed all in hell, then were it in its highest form but mild indeed compared to what we build within ourselves by every hard, ungrateful, spoken word, and every deed or word of love withheld when once the object of that love is laid away in mother earth. Preach not of hell with flaming fire, and seething lakes of burning souls, for this were mild indeed, if planned by God's own vengeance and wreaked by Satan's hate! I say 'twere mild indeed to this dark chaldron full of flaming memories in my soul, and lighted by the face that smiled upon me first; whose lips gave forth the first sweet kiss of love, whose fingers pointed out the shining path above. She in sickness, sorrow, joy, and pain, in hope, despair, and every need, was always just the same. And

my black ingratitude repaid all this by silence and neglect through years in which I should have loved the most."

Writhing in mute agony Salome lay, living all her life again from earliest memory. Back to the old homestead in Shenandoah Valley, when she, a little child lying upon her little bed in too much pain to sleep, caught the gay laugh through an open door or heard a song floating upon the evening breeze, or when some lovesick swain serenaded his lady love at midnight, and the child raised herself upon her elbow, and supported her throbbing head upon her hand, and drank in the sweet tones of melody, and then clasping her dolly in her arms, and breathing another prayer for God to take away her pain, to make her a good girl, and to let her grow up a beautiful lady with lovely eyes and curling hair, (she recalled the very words of her childish prayer,) and a "God bless mamma and papa," lay down to sleep again.

Her mother, bright, busy, merry, laughing little mother, floated among the young folks, the sweetest, the gayest of all the throng, bearing all the burden with a laugh or song; her fairy form, her tiny feet, her delicate, dainty hands Salome had worshipped from afar; when the pains grew worse, and sickness laid its hand more heavily upon her, she could no longer go from room to room and watch the merry party, or know that when they were away for a day or two enjoying a new diversion, little mother was trying to catch up with her work at home. If she grew still more ill, her mother watched beside her and told her fairy tales, or better far than all, she spoke of heaven, of Jesus toiling on to Galilee, or how he walked upon the water; lulled by the sweet voice and sweeter theme, Salome went to sleep and dreamed that Jesus said "Suffer little children to come unto me, for of such is the kingdom of heaven," and woke to find that it was all true, and that her mother's lips were repeating those precious words again; and then the picture faded before her eyes, the words were echoed far away, and sweet, blessed sleep had again locked her little form in ease.

Another vision came; a hale and handsome man, with the picturesque beauty of a mountaineer, tall as a pine, and merry as a boy, came to wake her with a glad "Good morning, Birdie."

"Oh! for those dear days that are dead. Dead? Can those days ever die? Let me trace out the fairest of them all, when my heart held him in loyal, high esteem. Up on

the peaks of Otter we had climbed, and as he held me in his arms, then sat me on his big, broad shoulders to watch the sun rise out of the St. James, we were very near to God, for very near each other; and I clung to him and looked around and thought how great this world.

"Again at Richmond at the play, where the picture was made on my brain, and love roused in my heart. I loved him for the joy that he had given me. To my inner self I promised that I would be an actress, and when he was old and gray, and I was rich and great, I would be very good to him."

The panorama still unfolded. The broken ties, the wasted lives, the shattered home deserted. And through each sickening scene she winds her weary way again up to the moment when she held that fatal message in her hand. So still she lies, so dead to every sense and sound, and yet so fearfully alive within.

"Oh! could I make the past appear but as a troubled dream, and build anew the life of youth and hope and love upon the ruins I have made. Could I but call her back again, could I but clasp her in my arms once more for one short year of peace and hope, I'd give up all the years that now are left for me. When I compare what I have lost with what I've gained, what I have missed with what I have attained, I am cast down to earth and hide my face deep in the dust. And yet, who knows? 'Defeat may be but victory in disguise.' The very lowest ebb may be the turn of tide which, rising, may land me safe upon a peaceful shore.

"Oh, Mother, in thy peaceful grave! What matters it to thee in thy dreamless sleep? Thou didst ask for bread and I have given to thee a stone to mark the place where thou wilt hunger and wilt thirst no more. Oh, thou art ever near me! And thou dost walk beside me, or else I look into thy grave, and see thee in thy calm and peaceful sleep. Those busy hands, so weary oft, have found their rest at last upon thy wounded, troubled breast. Those lips that murmured not in life are still and cold and sealed in silence, and thou dost sleep unmindful of my woe. Thou dost not feel the pain of parting, mother, dear, and thy patient face even in dreams, comes not to chide my long neglect and cruelty. But thou hast left me an example of earnest work without reward, patience and long suffering silently en-

dured. Denied, deserted, forsaken and unloved, thou didst toil on."

A low moan breaks the silence, and a flood of tears, for memory will still chide on, and imagination shows her the sorrowing heart of her lonely little mother, waiting, watching for her, vainly hoping to see her child once more. All the world melts away before the memory of that tear-stained face that looked up in confidence and love in that last farewell, and the warm kiss trembles on her lips again, and the clinging arms draw her head down to meet the upturned face. Oh, those tears! They crystallize as diamonds now, and Salomé gathers them up as precious gems and binds them to her heart, and in all her life the crowning star of her life work is illumined by those tears for she sets it round about with them. If she could only, only keep her mind upon that spiritual mother and peer no longer into that grave, for there is madness there! But how, how can she look upward always when she has so chained her soul to earth? Alas! alas, Salome!

She clasps her hands and prays: calls upon the spirit of her dead mother, of her master who has led her on so long, to come to her again.

At last she sobs herself, like a tired child, to sleep, and dreams that Ruby calls her, and when she looks she sees her mother leaning on Ruby s arm while the latter holds out to her a goblet of water, clear as crystal, and little mother smiles and bids her drink for they have brought it from a distant spring that sparkles on a mountain top. She reaches forth her hand and takes the cup and drinks and slakes her burning thirst.

How grand the world had once seemed to her ambitious heart before she stood upon the threshhold of fame; how she had toiled to hear those clapping hands of the vast multitude; how she had yearned to return their homage with smiles, bedecked in glittering jewels and shimmering satin and costly lace, and play tragedies to their admiring gaze, vainglorious, ambitious, while mute and inglorious little mother had played a sublimer tragedy before her God and all the angels. The curtain had been rung down by spirit hands, and in the last scene little mother had indeed laid down her life for those she loved, not as Juliet in wild despair, but as the last sacrifice she could offer upon the altar of a life's devotion.

Whatever conception her genius could unfold, all was eclipsed by the silent actress who had gone before. Every scene in every act was perfect from first to last. And Salome realized that however wide human sympathy may extend, however broad its love, only divine love can compass all. The world is too wide for human hearts to span. They reach out but at last they close round very few, perhaps but one in their mightiest love. It might have been otherwise had there not been sad regrets, had she followed Ruby's words and given the flowers while mother lived instead of planting them on her grave. And were all the world to send up a voice of praise, were every instrument in America tuned to one harmonious chord to sound her name, she would gladly exchange it for one word of approval from those dead lips, and all those costly flowers might well be spared could she but plant one thornless rose between those fingers and know that they could feel.

"I once did think the world so wide, and heaven so high and hell so deep! Alas I find that all of these, heaven and hell, the whole universe, are compassed by this puny frame, this temple of the living soul. Go where I will, I find it still the same. I carry with me all, my hope of heaven, my fear of hell, my love and hate for all the world bound up within me; a cargo I can ne'er insure and leave behind, whose passage I must ever pay, whose company I must ever keep, whose moods I ever must obey.

"Who was it said 'That which I would I do not, and that I would not still I do?' Ah, yes! A Roman soldier who persecuted those he did not understand, but whose heart was touched one day like mine, and so he did repent and turn away from sin and preach the merits of the Crucified. And thus have I slain all the just within me and persecuted those who tried to reach their God.

"But how is this? Sorrow and sin doth make mankind nearer my kin. I see the woes of those I never saw before and know they 'do that which they would not.' Why, in this very thought my poor, contracted heart expands. I hear a voice like a surging sea rise up from a world of misery, and I fain would compass all in such a love as He did show on Calvary.

"Oh, Mother! If indeed it be that thoughts of thy long misery hath opened up my love to all who suffer pain, and that in loving them I do thy memory no wrong but show a

higher love for thee, then is my pain eternal gain. Then may I see a gleam of light beyond this long and gloomy night.

"And now I see that earthly glory is but an empty crown, while thorns must pierce the Christian's brow, and nails the feet and hands, and from the side the blood flow down when pierced by worldly pride. Who then shall be my guide? I followed long the way that's broad, where hurrying throngs go in with shouts of triumph and loud song. But here I reach a rock, a marble slab which parts the way, and here I pause for one long day.

"Ah! the sun is up and bids me go. I turn my face and hear a 'No.' Shall I turn back and leave this throng whose way is cheered by dance and song? Or shall I walk in this steep path that not a gleam of brightness hath; where e'en a King toils on alone? Methinks I hear my mother say 'Take up thy cross and come this way, for though the path be dark and steep no one is lost whose footsteps keep the shining track where He hath trod, which leads up to the throne of God.' And as I go I clearly see the road to heaven leads through misery. We cannot fly above, nor go around, but toil through life on the 'accursed ground.' For if we did we would never know how to love our neighbor in his woe. Nor could we grasp with finite brain the shame, temptation, sorrow, pain, the suffering Jesus, sent of God, hath borne and conquered, and opened the way which leads to the joy of endless day."

CHAPTER XXXIII.

The morning after the play, Ruby, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Goode and Salome, called upon the missionary, Mrs. Hamilton.

It seemed proper that Salome should introduce herself, explain the manner in which she had written her play, how the same inspiration had prompted her to write to Ruby and herself to see it, and then and there convince herself that the whole prompting had been from her dead master, in order to clear up to Ruby the mystery of her birth, and put her in position to accept the man she loved.

They found the missionary in her private parlor of Hotel ——. She was carefully and tastefully dressed, but it would be difficult to imagine her to be the mother of Ruby.

Not that she was not handsome, but she was bold, aggressive, self-assertive, narrow and intolerant.

Ruby and her friends remained below in the public parlor to know the result of Salome's interview.

To Salome's explanation of their intrusion, she said:

"I am going to tell you in the beginning that I am the missionary of your play. I am willing to confess that the facts are true to the life, but the motives were basely misconstrued. I am not ignorant enough to believe that you wrote that play through inspiration, or that it was dictated by my dead husband, but I am convinced that he wrote the play himself during his life, gave it to you, and trained you to act it to create just the false impression that you did, — that he was a much abused angel, and I a weak and erring woman. Strange he did not invent an illicit love between me and what he chose to call the 'vagabonds of the ministry.'"

Her voice was coarse, harsh, and jarred painfully upon Salome, who pitied Ruby from the bottom of her heart. Oh, little mother! in all her impetuosity she had never in her life been coarse like this! Never had Salome thought she could pity Ruby until now.

"Your child," interposed Salome, —

"Oh, yes. It is evident it was to protect his child that he spared me even there! But I sent an emissary to that child, — ah, you start! You thought I was unaware of her existence. No, I know that she lives, is beautiful, wealthy and powerful through the charm of her beauty and her gold. But she is an unnatural child. She refused to share that wealth with her mother and has been taught to disown me."

"Perhaps if you could see her — she waits below."

The missionary sat rigid and silent for awhile, and then said:

"You spoke of her marriage; to whom is she betrothed?"

"I cannot say."

"I will ask her. Call her to me."

She rose, tall and straight before them as they entered, and Ruby, trembling inwardly with contending emotions but outwardly calm, advanced. Her proffered hand was taken with calm indifference; no bending to the upturned face.

When they were seated this strange woman said:

"I saw the play and I was just telling the actress that I recognized your father's hand in it. You are called Ruby

Gladstone; your true name is Modestia Hamilton. He had the Israelitish trick of changing names it seems. I have found that very common among Jews. I gave you the name of Modesty, he calls you by a vain and worldly one."

Ruby was mute, and Salome and Mr. Goode listened in speechless wonder.

"She was the one treasure he had left, the gem of celestial love, and he called her by that name — Ruby," said Mrs. Goode.

"Then," said Ruby, rising to go, "you acknowledge you are my mother; that you left my father and myself in this mistaken idea of duty to the heathen."

"To my God! He your father, would not follow, and I could but obey the voice that called me. I chose my path to heaven and he chose his. This world is only a pathway to heaven or to hell, and we are free to choose our roads."

"Some people like to take their husbands and children with them to heaven," suggested Mrs. Goode.

"Always, when they will go. My husband would not, and the law gave him the child."

"There was no divorce?' suggested Ruby.

"No," said her mother coldly, "There was no marriage."

Ruby paled with terror.

"No marriage?" she gasped.

"No spiritual marriage; the legal ceremony was performed."

"But you considered it binding? You — you could not marry again? —"

"I have had no wish to repeat the error."

"Will you give me all the proofs you have of this marriage?"

"Yes, believing it just to both of us. I sealed this up last night after the theatre to mail to you."

She handed Ruby a legal envelope which she tore open, and found the marriage certificate and two old photographs of the first prints of that style of portraiture. It was her father, a young and handsome man, and a little child, herself, and the name "Modestia" written in her father's hand beneath.

"I thank you with all my heart for these. The cloud upon my birth has been the only sorrow of my life."

"You do not believe this young woman's story of how she wrote that play, I hope?"

"I must, for my father never mentioned your name to me, and died with the secret of this unhappy union locked in his own heart. I could have borne this sorrow better, perhaps, had it not been an obstacle to my marriage to the man I love."

"May I ask his name?"

"Solon Cadmus."

"The Infidel?"

"The world calls him so."

"Then let me say had I known that, as God lives, I should never have given you this proof of legitimate birth."

"God takes care of his own," said Mrs. Goode, "and he has forced you to do this one act of justice to your child."

"God had nothing to do with it. Satan — only Satan's hand can be seen in this."

"Ah, I believe that he, Satan, is the dominant character in your faith. Strange God that makes him his vice-gerent in your creed," said Mrs. Goode.

She vouchsafed no reply, and gave evidence that she would prefer to be alone.

"The last scene of the play was wrong," thought Salome. "No tears, no reconciliation. Ah, well, there is time later on for that. Now that it is true thus far, I shall wait patiently to see the missionary on her knees as she was last night."

"Shall we not at least be friends?" said Ruby, approaching her mother. "Can I serve you in any way?"

"You refused my solicitor the only service you could render me, a division of the fortune which, under the law, is mine."

"I acted under a solemn promise to my father, and yet for all your needs, a most liberal supply shall be freely given."

"I want money to spend for others, to enlighten the world," she said firmly.

"As you are enlightened," said Mrs. Goode, *sotto voce*. "To run away from husband and children," she added aloud.

"Men go away from their families to do God's work among the heathen, and yet they are not condemned; women only are denied the privilege."

"I would not trust my money in man or woman missionary's hands, if they were false to God's sacred trust of family, for they would be false to friends too," said Mrs. Goode.

"I can give you only for your own use," said Ruby gently.

"For that I have sufficient, God be praised. Think well before you marry that infidel. I pray God to remove such men as he quickly from off the face of the earth."

"The prayers of the wicked availeth nothing," muttered Mrs. Goode.

And thus they parted.

(*To be concluded.*)

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

ETIDORHPA.*

REVIEWED BY MRS. CALVIN KRYDER REIFSNIDER.

The most memorable epoch in a man's life is when he realizes the great maxim of Cicero: *Nunquam minus solus quam cum solus* (Never less alone than when alone). He hears the still small voice *within*, and he ceases, for a time at least, to look *without*. He realizes all at once his limited sphere, his short vision, and like Llewellyn Drury he becomes suddenly conscious of duality — as it were the flesh man recognizing his mighty antagonist, the spiritual man — who has lain dormant all these years, rousing from his slumbers and asserting himself — "You are not alone, I am here;" and the answer of the flesh man may be like Llewellyn Drury's, "This is arrant nonsense." But the clear voice will come at last, "You have lost your wager; you are not alone."

And, too, the white-haired man may be found, just as Llewellyn Drury found him, seated opposite him. (he will always be opposite the flesh man). If his hair is white so much the better, for the hair, representing the ultimates of truth, will show that this spiritual man is far superior to the material man who has so long held dominion. The elder has served the younger long enough, he asserts his birthright of primogeniture.

Never from the hour that the voice is heard until he listens to his story, records and publishes it, will that man know peace again.

It is no dream, it is awakening from a dream. To go outside and ask questions of dreamers is to get the answers of men talking in their sleep, who murmur in their dreams, and laugh at his hallucination because they themselves are not awake.

Not until you meet that other self who says in solemn tones, "*I am the Man*," and listen to his own awful experiences, can you look abroad and understand the men who like parasites crawl upon the earth, only animated dust.

Only a longing wish to see him again will bring this man back to yield up his story; yield to that wish and he comes and breaks any engagement the flesh man, his antagonist, planned for you. He may tell you a story of vain ambition and hopeless regret, searching for something he cannot find, for which others have sought equally in vain, but he succeeds in making you wholly discontent with the earth-life; and if he cannot carry you above on the wings of the spirit, he leads you into the depths below through speculative science, and shows you the wonders that are hidden from earth men, and like Job you find that "Whither I go He is there."

* "Etidorhpa; or, The End of Earth: The Strange History of a Mysterious Being and the Account of a Remarkable Journey," as communicated in manuscript to Llewellyn Drury, who promised to print the same, but finally evaded the responsibility, which was assumed by Prof. John Uri Lloyd; with many illustrations by J. Augustus Knapp. Cloth, $2.

Led by this blind guide of science he pierces the mysteries that are beyond his comprehension. No question that he can ask is evaded by his blind guide, who has received him from his former guides.

Through the darkness of despair, through the terrible temptation of the drunkards' cavern (representing abnormal conditions of the human mind), first tempted by men (representing perverted truth), and then by women (representing perverted love), remembering the face, the voice, the promise of Etidorhpa (the highest, purest love), he overcomes and goes on, on as far as blind science can lead him, and having reached the Inner Circle (the Inner Chamber) of that Unknown Country (the Spiritual World), the strange peaceful being slips to his side and clasps both his hands, and the guide (Science) of former days bids him adieu.

Light everywhere, ever-present light, but darkness within, darkness indescribable, and mental distress unutterable. When he falls on his face in agony, and with remembrances of his own happy earth-life (he does not realize the earth man, his own duality, still fights for dominion) he cries, "Let my soul die now as my body has done, for even mental life, all I possess now, is a burden. The past to me is a painful, melancholy recollection, the future is—"

He glances at the sweet, mild countenance of him who stands silent on the strand beside him, and listens to his words:

"Have you accepted that whatever seems to be is not, and that that which seems not to be is? Have you learned that facts are fallacies, and physical existence a delusion? Do you accept that material bliss is impossible, and that while humanity is working toward the undiscovered land, man is not, cannot be, satisfied?" Then will he answer, "Yes, I admit anything, everything. I do not know that I am here or that you are there. I do not know that I have ever been or that any form of matter ever had existence. Perhaps material things are not, perhaps vacuity only is tangible."

"Are you willing to relinquish your former associations, to cease to concern yourself in the affairs of men? Do you?—" And the answer is, "Come, my friend, let us enter the expanses of the Unknown Country." And he finds the cares of life fade. Misery, distress, hatred, envy, jealousy, and unholy passions are blotted from existence, "except love for dear ones still earth-enthralled, and the strand of sorrows that stretching from soul to soul, link them together the past becomes a blank." He has reached the land of Etidorhpa.

So may all reach the haven of peace who yield up father, mother, sister, brother—Father (love of self), Mother (love of the world), the husband and wife that beget all the children or ills in this life, and cling to him who leads to the land of Etidorhpa, Love.

Mr. Lloyd's book is startling in its revelations, in many directions, but more startling in some of the questions propounded that appeal to the reader's rational, spiritual mind. Christian scientists, mental healers, physicians, scientists meet some of their own theories illumed with a Roentgen ray of thought.

That Mr. Lloyd is a man of rich personal experience in the spiritual as well as in the scientific world, goes without saying, for only the man who has studied man through his own individual experiences can show the spiritual side so brightly illumed against the natural as the author of this work

Mr. Lloyd teaches through "Etidorhpa" the grand truth that *all that is is natural*, whether the term *all refers to matter, spirit, or mind.* It may require a long time for some people to see that things natural may not be ponderable nor yet subject to present laws that are known to govern force manifestations, but "Etidorhpa" teaches it, and this fact will yet be seen.

Viewed from any standpoint this work is the most marvellous production of the age. Scientifically it has no parallel, while philosophically and spiritually it offers a key to the Unknown Country, which certainly has been explored to a surprising degree by theauthor — pages 195 to 200 inclusive. Pages 313 to 330 inclusive are worth many times more than the price of the book.

Mr. Lloyd's book will live, for its teachings are pure and uplifting. As one of the world's greatest scientists Mr. Lloyd reverently says the study of science is the study of God, and no one who has had the pleasure of visiting his library and laboratory can for one moment believe him to be visionary. Seeking the highest, the spiritual education, he has not sought in vain, and the name of John Uri Lloyd will be handed down to future generations as a benefactor of the human race in his prophetic work, "Etidorhpa."

"Etidorhpa, or the End of Earth."

The sub-title of the book is of great importance to a clear understanding of many statements. *Earth* in this instance no more refers to the end of our material world than it does in the New Testament, else we believe Mr. Lloyd would have used the word "Cosmos." It is evident that he says just what he means in every case; and if others do not interpret his meaning correctly, it is not his fault.

"Etidorhpa" is a deeply spiritual book, and tells many truths that must be unpleasant to many readers.

Love, purest, highest, best, certainly signifies the *End* of *Earth*, the material, sensual man. "Thou knowest that the beginning of man on earth is a cry born of love, and the end of man on earth is a cry for love." "I am Etidorhpa (Love) the beginning and the end of earth."

Not of the natural as Mr. Lloyd uses the term natural, but the gross material must yield to the higher claim of the spiritual to reach perfection, for such are the teachings of "Etidorhpa" in every page from cover to cover. The book must be studied to be understood. It will take a generation's experience to unfold its manifold beautiful truths.

IMMIGRATION FALLACIES.*

Reviewed by F. T. J.

This excellent little work makes a strong presentation of the evils of the present system of indiscriminate and unrestricted immigration to this country, and the author urges that effective means should at once be taken to put a stop, at once and forever, to the admission of ignorant, poverty-stricken, imbecile, and criminal foreigners. He also advocates the passage of a law preventing foreigners from being naturalized or allowed

*"Immigration Fallacies," by John Chetwood, Jr.; 147 pp.; price, cloth, 75 cents, paper 25 cents. Arena Publishing Company, Boston.

to vote until they have resided in the country for ten years, thereby putting a stop to the manipulation of the "machine vote" of aliens, and the running of so-called alien "voting mills," by professional politicians and ward bosses for party purposes.

The author deals with the whole question in a very thorough manner, taking into account not only its political aspect, but also its economic and social aspects; and he justly contends that, though the economic value of immigration is very great, yet the true wealth of a nation is measured not by acreage or money, but by the character of its people. He also deals with the history of the question, and shows that the views expressed by Washington, Jefferson, and other Revolutionary fathers were utterly opposed to unrestricted immigration, such as has now been going on for years past. In one chapter he deals with the rise of the American Protective Association, and shows that the evils of unrestricted immigragration naturally tend to bring into existence organizations of that character.

In his final chapter the author deals with the question as to how far foreign governments have been morally responsible for much of the crime in this country by deporting their criminal classes hither and unloading them on our shores, referring incidentally to the killing of Italians in New Orleans a few years back. He gives some startling facts under this head, and certainly shows that our government has had ample grounds for strongly remonstrating with foreign governments regarding their action or inaction in this matter.

The author also shows that the evils of the present system of unrestricted immigration have been investigated and made manifest on several occasions in the past, especially in 1838, 1845, 1856, 1870, and 1888–9, but that all attempts hitherto made to apply a remedy have been lamentable failures; and he believes the time has come for taking up the question in earnest, and dealing with it radically and once for all.

The work is undoubtedly the most thoroughgoing and complete that has yet been published on the subject; and as the question is of vital moment not only to the nation as a whole, but to every class of the community, it is one well deserving of attentive study by every voter in the land, and regarding which, voters should insist upon having a plank inserted in the party platforms. And anyone, whether voter or non-voter, who wishes to obtain a thorough knowledge of one of the most important and vital questions of the day, cannot do better than study the admirable summary of it given in the present work.

A TOWER IN THE DESERT.*

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.

This wholesome and charmingly written story of Southern life, by a Southern lady of culture and refinement, illustrates the wide reaching influence for good which those even in humble positions in life can exert

* "A Tower in the Desert," by Mrs. V. D. Young. pp. 321. Paper 50 cents. Cloth $1.25. Arena Publishing Co., Boston, Mass.

in uplifting and broadening the vision of others, when prompted by unselfishness and nobility of purpose. Incidentally the great work accomplished by the Women's Temperance Church Union is emphasized, and the rapid broadening of woman's ideals and concepts in the South is suggestively illustrated. The characters are for the most part admirably drawn, although if the author had introduced less and made the work somewhat more compact, it would have gained in strength and held the general novel-reader's interest without sacrificing the well defined purpose of the author to inspire higher living, and to broaden woman's conception of her rightful relation to the great issues of to-day, while describing life with its sadness and sunshine, its tragedy and comedy, its artificialty and its serenity, its struggle and the bright sunshine of love which transmutes darkness into day, gloom into sunshine, and exalts while it purifies. It is an admirable book for the young, and especially for young ladies, though all lovers of wholesome stories of real life as we find it to-day, free from feverish unreality, will find it enjoyable. Its author is a prominent South Carolina author and worker, a true woman of the new South, who has caught the spirit of the new time, and is in many ways making her influence felt for progress.

WORKINGMEN AND THE CHURCH.*

SUNDAY EVENING SERMONS FOR THE PEOPLE.

REVIEWED BY F. T. J.

The author of this admirable little work is pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Oakland, Cal., and the six sermons of which the volume consists were delivered some time ago on Sunday evenings to immense audiences of workingmen and others interested in the social movements of the time. Their subjects are:

1. Understanding of the Times.
2. Yeast — Unrest of the Masses.
3. The Church and Workingmen.
4. Christ and Workingmen.
5. Human Brotherhood in Theory and Practice.
6. Salvation by Organization or by Personal Contact?

They are now given to a larger public with the hope that they may contribute something to a better understanding between the Church and the laboring masses, and between the latter and the capitalist and employer. They deal with the labor question, socialism, the present state of unrest among the laboring classes, their alienation from the Church, and the attitude of the Church toward them. They are remarkably well written, are full of strong human feeling, and contain many passages of real eloquence.

The author himself was at one time a workingman. He says: "I am very far from being in the dark in talking on these subjects. If to toil as a carpenter, to hammer at the anvil, to follow the plow, to delve in the

* "Workingmen and the Church," by Rev. R. F. Coyle. 192 pp. Cloth, 75 cents, paper, 25 cents. The Arena Publishing Company, Copley Square, Boston, Mass.

mine, to chop wood by the cord, to drive team, to work in the lumber woods, to do all sorts of manual labor — if to toil for years along these lines can teach a man anything, then I know what it is to be a workingman, for I have done all these things. I know the workingman's hardships, and struggles, and privations." While, however, he is naturally in the highest degree sympathetic toward the working classes and their desire to better their condition, he is none the less fair toward the capitalist class and other sections of the community.

Deploring the hostility or indifference of the working classes toward the Church, and with a view to ascertaining the cause of so unfortunate a state of things, he addressed a circular, with questions, to the heads of all labor organizations in his neighborhood. To this he received a multitude of replies, official and unofficial, which served to make the matter a good deal clearer to him, and which will no doubt also give light on the subject to the readers of the present work. The book, in the main, is a strong and persuasive plea for a better understanding of each other by both laborer and capitalist, for a profounder Christian sympathy each with the other, and for a truer appreciation by the working classes of the religion whose Founder was not only the son of a carpenter, but himself a workingman. And toward the creation of this better understanding, profounder sympathy, and truer appreciation the present work may be expected to contribute in no slight degree.

DAME FORTUNE SMILED.*

Reviewed by L. Josephs.

A book with a purpose, from cover to cover, which is woven into an interesting romance that lends an added charm to its pages, and will gain a wider reading than if presented in a scholarly essay.

It is an interesting story of the experience of a German physician who comes to America to carve out his future. Prior to his departure from Paris, where he has been an earnest student, making nervous diseases a specialty, he is called to attend an American lady who is the wife of a German banker of note in New York City. His successful attendance on this case impels the lady to suggest that he accompany her family in a professional capacity on their return to New York, where she assures him that the social position of herself and husband will secure him many influential patients, and predicts a successful future. Having long desired to make such a venture, and believing this to be a most propitious opportunity, he finally decides to sail with his patient and her family. The doctor possesses a very strong will power, by which he is able to control the minds of his patients and bring them more completely under his course of treatment, which is at all times based on sound common sense and good judgment, and in close alliance with the simple laws of nature. In introducing himself the doctor says:

I have had a goodly experience with life, disease, and death. I have

* "Dame Fortune Smiled," by Willis Barnes, pp. 335, cloth, $1.25; paper, 50 cents. Arena Publishing Company, Boston.

studied the human mind when it was as clear as a cloudless sky at mid-day; I have struggled with its mysterious vagueness when darkened by the midnight of insanity; but, with all my experience, I can come to no other conclusion than this: That life is worth living if it can be lived in the sunshine of health, but the darkness of ill-health makes life a weary struggle, with much sadness to bear; yet I am fully convinced that more than eighty per cent of the current, every-day disorders which mark the lives of so many persons, is caused by a wilful disregard of simple laws of nature. I have also discovered that the secret of happiness lies not alone in the enjoyment of normal health but in a life of self-sacrifice.

The great mass of humanity in this world are, as a whole, very ignorant. They blunder on like one lost in a dark forest; therefore I believe it should be a pleasant duty for those who have been more happily endowed, to set lights of guidance on every hand to lead others on to better and brighter experiences in this worldly life, leaving the mystery of the great hereafter to take care of itself; here we are, and here let us remain for as long a time as possible, under the most favorable conditions which health and happiness may ever be relied upon to give to the conscientious seeker.

As a specialist in nervous diseases, the advice of the doctor is sought by men who, from the nature of their business in Wall Street, become early victims to various nervous disorders. We will here take a memorandum from the doctor's note book:

It is the essence of every passion that men permit to get control over them, that it rivets its chains together with every hour that passes. The greed for wealth is the dominant one of the age — not of this country only, but of all civilized countries.

It is another strange fact that probably no one is so keenly alive to the fact of enslavement by any passion as the victim himself.

Probably no man ever starts in deliberately to make himself the slave of drink, yet among men of any intelligence no one is more painfully aware of the slavery when once established than the drinker. Few men ever start out with the deliberate purpose to acquire the enormous wealth that is so noticeable a feature of our age. The habit of acquisition grows gradually, like the habit of drink, and it is a common thing for men once under its dominion, if urged to retire and rest, to say that it is too late; that if they break off the habit of working and scheming they will die at once. And most of them do.

In the old days, when an ample competence had been acquired, it was the rule for men to retire and leave the active field to younger men. The passion for acquisition has riveted its chains upon men, until now they retire only when they break down or die.

The power of mental suggestion, which becomes a great factor in the doctor's successful practice, combined with his idea of happiness, enables him to turn the minds of many of his wealthy patients to worthy objects for the bestowal of large sums of money which they cannot take with them when they leave this earth, and which, in so many cases, become a source of contention after their death instead of being used for the purposes for which they are intended by the would-be donors. To quote the doctor:

I believe that the man who has money to give to the public should give it himself in his lifetime and enjoy the consummation of his wishes, or, in other words, administer upon his own estate.

Nor does he allow his interest in his profession and desire for advance-

ment of the benevolent institutions in which he is personally interested, to take precedence over other claims on the benevolence of his patients. Through his advice large sums of money are appropriated for securing to the poor free art galleries and concert halls, where the best in their nature is appealed to through the avenues of sight and hearing by the entertainments held therein. The doctor expresses his views on the subject of education before a prominent musical society in the following terms:

The onward successful march of communities in refinement has always been marked by the growth of music. The more musical a people are found to be, just in proportion do we find them further advanced in refined civilization.

He further advances the ability of men to help each other, by causing books of instruction in case of accident, to be distributed to railroad employees, that the chance of death through delay of medical attendance may be reduced to the smallest possible minimum.

Of the romance, which we have not yet touched upon, we will let the author speak for himself:

We have had no startling denouements; we have not had a villain or bold bad man tracking the footsteps of virtue and finally ruining the all-too-confiding nature; neither has there been "a woman in the case," over whom the men and women of our story could cross the swords of jealousy, gossip, or scandal. There has not been an imperative action to the detriment of any one.

Our love affair was quite conventional and tame, yet phenomenal in that it ran so smoothly and has so continued up to date, with, we hope, many more years to follow.

It may not be amiss to mention here that the author is a resident of New York City, and has no doubt watched with much interest the growth of the different enterprises for the benefit of mankind, to which he introduces his readers.

The mission of this book is to impress its readers with the satisfaction to be derived from benefiting others by the bestowal of such part of this world's goods as one can readily spare, to worthy charities and educational purposes. Certainly the author has presented the path as one of great pleasure and profit to those who walk therein, and while many are to-day availing themselves of its benefits, many more there are who would find that this life would contain much more interest for them should they seek to learn from experience that "It is more blessed to give than to receive."

LIBRA.*

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.

This romance of two distinctive characters born under the signs of Libra and Capricon will delight students of Solar Biology. Aside from being a pleasing story, it contains much which will attract all who are

* "Libra, the Poise of the Scales." An astrological romance by Eleanor Kirk. Richly bound in red cloth, stamped in gold and two of the colors of the Libra sign. Price $1.50. Published by Eleanor Kirk, 696 Green Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

interested in the influence of the Zodiac upon the Human Life. Between students of Solar Biology and those who read life from the general accepted astrology, which is based upon positions of the celestial bodies in their relation to the earth rather than with reference to the sun as a centre, it seems to me there is often much unprofitable, and worse than useless, controversy. May it not be probable that each school has part of a great truth? That the position of the earth in the Solar body exerts its powerful influence on children born under the various signs, while the subtile emanations from the planets and constellations must also be considered each exerting an influence? To many persons knowing nothing about the truth of the science of the stars, and who care not what it holds for them and others, all questions touching this ancient wisdom will be as absurd as was the possibility of a steam vessel crossing the Atlantic to a certain very learned (?) English scientist who had scarcely finished demonstrating (?) to his colleagues this impossibility, when the news arrived that a steamship had crossed the Atlantic. It is not to the easy going materialist and conventionalist that this romance will appeal, but to the children of the fire and air triplicities; to those who know much but desire to know still more; to those who are goaded on by the desire to know God, truth, and the highest duty, this book will prove a really delightful and helpful volume. It teaches the highest truths, and the description of the characteristics of various natures as written by the finger of God in the Heavens, as the story of creation is written in geologic formations is exceedingly clever, especially the delineation of those who come under the signs of Libra or Capricorn.

BIRKWOOD.*

Reviewed by L. Josephs.

The literature of a country is a true indication of its progress or retrogression. As so much of the literature of the present day is along the different lines of reform, it is a strong evidence of the general awakening to the necessities of our present social, political and religious condition. Inasmuch as the home is the cradle of the nation, it is of vital importance that its environment should be uplifting, and serve as a guide toward the highest ideals. The mission of this book is to present to the reader an ideal home where harmony prevails, and where the loftiest sentiments regarding all subjects relating to the home, the family and social life, are entertained.

Robert Harlan, one of the principal characters of the story, is a young man of high intellectual attainments who has broadened his view of life by a long sojourn in foreign lands. On his return to America he renews an old friendship with Margaret Lester, a noble young woman of congenial tastes, and finds in her a helpmate for life. Margaret Lester too, has had the advantage of education and travel. She has learned to think for herself and not to accept existing social conditions as

* "Birkwood," by Julia A. B. Seiver. pp. 344. Cloth, $1.25; paper, 50 cts. Arena Publishing Company, Boston, Mass.

a fulfillment of her high ideals. Such a strong character cannot fail to adorn the home of Robert Harlan as his wife. These are the two most prominent characters in the story, and their home life is presented in a most attractive manner. There is a calm, peaceful atmosphere surrounding them that carries a strong and healthful influence through the whole book, while sufficiently contrasting characters and incidents are introduced to satisfy the ordinary novel reader.

The subjects discussed are treated in a broad, up-to-date manner, the main thought throughout the book being the equality of the sexes and the development of the race intellectually, morally and physically, that future generations may receive their just birthright. It will undoubtedly be a favorite novel of the season, and at the same time will cause some thoughtless readers to consider the more serious questions of life in a light which should prove most helpful and beneficial to posterity.

NOTES BY THE EDITOR.

I.

Charles Mackay's Writings in Relation to the Present Uprising of the People.

We are in the midst of one of those great protests of the people which mark the upward trend of humanity, and, in view of the singular parallel between the present struggle of democracy against plutocracy, one is vividly reminded of the closing days which crowned with triumph the anti-Corn Law agitation in England.

Among the brave and noble-minded thinkers who fought the people's cause in an unostentatious but effective way was the scholarly jurist and poet, Charles Mackay. His poems set thousands upon thousands of people thinking who had hitherto followed party lead at the beck and call of intriguing politicians and a powerful landed aristocracy intrenched through all the governmental ramifications.

In this paper I wish to give a few poems of this loved poet of England, taken from "Voices of the Crowd," in the preface to which we find the following:

The series of short poems entitled "Voices from the Crowd," were for the most part written in the year 1845 and in the early part of 1846, a time of social and political agitation. The Corn Laws were unrepealed. Many of them were intended to aid, as far as verses could aid, the efforts of the zealous and able men who were endeavoring to create a public opinion in favor of untaxed food. They were written as plainly as possible that they might express the general sentiment of the toiling classes in phraseology broad, simple, and intelligible as the occasion.

But before giving these poems I wish to quote a fable written by Mr. Mackay and found in his charming "Forty Years' Recollections." It will impress thoughtful people of our time as no less appropriate to-day than when published at the suggestion of Mr. Cobden.*

In a certain powerful and populous country there was a great peculiarity in the mode of government. That peculiarity was, that no man could sit in either House of Parliament of which, as in ours, there were two, who was not a *tailor*. To be a tailor doing a great stroke of business was to be eligible not only for a seat in the Legislature, but for all the principal offices of State; and in fact the law was so framed that if any man of talent, not a tailor, was anxious to procure admission into Parliament, he was compelled to do his conscience wrong and hire a tailor's shop for a day that he might swear at the moment of his election that he did really and truly belong to that eminent fraternity. The consequences of this state of things may be easily anticipated. People seeing that the tailors made the law looked up to the tailors with becoming respect; and the monarchs of the country being in the power of the tailors from generation to generation, conferred honors, dignities, and

* "Forty Years' Recollections," by Charles Mackay. Pages 129-134.

emoluments upon them. The tailors having so much power and consideration, naturally endeavored to turn both to their own advantage, and made a law enacting that coats and breeches and every species of attire should not be sold under a certain large price. They also enacted other laws for the protection and sole advantage of tailors. But these were felt as nothing by them compared to the cruelty of making all sorts of garments excessively and unnecessarily dear; great portions of the community, unable to pay this price and prevented by law from sending to the tailors of other countries who had no such powers and privileges, were obliged to wear very coarse and insufficient raiment; and many went without it altogether and perished from the inclemency of the weather. The tailors, however, did not care what suffering the multitudes experienced for the want of covering; how many old men and old women shivered in the wintry blasts; and how many little children were nipped in the bud of existence who might have lived to old age if clothes had been as cheap and easily to be procured as they ought to have been. The tailors accused those who complained of such evils as men of no knowledge of the true principles of government, as men of no rectitude, who wished to overturn the monarchy, bring about a revolution, destroy religion, and render us dependent upon foreign nations for our breeches. They refused loudly to lower the price of their commodities, and maintained, with many specious arguments, that had it not been for the great price of coats and other garments the nation would not have attained any rank or eminence among the powers of the earth, and would have been conquered and overrun by the people of neighboring States. These false and ridiculous doctrines were so widely spread and so zealously inculcated by the tailors and by people connected with them that many well-meaning men were convinced that the tailors spoke the truth, and paid willingly the extortionate sums demanded by them. The cry of the naked multitudes was heard occasionally; but when the weather grew warmer it was hushed, and the tailors fancied that it was not the warm weather but their arguments that had stilled the multitude, and consoled themselves during the hot and quiet days with the hope that all opposition had died away. In these times there arose a man of the name of Eel, a very fair-spoken, intelligent man, who, though not born among the tailors, had bought himself into their fraternity by his wealth and acquired great ascendancy amongst them by his plausible character. This man Eel had great tact, undoubted prudence, and a sort of plain, business-like eloquence that had great weight with all the mediocre minds who did not like the labor of thinking for themselves, and who were very well satisfied that so respectable a person should think for them. Now Eel had the misfortune of connecting himself early in life with the tailors, in consequence of the facilities afforded by their corporation of advancing his ambitious views of power and influence over his fellow-men; and although the older he grew the more sensible he became that the tailors had not acted justly to the community and had by their selfishness inflicted many evils upon the nation, he had not the courage to renounce his allegiance to them. Now the nature of the man was acute, or more properly speaking, cunning; and when the tailors chose him for their leader there arose a great struggle in his mind upon the coats and breeches question. The more he thought upon the matter, and the more he listened to the voice of reason, justice, and common sense, the more convinced he became that the tailors were wrong and that the people were right. He was, to do him justice, anxious enough that the monopoly of the tailors should be brought to an end and that the people should be cheaply clothed; but at the same time he was anxious not to vex his friends who had brought him into so responsible a position, nor to destroy the great party of the tailors out of the country. In this perplexity a scheme was devised, that when the thermometer was

ten degrees below freezing point the poor people might send for clothes to neighboring States, and not be obliged to buy from the high-priced tailors of their own country. This scheme, however, was not found to work well; for when the shivering people sent for their clothes the thermometer not unfrequently rose to twenty or thirty degrees above the freezing point before the order could be executed; and when at last the clothes came they were refused admission into the country unless such duty were paid upon them as made them as dear as the home manufacture. This scheme, therefore, did not work, and great agitation sprung up from one end of the country to the other against the tailors. At last a league was formed the object of which was to put the tailors upon the same level with shoemakers and other artisans, and with the farmers and owners of land, and generally all those who were concerned in the growth of the people's food. The tailors seeing this endeavored to raise an outcry against the league. They accused them of selfish and interested views; and if there happened to be a shoemaker or stocking-weaver or landlord among them, raised a great hubbub, called them mercenaries and lovers of mammon, reckless and unprincipled men, who cared not for the throne or the altar provided breeches were cheap, though what connection there was between the price of breeches and the throne they never properly explained. It is not to be supposed that in Parliament, where their influence was strong, they could be kept silent; and Eel, who knew very well that they could not open their mouths without betraying the weakness of their cause, endeavored to amuse them with other subjects of discussion. They *would* speak, however, and from time to time uttered such absurdities, especially one man of the name of Goodwood and another of the name of Stow,* that the people, as miserable as they were for want of clothes, could not avoid laughing at the ridiculous things which these two uttered with all the pompousness of truth and sincerity. Thus the matter remained for two or three years, Eel all the while becoming in his heart more and more estranged from the tailors; but hesitating with an excess of caution which was characteristic of him to do that which he knew to be right, lest the tailors should be too rudely thrown down from the bad pre-eminence they so long occupied.

We now come to notice some of Mr. Mackay's stirring poems. The noble sentiment of the following verses, "Eternal Justice," was no more palatable to the enemies of human happiness and the obstructers of justice and civilization when they were penned than they are to-day.

The man is thought a knave or fool,
  Or bigot, plotting crime,
Who, for the advancement of his kind
  Is wiser than his time.
For him the hemlock shall distil;
  For him the axe be bared;
For him the gibbet shall be built;
  For him the stake prepared;
Him shall the scorn and wrath of men
  Pursue with deadly aim;
And malice, envy, spite, and lies,
  Shall desecrate his name.
But truth shall conquer at the last,
  For round and round we run,
And ever the right comes uppermost,
  And ever is justice done.

Pace through thy cell, old Socrates,
  Cheerily to and fro;

* The Dukes of Richmond and Buckingham.

Trust to the impulse of thy soul
And let the poison flow.
They may shatter to earth the lamp of clay
That holds a light divine,
But they cannot quench the fire of thought
By any such deadly wine;
They cannot blot thy spoken words
From the memory of man,
By all the poison ever was brewed
Since time its course began.
To-day abhorred, to-morrow adored,
So round and round we run,
And ever the truth comes uppermost,
And ever is justice done.

Plod in thy cave, gray Anchorite;
Be wiser than thy peers;
Augment the range of human power,
And trust to coming years.
They may call thee wizard, and monk accursed,
And load thee with dispraise;
Thou wert born five hundred years too soon
For the comfort of thy days.
But not too soon for human kind;
Time hath reward in store,
And the demons of our sires become
The saints that we adore.
The blind can see, the slave is lord,
So round and round we run.
And ever the wrong is proved to be wrong,
And ever is justice done.

Keep, Galileo, to thy thought,
And nerve thy soul to bear;
They may gloat o'er the senseless words they wring
From the pangs of thy despair;
They may veil their eyes, but they cannot hide
The sun's meridian glow;
The heel of a priest may tread thee down,
And a tyrant work thee woe;
But never a truth has been destroyed:
They may curse it and call it crime;
Pervert and betray, or slander and slay
Its teachers for a time.
But the sunshine aye shall light the sky,
As round and round we run;
And the truth shall ever come uppermost,
And justice shall be done.

And live there *now* such men as these —
With thoughts like the great of old?
Many have died in their misery,
And left their thought untold;
And many live, and are ranked as mad,
And placed in the cold world's ban,
For sending their bright far-seeing souls
Three centuries in the van.
They toil in penury and grief,
Unknown, if not maligned;
Forlorn, forlorn, bearing the scorn
Of the meanest of mankind.

But yet the world goes round and round,
And the genial seasons run,
And ever the truth comes uppermost,
And ever is justice done.

The following lines were written in 1845, prior to the great triumph of the masses over the classes, and were entitled, "The Vision of Mockery." Little did the poet dream that the triumphant termination of a battle fiercely waged for nearly eight years was close at hand:

All things are earnest. Once I roamed
In England, or in Dreamland, through the streets
Of a huge, buzzing, dense, metropolis.
Slowly, in teeming thoroughfares, I walked,
One of the people, hearing with their ears,
Beholding with their eyes, and in their thought
Divining, till my soul was filled with grief
At all that I beheld, and felt, and knew.

It was a gibing, laughing, sneering crowd,
Devoid of truth, faith, love, and earnestness,
Except a horrid earnestness for gain;
Fierce love of lucre, which, if one had not,
He was despised and trodden down of men:
Which, if one had, he was adored of all,
Placed on a pinnacle to be admired,
Flattered, and filled with other rich men's gifts;
His overflowing fulness made more full,
His vulgarness thought choice gentility,
His vices virtue, and his prejudice
Wisdom innate, his coarse words oracles,
And he a chief and model of mankind.

But for all else than wealth these swarming crowds
Had slight regard; and when their daily toil
In search of it was done, and time hung loose,
They gathered in their clubs and theatres,
In market-place, or corner of the streets,
And mocked and gibed, and held the best buffoon
The wisest man, so he but made them laugh.
Nothing was holy to these wretched crowds,
But all things food for jest and ribald wit,
Caricature, lampoon, and mockery.
I said to one, 'Is this the end of life?'
He turned and looked, and with a well-bred stare,
Eyed me askance: 'What would you have?' quoth he;
'We keep our reverence for Sabbath-days,
And look demure the seventh part of our time.
If for six days we toil, six nights we laugh,
And who shall blame us? What new bore art thou,
From lands hyperborean, that cans't think
Laughter a crime?' 'Nay,' I replied, 'not so;
Laughter is virtuous, if there be a cause:
But mockery!'—thereat he smiled again,
Arching his eyebrows, that his eyes, full-stretched,
Might take the measure of my littleness,
And disappear amid the gathering throng.

* * * *

'Alas! poor crowds! self-quenched, self-sacrificed,
Why will ye crawl, when ye might walk erect?

Why will ye grovel, when ye might aspire?
Why will ye don foul rags, when ye might wear
Angelic vestments? Why co-herd with beasts,
And graze in fields, or wallow in the mire,
When ye might feed on manna dropped from heaven?'

What more apt lines could be found to represent the present than the following, entitled, "The Fermentation." On one hand we have the gold ring, the great trusts, combines and syndicates, and on the other the champions of humanity, progress and republican institutions.

Lonely sitting, deeply musing,
On a still and starry night,
Full of fancies, when my glances
Turn'd upon those far romances
Scatter'd o'er the infinite:
On a sudden, broke upon me
Murmurs, rumors, quick and loud,
And, half-waking, I discover'd
An innumerable crowd.

Mid the uproar of their voices
Scarcely could I hear a word;
There was rushing, there was crushing
And a sound like music gushing,
And a roar like forests stirr'd
By a fierce wind passing o'er them:—
And a voice came now and then,
Louder than them all, exclaiming,
'Give us Justice, we are men!'

The rosy dawn is pictured in the following lines. "The Good Time Coming." The poet felt another step was about to be taken by humanity, and sang with the lark voice of the morn. We to-day are on the verge of a victory of far greater moment than that which called forth the stanzas given below. It is true it is the old fight of plutocracy against democracy, of the wealth acquirers against the wealth creators, but the issues involved are more far-reaching. It is a struggle between remorseless and conscienceless plutocracy and true democracy on the plains of the land of freedom.

There's a good time coming, boys,
A good time coming;
The pen shall supersede the sword,
And Right, not Might, shall be the lord
In the good time coming.
Worth, not Birth, shall rule mankind,
And be acknowledged stronger;
The proper impulse has been given;—
Wait a little longer.

There's a good time coming, boys,
A good time coming:
War in all men's eyes shall be
A monster of iniquity
In the good time coming.
Nations shall not quarrel then,
To prove which is the stronger;
Nor slaughter men for glory's sake;
Wait a little longer.

There's a good time coming, boys,
A good time coming.
Hateful rivalries of creed
Shall not make their martyrs bleed
In the good time coming.
Religion shall be shorn of pride,
And flourish all the stronger;
And charity shall trim her lamp;—
Wait a little longer.

There's a good time coming, boys,
A good time coming:
And a poor man's family
Shall not be his misery
In the good time coming.
Every child shall be a help
To make his right arm stronger;
The happier he the more he has;—
Wait a little longer.

There's a good time coming, boys,
A good time coming:
The people shall be temperate,
And shall love instead of hate,
In the good time coming.
They shall use, and not abuse,
And make all virtue stronger;
The reformation has begun;—
Wait a little longer.

There's a good time coming, boys,
A good time coming;
Let us aid it all we can,
Every woman, every man,
The good time coming:
Smallest helps, if rightly given,
Make the impulse stronger;
'Twill be strong enough one day;—
Wait a little longer.

Here are lines entitled "The Watcher on the Tower," which express the sentiments of England's wealth creators in the struggle to which I have alluded, and they also voice the heart-cry and the earnest faith of the noblest natures of our land to-day:

"What dost thou see, lone watcher on the tower?
Is the day breaking? Comes the wished-for hour?
Tell us the signs, and stretch abroad thy hand,
If the bright morning dawns upon the land."

"The stars are clear above me; scarcely one
Has dimmed its rays, in reverence to the sun;
But yet I see, on the horizon's verge,
Some fair, faint streaks, as if the light would surge."

"Look forth again, O watcher on the tower!
The people wake and languish for the hour;
Long have they dwelt in darkness, and they pine
For the full daylight that they know *must* shine."

"I see not well—the morn is cloudy still;
There is a radiance on the distant hill;

Even as I watch, the glory seems to grow,
But the stars blink, and the night breezes blow."

"And is that all, O watcher on the tower?
Look forth again; it must be near the hour;
Dost thou not see the snowy mountain copes,
And the green woods beneath them on the slopes?"

"A mist envelopes them; I cannot trace
Their outline, but the day comes on apace;
The clouds roll up in gold and amber flakes,
And all the stars grow dim. The morning breaks."

"We thank thee, lonely watcher on the tower;
But look again, and tell us hour by hour
All thou beholdest; many of us die
Ere the day comes; oh, give them a reply."

"I see the hilltops now; and chanticleer
Crows his pathetic carol on mine ear;
I see the distant woods and fields of corn,
And ocean gleaming in the light of morn.

"I hear a song
Vivid as day itself; and clear and strong
As of a lark—young prophet of the noon—
Pouring in sunlight his seraphic tune.

"He prophesies—his heart is full—his lay
Tells of the brightness of a peaceful day!
A day not cloudless, nor devoid of storm,
But sunny for the most, and clear and warm.

"He sings of brotherhood, and joy, and peace;
Of days when jealousies and hate shall cease;
When war shall die, and man's progressive mind
Soar as unfettered as its God designed.

"It breaks—it comes—the misty shadows fly—
A rosy radiance gleams upon the sky;
The mountain-tops reflect it calm and clear;
The plain is yet in shade, but day is near."

II.

George Fred Williams.—A Leader of the New Democracy.

One of the most interesting figures in the aggressive warfare now being waged by the new Democracy against plutocracy and corporate greed is George Fred Williams of Massachusetts. This brilliant young scholar in politics first incensed plutocracy when in the Legislature of the old Bay State he called for an investigation of the West End Company, then under the management of a brother of the Standard Oil *protègè*, H. M. Whitney. The West End Company was, and still continues to be, an odious monopoly which utterly fails to properly protect its employees from inclement weather and compels a large proportion of the travelling public to stand while riding, and in demanding a full investigation of ugly charges of corruption Mr. Williams bearded one of plutocracy's lions in its den, causing intense excitement. His honest

and determined resistance to an overbearing company won for him the gratitude of the people and led to his election to Congress. Here the money question came up. The press of his native state, as the voice of one man, had demanded the debasement of silver in the interest (?) of prosperity. When Mr. Williams reached Washington, the administration, which up to that time had commanded his respect and which he then believed to be honest, united with leading Republicans in demanding the repeal of the Sherman Act, as necessary to avert a panic, to prevent gold from going abroad and to bring about the long-wished for prosperity which had existed before the betrayal of the Republic into the hands of England by such men as John Sherman, who had entered political life a poor man, who had remained in politics on comparatively small salaries, but who ultimately had grown very wealthy while the once prosperous millions of the Republic had year by year been pushed toward penury. All the changes were rung in by the administration, the Eastern press and those who posed as patriots and expert financiers of the Republican party to bring about the repeal of the Sherman Bill. It is not strange therefore that a young man just entering public life in Washington should have been misled by the false promises of prosperity, the claptrap of the English money-lenders and their American Tory allies into demanding the repeal of a measure (the Sherman Act) which its own author repudiated, and whose repeal, it was asserted by the administration and the gold press of the Democratic party, and also by the Republicans, who were fostering the gold ring as well as other oppressive trusts, combines and monopolies, would restore confidence, prevent the flight of gold and bring back prosperity to the country. But after the repeal of the act the heinous nature of the plot of the gold ring became evident. All that the friends of silver had predicted and even worse results followed; gold fled and the treasury became the football for English and American speculators; the infamous secret bond-deal was consummated; our nation resorted to an extreme war measure in a time of profound peace, while the wealth producers of America, who had been so pitifully deceived by the false promises of prosperity in the event of the election of Harrison and the passage of the odious class legislation known as the McKinley Bill, found themselves in the same condition that they had been in for years, namely, being remorselessly pushed toward starvation while a plutocracy on each side of the Atlantic flourished on the sufferings of millions of hard working, honest and patriotic people. This condition of things set thousands of true Americans to studying the facts involved instead of accepting the fallacies which the gold ring had so long endeavored to substitute for vital truths, the knowledge of which could alone save the Republic from becoming an anarchial plutocracy — a government of corporate greed for corporate greed.

Among the thousands of thinking patriots who began this independent investigation, after all the promises made by the administration, the Republican leaders, and the gold press had proved false, was George

Fred Williams. He soon learned what thoughtful, disinterested and honest men who approach the question in a spirit of candor cannot fail to learn — that the people were right and that the cormorants of capital were a menace to freedom as truly as they were destroyers of prosperity. He saw that, as when the Crown of England, aided by the Tories, in an earlier day sought to crush the people by destroying their freedom and prosperity, and taking away their rights, so the financial policy of the Bank of England and the multi-millionnaires were subjugating American masses while feeding off the wealth creators of the Republic. Seeing this, it was no more possible for George Fred Williams to remain silent than it was in an elder day to muzzle John Hancock and Samuel Adams, and though he knew that his course probably meant social ostracism and political death, he dared to champion the cause of the people against the attorneys of plutocracy. To do this in the South and West is manly and brave, but for a man with political aspirations in New England to sever former ties and for the cause of liberty, justice and humanity to boldly espouse the cause of the people, is to stamp himself a leader in the truest sense of the word. That Mr. Williams has been assailed, caluminiated and his motives impugned by the parties who are now abusing him is a higher compliment to the brave leader of Jeffersonian democracy than any words of praise his friends could bestow.

III.

Mr. Williams' Arraignment of Financiers Who Grow Rich Through the Nation's Need While Posing as Patriots.

Nothing is more remarkable about Mr. Williams' addresses than close adherence to the great theme involved in the present Campaign and wonderful versatility in discussing the same. In one address he completely exposed the shallowness and palpable attempts at deception made by John Sherman, (a man, who, on a salary of $5,000 a year has managed to accumulate millions of dollars.) A few evenings later he paid his respects to those human vultures who pose as patriots and thereby remind one of Victor Hugo's striking words, uttered more than a generation ago, "We live in a time when orators are heard praising the magnanimity of white bears and the tender feelings of panthers." In his address delivered at Braintree, Mass., to the largest Democratic audience ever gathered in the history of that place, Mr. Williams thus exposed the hypocrisy of the money changers, and showed how striking was the parallel of the conflict to-day with those with which Lincoln and Andrew Jackson had to contend.

You know that there is some cause for the continued depression in a country like this, where all men are ready and eager to take up the tools of toil and do an honest day's work. You look back upon four years and you find that the distress has been growing. You have had it as

the culmination of two kinds of tariff. It has grown under the McKinley bill and under the Wilson bill, and the people of this country are no longer satisfied with the tariff explanation.

We have four years of continued depreciation of silver, accompanied by a gold standard in our monetary system. The Democracy of this country has declared that that gold standard system and the demonetization of silver are the causes of this disaster and now come before the people to support them in their cause. It is true that that monetary system has been conducted by a Democratic administration, but I thank Heaven that that system, with all its evils, with all its hateful developments in the last four years has been cast from our shoulders and the heavy burden has been laid upon the shoulders of the Republican party, and that we now stand free, armed to fight against it in the cause of an oppressed people.

This manner of conducting a campaign is not new. Whenever a great moral cause which affects the masses of men is pitted against the entrenched power of money, the same method has been adopted. When Cobden attacked the corn laws, his method of campaigning was like those of to-day. You may read the history of that movement and almost seem to be reading the history of this campaign. When one of the members of the Anti-Corn Law Association went to the university city of Cambridge, and while delivering a peaceable address, he was attacked by students of Cambridge, and a desperate and bloody riot ensued, the Cambridge newspapers came out and thanked the gownsmen that they had sustained the honor of good government and proved themselves upholders of the religious institutions of the country. In the anti-slavery movement the great leaders were visited with contumely and abuse by the same respectable powers that now stand against us in such formidable array.

We have no contest with capital — the honest capital that is engaged in honest industry. We have no contest with the manufacturer now in any branch of trade, for he should be our friend. It is the power that holds the manufacturer in its grip, and can make or unmake him by making or unmaking his credit that we are opposing to-day; and we propose to free not only the workman, not only the farmer, but the manufacturer and the leaders of honest and true industry from the grasp of a tyrant power that has made the world suffer before; that has made wars, and caused blood to flow; that is heartless and tyrannical from the beginning of history down to the present time.

Night before last at Worcester, I called attention to the fact that Mr. Belmont, the representative of the house of Rothschilds in London, was called upon to preside at a meeting of the sound-money Democrats, as they call themselves. Mr. Belmont — Mr. Perry Belmont — has now addressed a letter to the Boston press, saying that he is not a member of the firm of August Belmont & Co., but that his brother is. Now, so far as I represent him, Mr. Perry Belmont, as the agent of the Rothschilds, I cheerfully accept his correction.

I never have seen the partnership articles of August Belmont & Co. I have understood always that Mr. Perry Belmont was largely interested in that firm, that his fortune came from that source, and while he is a lawyer by profession, I do not think I have gone far astray in holding him up as a fair representative of that house.

By a mere error of that kind I do not propose to be diverted from the point of my argument, which was that that so-called sound-money gathering shows a representative of the house of a powerful firm that represented the Rothschilds of London to appear as the presiding officer of that meeting, and I know what you know, that he was selected because his name took with it the power of that great banking house of August Belmont & Co.

But it is immaterial, as he takes the burden upon himself of answer-

ing my criticism, and says: "But I fail to see any reason why a banker who has rendered a signal service to his country as Mr. Pierpont Morgan and my brother undoubtedly did, is not perfectly qualified to preside over or participate in the proceedings of political meetings." I do not question it, and I do not question but that those two gentlemen were better representatives of William McKinley's canvass than any other two gentlemen in the United States of America.

Patriotism! The patriotism of J. Pierpont Morgan and the house of Belmont! I would like to find written in the annals of this country a recorded instance where money-brokers like these men have ever done a patriotic act. Mr. Pierpont Morgan and Mr. Belmont, as the representatives of the Rothschilds, are not in the business of patriotism in this republic.

Let us look back a little and find out the history of these patriots, and if my memory serves me, August Belmont & Co. were concerned in the transactions regarding the finances of this country during the war. Let us see how the Wall Street brokers showed their patriotism when the blood of Braintree was flowing on the field of battle and this glorious republic of ours was almost in the throes of death.

When Mr. Thaddeus Stevens introduced his bill which subsequently became known as the legal-tender act, he opened his argument with these words, and this was in 1862 when the great question of supporting our government was brought up by the failure of gold to do its patriotic duty in this country. "The bill," said that great statesman, "which I introduced some days since to provide means to defray the expenses of the government, produced a howl among the money-changers as hideous as that set forth by their Hebrew cousins when they were kicked out of the temple."

That was the experience of the man who was fathering the bill to rescue this country from its financial difficulties; and when further on, the legal tender bill had passed the House, and had gone to the Senate and came back with a characteristic amendment which came from Wall Street, Thaddeus Stevens delivered himself again on the subject of the money-brokers.

When the bill went to the Senate there was a provision that the legal-tender notes of the government should be receivable for all claims and demands against the United States of any kind whatever. When it reached the Senate the words were added, "except for interest on bonds and notes, which shall be paid in coin," and Mr. Stevens, in protesting against this amendment, called attention to the great delight with which the whole country had held the original bill, and then went on with these words: "It is true, there was a doleful sound came up from the caverns of bullion brokers and the saloons of the associated banks. Their cashiers and agents were soon on the ground and persuaded the Senate with but little deliberation to mangle and destroy what it had cost the House months to digest, consider and pass. Instead of being a beneficent and invigorating measure, it is now positively mischievous. It now creates money and by its very terms declares it a depreciated currency. It makes two classes of money, one for the bankers and brokers, and another for the people. It discriminates between the right of different classes of creditors, allowing the rich capitalist to demand gold and compelling the ordinary lender of money on individual security to receive notes which the government had purposely discredited."

And at the same time Mr. Stevens offered an amendment that the army and navy be paid in specie just as the bondholders' interest was to be paid, and that amendment was voted by an overwhelming vote. Two years after that time, in a more critical period of the war, when the fate of our republic hung in the balance, Hugh McCulloch, comptroller of the currency, used these words: "Hostility to the government has

been as decidedly manifest in the efforts that have been made in the commercial metropolis of the nation to depreciate the currency as it has been by the enemy in the field."

And William Pitt Fessenden, the secretary of the treasury, at the same time called attention to the unpatriotic and criminal efforts of speculators, regardless of the injury inflicted upon the country, to raise the price of coin. Such is the history of our country's experience during those disastrous days of the war.

And now we are called upon at another critical stage in our country's history to praise the patriotism of J. Pierpont Morgan and the house of Belmont. What did they do? I use no hard words, but in room of patriotism I desire to say that they committed an open act of robbery from the people of this country.

Our Treasury had been depleted of its gold in February, 1895. The bonds of this government were then selling at one hundred and twenty in the market, and the Rothschilds cabled to their agents, these same gentlemen, Mr. Morgan and Mr. Belmont, that they were prepared to furnish gold to the government Treasury. And Mr. Morgan thereupon proceeded to give terms to the government for a loan of some $62,000,000, and he named as the price of those bonds, not one hundred and twenty-seven cents on the dollar, but one hundred and five cents.

The government refused those terms and was pressed to put out open bids when, according to the testimony of Mr. Morgan himself, he hurried on to Washington, saw the officers of the government, satisfied them that his house of Rothschilds and their associates could alone furnish the gold; that unless that gold was bought upon their terms there would be a panic in the market and the Treasury would be bankrupted; at the point of the pistol, you might say, the government had to accept those outrageous terms and take $62,500,000 — $65,000,000 for bonds that were then selling for $75,000,000 on Wall Street, thereby foistering upon the people of this country a burden of $10,000,000 which, had they been patriots, they would not have extorted from the government in its time of need.

And those same bonds that they paid one hundred and five cents on the dollar for were given out in a few days to their co-conspirators at one hundred and twelve, and the co-conspirators put them on the market at the market rate of one hundred and twenty.

And that is patriotism.

Now let us look a little deeper into the business of these capatalists. They have been buying bonds before. In March of 1894 the government sold to these men $50,000,000 bonds and in June the gold that was secured by these bonds had practically disappeared from the Treasury. It took but four months for the gold of these patriots to disappear from the Treasury, somewhere. In December of 1891 another $50,000,000 was sold, and in two months the gold that these bonds brought out again disappeared from the public Treasury.

Where did it go? These same patriots were the buyers of those bonds and the furnishers of the gold. We have evidence that they at least will respect the authority of the message of President Cleveland, who said respecting the results of those bond sales, "The results of prior bond issues have been exceedingly unsatisfactory, and the large withdrawals of gold succeeding their sale in open market gave rise to the reasonable suspicion that a large part of the gold paid into the Treasury in such sales was promptly drawn out again by the presentation of notes, Treasury notes, and found its way to the hands of those who had only temporarily parted with it in the purchase of bonds."

The same is the history of the subsequent bond sales which I have described to you. In the spring of 1895 those bonds were sold to the representatives of the Rothschilds, and in the winter following the gold

had again disappeared. Another bond sale was made necessary, and this time they enlarged the quantity and made it a hundred millions, hoping that they at least might save the Treasury and that so much gold would stay there.

Let us see the result of this sale which was accomplished in January of this very year. There were in January sixty-one millions of gold in the Treasury. The sale of bonds put one hundred and sixteen millions in gold, and at the present time, with twenty-six millions added, which the banks of New York have contributed to the Treasury, there is only $103,000,000 left in the Treasury. In other words, out of a hundred millions of bonds sold, at the end of seven months $90,000,000 have again disappeared from the Treasury, and have gone back into somebody's pockets.

Now the Treasury was again confronted with the depletion of its gold. In July another bond sale promised to be made. Gold was flowing out of the Treasury and to foreign countries at the rate of ten millions per month until the people, made desperate by this gambling with their national Treasury, arose in their indignation and decided upon a change from that monetary system and decided upon the adoption of a coin in conjunction with gold as the basis of its currency which the banks of London could not draw out of this country at will and leave our business suffering and prostrate.

And when that nomination had been made at Chicago these men who had been sucking the gold out of our treasury month by month and bringing us every six or seven months to the point of bankruptcy, gathered together, Mr. Belmont and Mr. Morgan among them, and decided that the business must stop until after the third day of November — that there must be no more exportation of gold; that there must be no more drawing of gold out of the treasury by this insidious process until the defeat of the Democratic candidate had been compassed. They ask us to praise the patriotism of the bankers for putting twenty-one millions of gold into the United States treasury when the sole purpose of it is to prevent a bond sale and to prevent the election of the Democratic candidate.

I wish to ask this question: If they had done any deed of patriotism or charity by the United States Treasury, why, when they presented their gold to the treasurer, did they have an equal amount of the demand notes given which they could take any day to the Treasury, and which they will present on Nov. 5, in any event and get their gold back?

Patriotism! If they had intended to be patriotic, they would have given that gold through the channels of trade; they would have paid it to the custom house and paid it to the government in the ordinary course of business. Then there would have been no call for that gold by the very notes that they took in exchange. That would have been something of a help. It would have been a return to the process by which this government kept its Treasury up so many years, the normal payment of gold through the channels of government income. And that is the story of the patriotism of the representatives of the Rothschilds.

I was struck to-night in reading a communication from a gentleman, whose name is known to you, Mr. Charles S. Hamlin, in the issue of *Harper's Weekly* of Aug. 22. A gentleman who has occupied an important position in the public service, placed there by the Democratic party, whose business it is, as the keeper in part of the financial interest of this country, to keep his mouth closed while a contest is going on between the Democratic and Republican parties.

He is the representative of the Democracy of Massachusetts in the Treasury Department and he chooses now — perhaps not of his own will, if that may be said to his credit — to raise a fund against the party which placed him in that position and try to compass its defeat at the

coming election. I do wish to say that I think it would be becoming in the office-holders who have been put in their positions and are drawing their salaries as representatives of the Democracy, at least to let that party go on and fight its contest openly and fairly without any interference from a Democratic administration.

He calls attention to the fact that the platform at Chicago has been accepted in its entirety scarcely by a single Democrat of national importance. The candidates who have been nominated have been received with enthusiasm only by a portion of the Democrats and Populists, and by a few silver Republicans. Both platform and candidates have been repudiated by nearly two hundred of the leading Democratic or independent newspapers of the country.

Now his words, and the tone of contempt with which he speaks of the platform of the party he ought to represent reminds me, particularly his reference to the newspapers, of another great contest that was made by a great Democrat in the history of this country.

Mr. Williams then went on to show the analogy between the fight of Jackson against the United States Bank and the contest of the Democratic party of the present day with the money power. Threats had been made against Jackson.

And, strangely enough, the first work of the bank was to form "sound" Democratic caucuses and conventions. The name they took then was "Sound Democracy" against Andrew Jackson, who was fighting against his former friends for the preservation of the industrial liberty of the people he represented.

But at the election which followed, although respectability turned its back upon Jackson and could not support him, the majority for Jackson in the whole country *was equal to the total vote of all his opponents.*

Now, I have been talking history all the time without coming to the question which I really intended to discuss to-night. But in the five minutes that remains I want just to say what it is that you have to decide in this campaign. It is not a question of bimetallism or whether silver should be restored. Everybody agrees to that. Senator Hoar of this State has protested over and over again that there are no gold standard men among the leaders of American thought — that they are all for bimetallism.

So, too, of Senator Lodge. France is with us, Germany is with us, all the European countries are with us; but they are in contest with the same power that the patriots, Belmont and Morgan, are trying to fix upon this country; but they dare not move, because, as General Walker said but two weeks ago, the contest for bimetallism has now come down to a contest between one square mile of London and the rest of the civilized world. Mr. Meline, the leading bimetallist of France urges this cause, as does Mr. Moreton Frewen, the distinguished English economist.

The United States is the one to strike the electric spark and the Chicago convention has struck it. You are to determine now whether you shall bring your industries to prosperity and lead the world in this movement that means the interest of humanity and the revival of your business, or whether you will lie down like whipped curs and wait for the consent of the Rothschilds of London and follow in the lead of European monarchies.

Let me not by any inadvertence forget to mention the name of Andrew Jackson. In 1832 there had been erected in this country an enormous and overpowering influence in the monetary force of the country known as the United States Bank. It handled all the treasure of the government. It had the power of issuing notes, and in 1832, when Andrew Jackson was again to be a candidate for the presidency, the president of that bank, the great banking king of that day, the Piermont Morgan

and the greatest Belmont patriot of 1832, Mr. Nicholas Biddle, went to President Jackson and reminded him that he, Mr. Biddle, had the power to defeat him for re-election.

He had given out that that bank was watching over and caring for the interests of the people, and he reminded Andrew Jackson — and how familiar this proceeding is to-day — that his bank, by its control of credits through the country, could control the business men and regulate the nominations of all the candidates in the coming election, including the president.

Jackson is reported to have made this answer to Mr. Biddle, and I may be pardoned by a sensitive public if I use President Jackson's exact words: "If your bank can make and unmake presidents, governors, and congressmen, that is a d——d sight too much power for any one man or institution to hold. And if you bribe Congress to recharter your bank, I will veto the new charter."

Then the fight was on. Then a mighty power began to gather its forces just as it is gathering them now. The newspaper press turned against him and went for the bank. But President Jackson had something to say concerning the newspapers at that time. On July 10, during his canvass he wrote these words concerning the press: "The fact that bank controls, and in some cases substantially owns, and by its money supports some of the leading presses of the country is now clearly established."

And respecting the tone and temper of that campaign, our Democratic Jackson also expressed himself in these words — how applicable to this new fight against the money power in 1896.

Can we be surprised at the torrent of abuse incessantly poured out against all who are supposed to stand in the way of the cupidity or ambition of the United States Bank? No, we need feel no surprise!

BROOKLINE PUBLIC LIBRARY

Sincerely,
Kate Field.

BROOKLINE PUBLIC LIBRARY.

THE ARENA.

No. LXXXIV.

NOVEMBER, 1896.

THE ISSUE OF 1896.

BY PROF. FRANK PARSONS.

The real meaning of this campaign lies far deeper than any question of one metal or two for a monetary base. It is the people against the dollar, men against money, the public good against the privilege of accumulating wealth that others create. The vital question is whether we shall fill the offices with men who will continue the policy of legislating in favor of money-lenders, banks, trusts, combinations, corporations, and syndicates, or whether we will fill the offices with men who are opposed to special privileges and will inaugurate a policy of legislating in favor of the people, a policy favoring the producers of wealth rather than the accumulators of wealth, a policy favoring the creation and fair distribution of wealth among the whole people rather than the gathering of millions in the hands of a privileged few. It is a question at bottom whether we shall have a government that is satisfied to maintain substantially the present conditions and let us stay in the swamp, or whether we shall have a government desirous of moving out on to higher ground. It is a question not of the remonetization of silver, but of the remanitization of the government, — a question of intrusting the Federal power to men in hearty sympathy with the great common people, or to men in sympathy with Wall Street and the whole army of parasites and monopolies, — to men who believe in equal rights for all, or to men who believe in special privileges for the wealthy and influential. It is a question whether canine affairs shall be regulated in the interests of the dog or in the interests of the flea.

I do not mean to say that the silver issue is not important. Falling prices have unduly increased the burden of

debts both public and private, have ruined farmers, merchants, and manufacturers, and paralyzed business. We are likely to have falling prices with continued depression and periodic panics as long as we rely on the single gold standard. The broadening of our monetary base by the reinstatement of silver in its old place by the side of gold, and the issue of paper based on the new-coined silver, will cause prices to rise and bring to us the prosperity that always accompanies a rising market

Ex-President Harrison and others tell us that the free coinage of silver will give us a 50-cent dollar, but that is untrue. The silver in a dollar is worth 53 cents now, and will be worth more when the demand for silver is increased by adding an unlimited monetary demand to the present commercial demand. When the mints of India closed to silver, it fell in a few days from 70 to 50 cents; if the mints of India had been reopened to silver, it would undoubtedly have returned to the old level. It is not believable that opening the mints of the United States to silver will have less effect than the mints of India. The first silver coined will buy as much, dollar for dollar, as any part of our present currency, and the bullion price will rise to about $1.29 an ounce, because any one can take it to the mint and have it coined into that. As the volume of the currency is increased by the coinage of silver and the issue of paper based on it, prices will begin to rise, that is, the value of the dollar, whether gold or silver, will begin to fall. According to the careful judgment of impartial scholars, this will go on until prices have risen to the level of four or five years ago, and the dollar has fallen to 80 or 85 cents of its present value.

Ex-President Harrison disclosed the fact that he knew his statements concerning a 50-cent dollar were false, by telling us in the same speech that "the mine-owner would profit by free silver since he would get an exaggerated price for his product" and that "free silver would put more gold out of circulation than the mints of the United States could possibly put in in years of silver, so that instead of having more money we should have less."

The mine-owner gets 53 cents now for the 371¼ grains of pure silver that will be required for coining a dollar. If he is to get an "exaggerated price" or make any profit out of the new law, it must be through the rise of silver above 53

cents. The use of the words "exaggerated price" shows a consciousness that silver would rise and that the columns of "arguments" based on the 50-cent nonsense were conscious falsehoods.

Silver will rise and the mine-owner will gain, but he will gain no more than he lost in 1873 by the demonetization of silver.

If silver contracts the volume of our currency as Harrison predicts, prices will fall still further and the dollar will rise in value instead of dropping to 50 cents, so that the ex-President is again involved in self-contradiction. It is not true, however, that free silver will drive gold out of circulation. Gold is not in circulation, it is hoarded in bank and treasury and private nook; it has no need to move, for it grows in idleness, — but when silver comes into the field and prices begin to rise, the dollar will no longer increase in idleness, it will have to come out of its hiding-places and go into business in order to make any profit for its owner. So that free silver will not drive gold out of circulation, but will compel it to come into circulation. It may gradually go to Europe, — probably will, — but if it does it will be because Europe will give us a full equivalent for it. If much gold goes to Europe it will tend to lift prices there, stimulating industry and creating thereby a new demand for our products.

When the gold men exhaust the scareful qualities of the prediction that free silver will drive out of circulation 600 millions of gold that are not in circulation, thus greatly contracting our circulating medium, they turn to the equally well based prediction that "a flood of silver will be dumped at our mints, producing an enormous inflation of our currency." Where is the flood to come from? Europe has $1\frac{1}{3}$ billions of silver, but it is coined at the ratio of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, which is higher than ours, so their coin could not come here except at a loss. Silver-using countries have about 2 billions of silver, but every subtraction from their money will raise the value of what is left, so that the profit of shipment would soon be neutralized and equilibrium secured. Silver ornaments and plate will not be melted to any alarming extent, because for the most part the labor expended upon their production amounts to more than the coinage profit. There remains only the annual production, which amounts to 200 millions in coinage

values. Production would be stimulated somewhat — perhaps to 300 millions. A considerable part of this would be needed for the arts and for use in other countries, leaving, according to the best judges, about 80 or 100 millions a year for the United States. On the whole it appears probable that a few hundred millions will come to our mints at the start, and afterward perhaps 100 millions a year. The time required in minting will prevent any sudden or over-rapid increase in the volume of our circulating medium.

It is said that labor will be a loser by free coinage. This is untrue if you look at the ultimate as well as the immediate results. When prices go up wages will also rise, and employment will become more continuous and secure. The first effect will be that a *day's* wages will buy somewhat less than at present — prices will be lifted first — then the resulting stimulation of business will call for more labor, mills and factories will run full time instead of half or a third of the time, men now at work will have work for a larger part of the year, and many not at work at all will be able to get work; the result will be that a *year's* wages will buy a good deal more than at present; and finally as the increased demand for labor and the diminution of competition through the employment of the unemployed lifts the rate of daily wages, the ultimate result will be a double advantage for labor, — more employment and better wages.

It is said that wages are low in Mexico, China, and Japan, where they use silver. Yes, and wages are low in Turkey and Egypt, Italy, Spain, Servia, Cuba, and Hayti and other countries where gold is the standard. It is the standard of living among the people that fixes wages and not the monetary standard. When Germany was on the silver base wages were higher than they are now. Wages were higher in the United States before 1873 than they are now, even if you measure them in gold in both cases. I know the Aldrich report is supposed to be authority that wages have risen; but in its estimates of wage progression that report is vitiated by the most palpable absurdities.

The following calculation illustrates the methods by which the Aldrich report arrives at the conclusion that wages rose $14\frac{1}{2}$ per cent between 1873 and 1891:

1873, wages of foreman . .	$2.00
" " " 10 men . .	1.00 each
1891, " " foreman . .	2.78
" " " 20 men . . .	.90 each
Average increase per foreman,	.78 or 39%
" decrease per man,	.10 or 10%
Total net increase, foreman and men,	29%
Average increase (29% divided by 2) =	14.5%

It may well stagger belief that such methods should be employed in a document of such importance — yet such is the fact: a foreman or superintendent weighs as much in the Aldrich scales as the whole body of men under him. If we take the total number of workers and the total wages shown in the report (which, though not entirely perfect, is nevertheless a far more perfect method than the one employed in the report) the account will stand as follows:

	No. men of all sorts.	Total wages.	Average wage. In currency.	In gold.
1873	6,210	12,660	$2.04	$1.81
1891	7,765	13,125	1.69	1.69

showing a fall instead of a rise of wages; and there has been a considerable additional fall since 1891.

We are told that free silver will cause a panic. Perhaps so, — not because of any trouble with free silver itself, but because the men who control our industries are bitterly opposed to silver and will be apt to kick the furniture to pieces if they can't have their way, especially as they know that somebody else will have to pay for the furniture. If you had a golden locomotive that brought the cargoes of the world to your back door to let you select whatever you wished, and the fellows who raised the corn and potatoes, wheat, cotton, pork, etc., should build a silver locomotive and run it on another track straight from the farm and the factory to the public market and not by your back door at all, so that you could no longer live by the peculiar qualities of your gold engine, but must go to work for a living, it is not improbable that you would get red in the face and swear, and call the new scheme theft and anarchy and repudiation and all that, and you might be mean enough, you and your fellows, to blow up some of the cars, and block the track, and smash things up considerably — it would not be anarchy if *you* did it, but only a panic.

At any rate it is clear that a panic could not last long in the face of rising prices and under a government willing to come to the rescue by loaning money directly to the people on good security. And it is also clear that if we continue

the gold standard we shall have ever-deepening depression with periodic panics as we have had in the past. It is the choice between two roads, one of which is down grade as far as the eye can see, with numerous gullies and precipices, while the other may pass a valley at the start, but is certain soon to carry us on to a long and steady upward slope.

The charge that free silver is anarchy, theft, and repudiation will not bear examination. Anarchy is defined by Webster as "a state of society in which there is no law." The silver men do not propose to abolish law, but simply to alter law in the regular constitutional way.

Theft and repudiation are just as wide of the truth as anarchy. There is no doubt that free silver will take advantages from some which they have long enjoyed, but to which they have no right, and the deprivation of which is not theft, but justice. There is no doubt that in some other cases free silver will work real injustice, — at the same time that it justly relieves old debtors of the overweight of obligations created years ago, it will necessarily injure creditors upon contracts recently made; but this injustice is not the object of the free-silver movement, it is merely incidental; and no measure for the public good was ever enacted that did not cause injustice. The issue of paper money in increasing volumes during the Rebellion caused prices to rise, and enabled the debtor to pay off his debt with less than he borrowed; but the issue of paper was not repudiation — it was a patriotic measure for the public well-being, and the injustice was incidental.

Moreover, there are few persons who are recent creditors and without other relation to this question. Nearly all creditors are also interested more or less in production, manufacturing, and trade; and upon this side free silver will help many of these people more than it hurts them on the creditor side.

It must be remembered also that the injustice caused by free silver will be but a drop in the bucket compared to the injustice that has been caused by the gold standard and will be caused by it if it is permitted to continue. A dollar that cheats the debtor is just as dishonest as one that cheats the creditor. An honest dollar is one that cheats neither; or when injustice to individuals is unavoidable, the honest dollar is the dollar that comes nearest to doing justice to the whole community. The present dollar is a 200-cent dollar,

a very dishonest dollar in reference to the public debt and to many private debts. To take off a part of this over-value is not dishonesty, but simple justice.

If a debtor votes for silver believing that it will release him from a just indebtedness, and that belief constitutes the motive of his vote, he is a scoundrel and a repudiator; but if he believes that silver will simply reduce his debt to its original size, and prevent his creditor from getting more than his due, his ballot is that of an honest man; and if in addition he thinks free silver will change depression to prosperity and benefit the country as a whole, his vote is the vote of a patriot.

Suppose that you should borrow 100 yards of cloth from me, which I should measure off with a yard-stick 36 inches long, and before you returned the cloth I should legislate the yard-stick up to 72 inches, or should fail to enact proper measures to check a tendency of the stick to expand, so that by deliberate fraud or by unprevented expansion the yard-stick came to be 72 inches long, and when you brought back your 100 yards of cloth, as long a piece as you had borrowed, I said, "That won't do; you'll have to get some more cloth; that's only half enough," and you at last puzzled out what was the matter and discovered that the yard-stick had increased in length, and you said, "This is all wrong; if you did it intentionally it is a fraud, and if you did not intend this result it will still be a fraud for you to insist on receiving twice as much as you gave; I shall write a few words on the statute book that will reduce that yard-stick to its former dimensions." Would you not be justified in such action? I think you would: and I believe that the farmers of the West and South do not intend to vote for confiscation, but for justice and the public good. Their self-interest coincides on the whole with equity and the welfare of the nation, and their votes will be the votes of righteous men.

It will be harder for Wall Street to manipulate a currency based on gold and silver than a currency based on gold alone. Where the mints are open to both metals, and the government and every other debtor has the option to pay in either metal, which is the condition of things dignified by the term bimetallism, the money gamblers cannot compel the nation to issue bonds simply by cornering gold; they will have to corner silver at the same time.

A double base will be less influenced by changes in the mining output, by the hoarding of Russia, the calls of the arts, etc. With a single gold base, if the production of gold falls off, our finances suffer, but with silver too to rely on we shall be much better off, it being less likely that the supply of both metals will fail at the same time than that the supply of a single base should fail. Moreover, the use of two metals gives us double or more than double the average annual addition to our monetary base that we get with gold alone. This will enable our financial system to keep pace with the growth of business, and prices will not fall as they have been doing under the gold standard. In every way a double base is more stable in reference to commodities than a single base.

It is true that "gold is the standard of the most enlightened nations of the earth," but it is also true that it became such through the action of the money-lending classes in those nations and not through the intelligent action of the people in general. The money-lenders saw that if they could concentrate upon gold the monetary demand formerly divided between gold and silver, the value of their money would be greatly enhanced; and as the government was largely in their hands and the hands of those they are able to control by "South Improvement Company Contracts" and other means more or less similar, there was not much difficulty in accomplishing their purpose. The result has been that the whole group of "enlightened nations" with a gold base have been grievously afflicted with falling prices and industrial disasters, while silver-using countries have suffered little or none, and are to-day in a prosperous condition.

Besides the potent arguments for bimetallism on general grounds, and the specific justice of restoring silver to its old position in our financial system, it must be noted that the success of silver this year will clear the way for other sadly needed reforms. The problem of monopoly is a pressing one. So are the questions of direct legislation and proportional representation, civil service reform, a corrupt practices act of efficient nature, the proper restriction of immigration, the intelligent redistribution of labor displaced by inventions, etc. If silver is defeated, the people will listen to nothing else for the next four years. But if silver is successful, we shall not only reform our finances, but open the way for other advances no less important and imperative.

Let us sum up now the results of our discussion in a sort of

BALANCE SHEET.

SILVER.	GOLD.
++A rising market.	A falling market.
Justice to old debtors and injury to new creditors.	Justice to new creditors and injury to old debtors.
+Speculative control of two metals harder	than one.
++Stability of two metals less affected by accidents of production, etc.	
—	International monetary harmony.
Possible temporary panic.	Continued depression and periodic panics.
+Gift to owners of silver mines.	Continued gifts to owners of gold and all money based on it.
+Clear the air.	Air continues murky.
++Common people a fair preponderance in the government.	Continued power of plutocracy and the machine.
++The diffusion of wealth.	The congestion of wealth.
++Opportunities for men.	Opportunities for money.

As a rising market is infinitely preferable to a falling market, silver must have a strong credit on the first count. There is no doubt that the market will rise if silver is successful; that is admitted by McKinley, Harrison, Sherman, and all the rest of the gold men, — the men who stand for silver do so because they desire a rising market, and if silver alone does not bring it, they will issue enough paper on the silver to secure it. As the great bulk of debt is more than four years old, the justice done to old debtors will in all probability exceed the injustice done to recent creditors, and it would be fair to give silver a credit on the second count; but in order to avoid any possibility of seeming to overestimate the benefits of silver, we will merely cancel the second count, allowing the incidental injustice to recent creditors as an offset to the just relief of old debtors. The credits on the third and fourth counts need no explanation beyond that already given.

To be sure of fairness, I have debited silver on the fifth count, although it is by no means clear that gold deserves a credit even here. It is true, at present, that a gold standard secures us monetary harmony with Europe. But every party, even the Republican, is pledged to bimetallism, and there is strong reason to believe that the enactment of free coinage by the United States is the shortest road to international bimetallism. This is the view, not only of high authorities in this country, but of the leading bimetallists of Europe, such as Cernuschi and Arendt. There is a powerful

movement in Germany, France, and even in England for the reinstatement of silver for the same reasons that are urged in this country, and their leading thinkers declare that victory in the United States will surely be followed by similar victories for silver in the Old World, re-establishing international monetary harmony on the truer basis of bimetallism. However this may be, it is perfectly clear that international monetary harmony is not of very great importance. Our international trade is only 4 per cent of our whole business, and international exchanges can be carried on by means of bullion and bills of exchange based on shipments of commodities, etc., as, for the most part, they are now. We have no difficulty in dealing with silver countries now, and we should have no trouble in dealing with gold countries then.

A possible temporary panic may be balanced against the continued depression and periodic panics sure to come with the persistence of the gold standard, though, in fact, a credit belongs to silver on this count, on the same principle that a man with a bad tooth would prefer the pain of having it pulled to the continued annoyance and periodic achings that would accompany its retention. The giving back to the silver mine-owners what was taken from them in 1873 will not offset the enormous gifts that have been made and will continue to be made under the gold standard to the owners of gold mines and gold money and all money based on gold. As to the owners of silver mines, free silver is simply restoration, taking from gold what it wrested from silver and giving it back to silver — or, rather, a part is given back; all the millions of unearned increment that have accrued to the owners of gold in the last 23 years remain in their possession.

In the light of what has been already said, the rest of the balance sheet explains itself: 1 point for gold and 8 points for silver, 5 of them double points — points of incalculable importance.

In order to perfect our finances and readjust our industrial system to modern conditions, we must do much more than achieve the free coinage of silver. Bimetallism will still leave our currency open to private manipulation if combinations sufficiently large can be formed. Government ownership of the mines would help, but the only way to place the monetary system beyond the reach of private interest, and secure its management in the public interest, is to make the

monetary system a public institution — let the government issue all money in payment for public work, or in loans through postal savings banks that shall keep the people's money in absolute security, and lend to the manufacturer, the merchant, and the farmer on good security, as well as to the banker and the owner of bonds.

Free silver is only one step, — the financial goal must be to place the movement of the currency volume under intelligent control, acting in the broad daylight in the interests of the whole nation; for this movement of the money volume is the power that gives control of prices and determines in a large degree the question of prosperity or panic. Then monopoly and special privilege of every kind must be redeemed to the public use. Government must be purified and improved, and labor out of place must be helped to readjustment and rendered secure in the opportunity to make an honest living.

I stand at the junction of three great roads — one leads to the right up a smiling slope to the public ownership of monopolies, security of employment, elevation of labor, a national currency and postal savings banks, progressive taxation of incomes and inheritances, direct legislation, etc., etc.; on the left, is the road of gold, that is full of puddles and mud and rocks, and leads forever down, over gulch and precipice, to a vaster congestion of wealth, a strengthened money power, a more corrupted government, and a nation in slavery to privilege; the middle road is the silver road, and it looks as though it had a gully at the start, and some rocks and puddles beyond, but it has an upward slope upon the whole and turns after a while and runs into the road on the right. I'd like to travel the right-hand road from the start, but my fellow citizens say, "No, we must take the left road or the middle; your choice lies between these two." I find that the men who are going the silver road want about the same things that I want, they are opposed to private monopoly, believe in equal rights to all and special privileges to none, desire a rising market, the elevation of labor, etc., — I find that the silver road runs into the anti-monopoly, equal-rights road a little further on. And I say, "Well, if I can't get you to go on the right-hand road from the start, — if we must go on the gold road or the silver road, then I'll go with the men who want what I want, and on the road that leads into the road I want to travel."

THE SIMPLICITY OF THE SINGLE TAX.

BY S. HOWARD LEECH.

Now that the battle for the single tax and humanity is on, we hear from those who will not take the time and trouble to understand our proposition among other objections this: "Oh, the theory is very nice and it all sounds well enough, but it will not work out in practice," and then the widow who was held up against the anti-slavery agitation is now being held up against this cause. To be sure she is getting pretty old and feeble now, but her would-be friends persist in dragging her out in all kinds of weather and under all circumstances. This is the stereotyped way of putting it: "What will become of the poor widow who has all of her money invested in land? will it not be an injustice to her?"

It is my purpose in this article to point out to such unthinking people just how the single tax will work in practice. I propose to treat the subject entirely from the fiscal side, although in my own opinion the moral side of the question is, if possible, the stronger position, one which in fact cannot be successfully contradicted from any possible position.

We hold "that which the individual creates belongs wholly to the individual, and that which the community creates belongs wholly to the community." These two propositions, it seems to me, must be admitted by all fair-minded people, for they involve the main proposition that "to them who create belong." What right have a few people to take from the whole people what the whole people create? It takes the whole community to create land values, therefore the land values belong to the whole people, and no individual has any right to that value except as one of the community, or, in other words, no individuals have any right to appropriate to their own use that which the whole community create, for when they do this they rob other individuals of their part in this general fund, and they also rob the community of the whole of this fund which should go to the government to pay the necessary governmental expenses. This seems to me to be a clear-cut business view of the whole matter.

Under the present system the government (the community as a whole) creates something like two billions of land values every year, and instead of using this themselves they hand it over to a few individuals to be used as these few individuals please, and for their own personal use; and these persons do not even condescend to spend it in the United States, but go to some foreign country, and hobnob with some lord, or buy some duke or earl, with a worn-out constitution and title, for their daughter.

Is there anything more senseless than for the whole people to create this enormous land value and then to give it away? If we are such a charitable people, why do we not give it to the needy, who would use it to some advantage to themselves and the community in which they live? Why not take this value and pay our government, State, and municipal expenses? There would be more than we need for all of these necessary expenses, and then with the balance we could create beautiful parks, grand boulevards, build museums, art palaces, public libraries, and, above everything else, it would relieve the people of such enormous burdens that they would be able to build beautiful homes and have them surrounded with beautiful lawns instead of living in seven-story tenement houses and badly ventilated flats. What would be the effect upon industry were we as a people to use a little common sense and take what we ourselves create? Simply this: It would make it unprofitable to hold land out of use, and those now holding it would have either to use it, sell it, lose money on it, or let it go for taxes, when it would revert to the government and there remain until some industrious citizen wanted to use it, when he would take possession and pay the annual rental value on that particular piece of land into the public treasury.

When all of the land now held for speculation is thrown on the market, it would have the effect of greatly reducing the selling price, making it much easier for those wanting to use it to get it. As land includes all that nature put here, this would open up all of the rich mining lands, oil fields, coal fields, forests, and in fact all kinds of natural opportunities. There would then be millions of people who could at once get work at good wages, and who would at once commence to build homes. This building would start the log-cutters in the forests, the saw-mills, the people who make saw-mills, the transportation companies and the men who build cars

and boats, the teamsters, the planing mills, the carpenters, the brick masons, the finishers, the painters and decorators, the paperhangers, the carpet looms, the furniture factories, the iron mines and all the different branches of industry which in any way use iron. These workers would have to be supplied with more clothing, more food and better food, and this would in turn start the farmers, the wool growers, the tanneries, the factories, the shippers, the wholesalers and retailers, and in fact it would start the ball rolling from the very foundation, and the further it rolled the larger it would grow and the more workers it would take to push it along, until every conceivable kind of industry would be put into operation, and every man, woman, and child who needed it could find steady employment at wages which must necessarily rise as the demand for workers increases until the highest point possible for capital to employ labor was reached. On the other hand, it would release an army of laborers now employed in our complicated tax system, and allow these people to go into some employment where they would be producers in the true sense. This would still further promote production, as *natural* co-operation always does.

Now let us see about the poor widow who has all of her money invested in land. It is to be presumed that she bought land because she wanted land. Had she wanted wheat, or corn, or cattle, or a stock of goods she would have had the same privilege of buying them, and would have bought each or any of these things because she had a use for them; therefore it is to be presumed that she had a use for the land, otherwise why should she buy it? Why should any person buy anything he cannot use? It is business to suppose that when a person buys a thing he has a use for that particular thing. Now it might be supposed from the way this question is raised that we propose to take away from this poor widow her land, but we make no such proposition. She will have the same right and privilege of keeping her land that she now has. Under the present system we, being a very charitable people, are giving her all of the increased value of this land which we make. We think the time has come when we can use this value to better advantage by allowing our own families to share in it, and we simply propose to stop giving it to the widow and use it for our own needs as a community. We are in no way taking from her anything she has herself created, but

we think we have given her all we can afford, and propose to stop giving it to her and use it for our general needs. *She will still have her land, and can keep it and use it or let it lie idle just as she wishes just so long as she pays the taxes, exactly as she must do now.*

Nor is there any possible injustice done to any individual under such a system. On the contrary, it insures to all equal opportunity, which is the intent of our Constitution. Here is the proposition: We, the whole people of the United States, give the land its value. All land not being of the same productiveness or desirability, it would be manifestly unjust to give one individual a certain very desirable or productive spot and another individual a very undesirable or unproductive spot without in some way equalizing this difference. This is what we propose to do. Each of these pieces of land will have its respective value. Suppose the better location is worth $50,000 and the poorer one $2,000; the individual holding the spot worth fifty thousand would pay into the public treasury a tax of say three per cent, which would be $1,500, and the person holding the piece worth two thousand would pay the same rate of three per cent or $60. Thus would this difference of location be equalized, and each would pay according to the opportunities given him by the community. This would be absolute justice to all parties. Suppose for an illustration that there is a large hotel at which a certain number of people wish to stop. The government of the hotel insures to each individual permanent possession of a particular room so long as that individual pays the tax or rent. Some have the finest rooms, richly furnished, convenient to the library, the dining-room, and whatever they need for their comfort. They naturally have to pay the highest price for their rooms. From that point the rooms grade down to the poorest in the hotel, each paying for the desirability of their respective rooms. That is what the single tax will do, simply make those having possession of any particular piece of land pay into the public treasury the tax or rent according to the location of that spot. The landlord made the value of the rooms. The people make the value of the land.

It is no concern of the landlord if one of his guests wishes to lock up his room and not use it; he has possession and the privilege of using it whenever he wants to do so, and the

landlord charges him for that possession or privilege. Neither is it any concern of the community whether a person uses a piece of land or not, *provided he pay the community the full value of possession;* but it is this value which the community should demand of a person having possession, just as the landlord demands the value of the room.

We have to make but few new laws to put this method in full operation. The most we have to do is to repeal some bad laws we now have and substitute a law raising all taxes, national, State, and municipal, from land values. Then when a person built a house he would not be fined for his industry. When he furnished his home with the necessities and comforts of life, he would not be still further fined. Think of the injustice of a law which says to a family: "If you dare buy a sewing machine with which to make your clothes we will fine you. We don't believe in sewing machines, we believe in doing things in the old way; neither do we believe in allowing men to be employed in making sewing machines; we believe in restricting labor, and we will fine everybody who dares buy a sewing machine, not only once but each year so long as you dare keep it." Just think of the idiocy of such a law, and then think of the idiocy of creating two billions of value every year and then giving it to a few individuals who never do anything to create this value.

Is there anything easier, more sensible, or more business-like than that we, the community, take this value which we, the community, create and pay our legitimate governmental expenses, set labor and capital free, and go on to a new civilization like a sensible American people?

JESUS AND THE APOSTLES.

BY PROF. JOSEPH RODES BUCHANAN, M. D.

"And, lo, I shall be with you always, even unto the end of the world."—MATTHEW xxviii. 20.

These are the very words of him who "spake as man never spake," overawing the hosts of his enemies in Jerusalem in his maturity, as he charmed them in his younger days by his refined wisdom, for which there was no recorder.

Such is the testimony of the brave and faithful Matthew, who enlisted in the army of heaven at Jerusalem, and went forth like his inspired master to meet the doom which was inevitable. Yes, inevitable. And Bulwer in his "Last of the Barons" concisely states the sad *historic* truth, that love,* philanthropy, and patriotism are the perpetual sacrifice of the noble few for the ignoble many.

Socrates, Jesus, and Bruno attest the force of this historic law, but it is not *perpetual*, for it belongs to the childhood of the race, which is scarcely yet adolescent and cannot yet welcome its saviours.

The disciples were warned — Peter was specifically told of his final imprisonment (not crucifixion, which never occurred), and Matthew knew that he would fall at his post as a soldier; for all of those twelve disciples had their degrees of inspiration and of prescience. Prophecy was a common gift where the divine influence extended when Christianity was a reality and not an evanescent memory.

Christ did continue with his little army of martyrs, and even appeared to his fiercest enemy, Paul, to enlist him in the divine service by revealing to him the truth, for he saw the strength and nobility of his nature.

And his promise to be with us always has ever been fulfilled to those who rightly seek the great teacher of divine love, instead of the divine malignity adored by Calvin.

The writer speaks from the standpoint of both the physical sciences and the vital sciences which demand evidence for everything, when he says that after many years' scrutiny

*The teaching of Christ is so quietly and systematically forgotten that it may be necessary to mention here that love is the Christianity of Christ.

of the history of religion, he can speak of the career of Jesus and his disciples as the noblest scene in all human history, and accept in full faith his promise to be ever with us, for he is an undying presence in the heaven which inspires all that is noble on earth.

The dawn of psychometry and the more recent appearance of its illustrations in telepathy are preparing the world to believe not only that God is immanent in all things, but that the grandly inspired soul that gave to man the only religion worthy of his profoundest reverence is not beyond the sphere of humanity as he exists in heaven now, though he was seen but by few in Judea.

But is he always with us? That depends on the question where we are. The sun is always with us if nothing hinders, but he may be shut out by the exhalations of the earth which make the clouds, and he is not present to those hidden in mines and dungeons.

When men gather from heathen myths and from the anonymous manuscripts of an obscure and very corrupt antiquity the materials to build an impenetrable arch of creeds above and around them, they lie therein as hibernating animals, and it may be a thousand years before advancing civilization can break those walls and bring them out of a Rip Van Winkle torpor into the sunshine and splendor of modern progress.

The creeds of Christendom, which have walled out Christ and peace but welcomed war, have been fabricated, not from his teachings, but from that Old Testament which he quietly laid aside, warning his disciples not to put his new wine in the old bottles, and not to obey their silly ceremonies and their Sabbaths, for he was lord of a new dispensation; and St. Paul, whom he guided, expressed himself strongly against the "bondage" of the Old Testament and the veil it threw over the mind when it was read.

That Old Testament was chiefly a collection of anonymous writings of unknown origin, with not a fragment of credibility as a religion except what it derived like all religions from popular acceptance (which is not the slightest evidence of truth), and the frank statement of this fact by Professor Briggs has made him the hero of a theological battle. As the Old Testament was the antagonist of Christianity it could be amalgamated therewith only by interpolations in the New Testament which were abundantly though clumsily introduced.

The historical, the half mythical, and the rhapsodical literature which it contains are only materials for curious archæologists to study, who are interested in the literature of barbarous nations, ignorant alike of geography and astronomy, who thought the sun and stars ran round the earth and that the sun was stopped in his journey by Joshua.

Their opinions and superstitions have no practical value to-day; and if Jesus Christ had not shown his superiority and independence of Judean superstitions, as he did in reference to those of Egypt, India, and Persia, with which I know he was well acquainted, he would not have been entitled to modern reverence. The glory of Jesus Christ is that he was as absolutely unique and original as he was wise, gifted, fearless, and faithful to the divine truth with which he was inspired.

The courage and eloquence with which he stood against the national superstition of the Jews insured his destruction. He led the forlorn hope of humanity in a battle of which he well knew the inevitable end.

War has millions of heroes, peace has very few. Men who would die for their country in battle will do little or nothing in peace to save that country from ignorance, corruption, and plunder. The rule of peace is, "Every man for himself."

Jesus stands pre-eminent in moral heroism, introducing a religion which to other men has always seemed impracticable, and which even to-day, in a more cultivated though not less selfish race, seems so impossible of adoption that I would not have dared to become its champion but for his glorious example.

The power that crushed him was the selfish and cunning ambition of the sacerdotal order, jealous of its power, which he could have destroyed, and it determined to destroy him when it could not seduce him.

The same sacerdotal ambition at Rome finished the work that was achieved in the crucifixion and the martyrdoms.

It crucified the *Christianity* which would have destroyed the despotism of imperial Rome by conceptions of peace, harmony, justice, and equality which called no man master, to which Rome was a stranger. When the apostolic work ceased in death, the power that created the apostate Church, retaining the name of Christ, began its work by the prompt collection and concealment of the four gospels as soon as they appeared, of which the dying Church had not a copy

for a hundred years except the imperfect and corrupted gospel of Luke preserved by Marceon, which the Church authorities denounced and finally suppressed after it had an extensive circulation.

Marceon's gospel, with the gospel of Peter and gospel of the Hebrews, gave a dim light for the hundred years of gospel darkness (following the suppression of the gospels) so complete that Justin Martyr, the leading champion of Christianity, knew nothing of them.

Christianity really existed during three fourths of the first century, and where it was well nurtured by the apostles peace, joy, and spiritual communion abounded, as St. Paul and St. Luke describe, and a real brotherhood existed in some places, men having all things in common.

After that the helpless infant Church of the humbler ranks of society, its faithful apostles dead, with not a single successor in their mission, and its gospels suppressed, was at the mercy of false priests, who founded the apostate Church in the midst of paganism, which it so largely absorbed that Origen's teacher maintained that Christianity and paganism were essentially the same religion, and the pagan festival of December 25 was substituted for the real nativity of Jesus on the 12th of January, which was observed by the earlier Christians, who could not resist the paganizing tendency, and the pagan mind, accustomed to create gods of mortals (even deifying Nero), readily added Jesus to its list of deities, and made no objection to endowing Jesus with the ferocity of Nero in the gospels.

After the apostles' death there was a whole century for the gestation of the papacy and manufacture of its Bible, for which there was no immediate necessity, as all that the papacy needed was promptly manufactured and introduced into the epistles of St. Paul, which have so patched an appearance as to excite suspicion and much discussion of the question, Which are and which are not genuine?

When finally the Roman Bible was produced there was no discussion. The Church was accustomed to receive the dicta of bishops and priests as authoritative and infallible, and the original objectors to innovations were dead.

The imperial power under Nero and his successors approved this attempt to destroy a pure democratic religion by corruption, converting it into an ally of despotism by the Pauline forgeries which command everybody to obey the despotic

powers that be as ordained of God, and threatened damnation in an infinite hell to every brave lover of liberty. That liberty exists to-day in America (to a moderate extent) is only because human intelligence has outgrown this forgery on Paul, and Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, and Lincoln are preferred to the Romanized Paul.

Christianity was founded on divine love — the love of God to man, the love of man to God, and love of the brethren to each other, which Christ declared was the test of Christianity, the absence of which to-day proclaims the absence of Christianity if the words of Christ are accepted as its test.

The apostate Church reinstated the authority of the Old Testament, under which Jesus was crucified, and reversed his religion. For a God of love it substituted a God of infinite hate and terror, whose ordained purpose in creating the human race was the infinite torture of all but a few arbitrarily chosen to worship himself. Nero at that time was made a god, but the God of the apostasy was infinitely beyond Nero in every horrible quality — an insane monstrosity of a fierce imagination, excelling all the cautioned demoniac fancies of antiquity among the most barbarous nations.

But the moral sense of mankind has for many centuries not only endured but revelled in this horror, and still in the nineteenth century endures it passively, with a little shamefacedness when the subject is discussed in the light of humanity and common sense, with a timid effort to moderate, conceal, or deny the horror, which shows how completely the nature of man can be accommodated to *anything* by education, habit, and example.

The impossible fictitious Christ was made to resemble the insane Deity, and poured forth love and non-resistance alternately with instructions to hate everybody, threats of hell, and a distinct threat to *return to that generation* and send all to hell, whether living or dead, who had not accepted the horrible theology; after which the world was to be burned up. As eighteen centuries have passed since the total failure of this insane prediction, the wonder is why it is still retained or why it was ever introduced, being a self-evident forgery unless we believe Jesus a lunatic.

The ferocious doctrines of this fictitious and impossible Christ are so unpleasant even to read, that it is best to put

them in a foot-note to be studied by those who seldom seriously consult their Testament and realize what they have indorsed.*

Surely if "devils with devils damned firm concord hold," they could hardly have invented anything more diabolical than this self-evident forgery charged upon Christ. And yet how unconsciously has hypnotized Christendom accepted this moral poison and retained it in horror even after seeing its natural results in the *Holy* Inquisition and in Calvin, who tortured his victims with hot irons. The very orthodox persecutors really believed this terrible forgery and obeyed it; and the modern Church accepts it still from habit without really believing it and dare not obey it.

But the better portion of the world refuses to recognize this hideous mask held up before the face of Christ. It prefers to recognize him as the faultless expression of divine love, the ideal to which we should aspire, without having the moral energy to pronounce this mask a malignant invention.

It is a dulled and blunted moral sense which does not repel with horror the quotations given in the note, and he is utterly ignorant of Jesus Christ who can suppose for a moment that such language ever came from him.

And yet in the Anathema Maranatha of the apostate Church, in the tortures of the Inquisition and cruelties of the early Protestants, in the religious massacres and in the *auto-da-fé*, and in the energy with which Spain spent $800,000,000 in attempting the extermination of the heretics of the Netherlands, we see that this religion of hate built on the buried ruins of Christianity has been for centuries a tragical reality.

Let us dismiss this loathsome theme briefly. All these horrors in principle, of which but a few are quoted, are interpolated as daring forgeries in the midst of the real gospels,

*I am come to send fire on the earth. Luke xii. 49.

Suppose ye that I am come to give peace on earth? I tell you, Nay; but rather division. Luke xii. 51.

Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword.

For I came to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law.

And a man's foes shall be they of his own household.

He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me: and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me. Matthew x. 34-37.

The father shall be divided against the son, and the son against the father; the mother against the daughter, and the daughter against the mother; the mother-in-law against her daughter-in-law, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law. Luke xii. 53.

If any man come to me, and hate not his father and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple. Luke xiv. 26.

mutilated and garbled, and it is not difficult for any one with a clear intellect and an uncorrupted moral sense to expurgate for himself the Roman Testament and find a pure and charming volume left by rejecting everything absurd and evidently fictitious, everything incompatible with the purity, the love, the nobility, and the wisdom of Jesus; and this is what Bishop Faustus in the fourth century urged all Christians to do, because, as he said, these gospels were not written by the apostles, but by unknown men, and it was slandering the apostles to attribute such writings to them.

With a proper reverence, love, and admiration for Jesus we must be morally certain that nothing unworthy came from him, and that everything fictitious or debasing is a forgery. For though the four evangelists did write the gospels, what we have now was produced a hundred years after their deaths by a corrupt priesthood and is entitled to no credence when it is *prima facie* false.

Catiline was not more corrupt, wicked, or daring than the knaves (of whom Carabbas was the ringleader) who produced this book to establish the papacy and destroy Christianity.

The amount of political and social despotism, slavery, and slaughter for which it is responsible in Europe and America would require a large volume even to outline. It was of course successful at Rome, for it allied nominal Christianity to real despotism. The crowned murderer, Constantine, established this Church firmly, which might well be called Constantinity.

Christianity was entirely unknown at Rome after the second century. If it had been known, the noblest of Roman emperors, the philosopher and statesman, Marcus Aurelius, would have adopted and sustained a doctrine so much like his own sentiments. But he could not be deceived by the bastard church of Roman politicians, which always has been and still is a politico-religious combination for the conquest of the human race.

There was not a particle of real Christianity in its founders. They destroyed all gospel manuscripts they could reach; they kept in circulation more than fifty apocryphal productions to fill their dupes with ignorant superstition. They were in no sense successors of the primitive Christians whose names they assumed. They made no investigation to ascertain and record the life of Jesus while its witnesses were still living.

The memory of that wonderful life was not extinct when Paul was murdered. He said that numerous witnesses were living; but their testimony was not wanted; and I have a record of some whom they silenced.

Nor cared they to make a true record of the lives of the apostles whom they shunned — not even of that Peter whom they claim as their founder preaching at Rome and transmitting an authority he never assumed or possessed.

Sharp is the boundary line between the times of Paul and Peter and the church founded on the destruction of their real teaching and substitution of the church of despotism. No Peter ever pretended to hold the keys of heaven; no Jesus Christ ever claimed to be a God or creator, for he emphatically denied it; and no Christians of this apostolic time had any such ideas or any conception of drinking his blood or of his wrathful return in the clouds.

To introduce these ideas, it was necessary that the apostolic age should be blotted out — that Christianity should be entirely slain and out of sight when its doctrines were destroyed. But the murderer does not always succeed in hiding the body of the victim whose name he has assumed; and the relics of Christianity were not buried entirely out of sight, for the criminals feared no inquest under their absolute rule.

As lineal successors of the primitive Church, they would have preserved every manuscript and every relic of the apostolic times.

St. John and St. Peter were the most conspicuous of the sainted founders, and St. John survived all the rest. It is probable that they knew nothing of St. John far away at Smyrna. He was still alive when their deadly conspiracy was in active progress at Rome. They never called him to Rome, or obtained any record of his life, which would have been most deeply interesting to Christians. They covered his life with oblivion, not even knowing when or where he preached, and prepared for their dupes long after his death a reckless, second-century fiction of which the following is a specimen: "The churches founded by St. John were Smyrna, Pergamos, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea, and Thyatira, to whom he directs his Book of Revelation!"

These names of churches were picked up from the Book of Revelation, which he never wrote — a wild effusion of meaningless, mediumistic insanity rejected by the churches

to which it was addressed, entirely rejected by the Christians of the first four centuries, which has addled the brains of all who have studied it. To attribute these ravings to St. John, the profound thinker and favorite of Jesus, is an insult to his memory. Next "Being at Ephesus [St. John never resided at Ephesus], he was ordered by the Emperor Domitian to be sent bound to Rome, where he was condemned to be cast into a caldron of boiling oil. But here a miracle appeared in his favor; the oil did him no injury, and Domitian, therefore, *not being able to put him to death*, banished him to Patmos to work in the mines. He was, however, recalled by Nerva, who succeeded Domitian after his decease, but was deemed a martyr on account of his having undergone the mode of an execution, though it did not take effect."

All this is but a piece of second or third century fiction at Rome, where it was believed that trees bowed down to worship the babe Jesus, and that St. Peter drove a camel twice through the eye of a needle to prove his power — fiction of the same childish sort which fills the officially indorsed lives of the saints and their exciting deeds, the remarkable record of mediæval superstition to which the Roman church still clings. The life of St. John I found in my old Protestant family Bible.

The truth is that St. John went to Rome, was not fettered, but respectfully treated, was never sent to Patmos for punishment, and therefore never recalled.

"He was the only apostle who escaped a violent death," is another falsehood, as both Matthias and Jude died natural deaths.

The entire church record of the apostles is as reckless and false as its official record of finding the original cross of the crucifixion deep in the earth, preserving it in a church under care of a Catholic saint, and sending out great numbers of fragments of the true cross to the devoted, while the true cross, notwithstanding the large amount of timber cut off for the faithful, remains entirely unchanged, as its guardian saint declares and the church officially maintains.

And all this superstitious rubbish (not worth quoting) in reference to the twelve disciples seems to be passively accepted by the Protestant church like an infant from its Roman mother who taught it that the anonymously compiled gospels were the word of God. And though believing the

Roman church corrupt and applying ugly epithets to it, it never inquired seriously into its fraudulent compilation, until of late theologians have found it impossible to discover whence it came. Yet it has engaged in the defence of the anonymous Testament with such deceptive works as Norton's "Genuineness of the Gospels."

The accounts of St. Peter are nearly as fictitious as those of John, ending in the fiction of his reverse crucifixion when in truth he was never crucified at all, and no respectable history can tell where he died or how, and even his residence in Rome is disputed.

The conspirators were glad to get rid of Peter, and never attended his burial if they were even aware of it. The Encyclopædia Britannica says: "As to death or martyrdom, of the time and place of that death we *know nothing* with even approximate probability." The magnificent cathedral over his supposed grave is a monumental lie.

The conspirators had not the decency even to inquire into the lives of the apostles or history of Jesus, for they cared only for their names. The literature which they countenanced concerning Jesus is disgustingly fictitious, and the first thirty years of his life are still unknown, excepting his infant escape and his appearance in the temple.

Christendom has forgotten God, dishonoring his name, his wisdom and love, to *worship a book* of anonymous origin, coming from those who have so far destroyed the history of Christianity as to prove their Bible worthless, by cutting it off from all evidence of its authenticity, all possibility of apostolic origin. In vain have historians, linguists, and theologians looked all through the oblivious period (the age of fraud and forgery) between Christianity and Romanism to find any substantial connection between them.

But have the Roman conspirators permanently destroyed all true history of Christianity and its apostles? This question was answered by the prophetic wisdom of Jesus before our eighteen centuries of moral darkness, when he said to his disciples that nothing could be permanently hidden, and that all should be revealed. Does Christendom believe this? I do — and time will establish it.

But if there were indeed no other evidence of the mission of Jesus Christ and truth of Christianity than the anonymous compilation bearing evidence of forgery on its face, which literary criticism has proved to be widely sepa-

rated from the apostolic age, then indeed the Church and all its theology are doomed to the same oblivion as the old myths of Joshua and the sun, Jericho and the rams' horns, Jonah and the whale, the talking donkey, the talking snake, and grandmother Eve, Mrs. Lot's salt statue and the pile of quartz miraculously brought three feet high, covering a large indefinite number of square miles (from thirty to a thousand).

It is toward such oblivion of religion that we are led by the "higher criticism," which has never been high enough to appreciate the genius of that Christianity which can never die, for it is the spirit of heaven flashed upon the earth, and as it came from heaven once, *it is coming again* in its own time and method.

This subject is too extensive to claim a place in THE ARENA, which is involved in the desperate struggles of humanity, the burning questions of the hour; but I must say in conclusion that the sixteen years of my recent investigations after much preparation will show that the Christianity of Christ is not lost nor forgotten, but that the history of him and his disciples down to the destruction of Christianity as a church will soon appear, showing the identification of the lofty wisdom of Jesus with the noblest results of modern science and the profoundest modern ethics, born out of humanity's deep sufferings, realizing that the brotherhood of humanity, the vital principle of Christianity, is the world's only salvation.

In returning to the wisdom of the Judean Saviour we begin the ending of eighteen centuries of misery during which man has been isolated from heaven.

This restoration of lost history is far more than a higher criticism. It is accompanied by evidences which the writer's friends regard as unanswerable, which challenge every reader's investigation, give history a broader basis, and satisfy the demands of the agnostic inquirer as well as the enlightened philanthropist and Christian.

THE MEDICAL CRISIS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

BY C. W. CRAM, M. D.

The history of the world presents many crises great and small. They may be seen in the heavens and upon the earth, — in the Church, in the political arena, in practical medicine, and in every pursuit of man as in every phase of physical existence.

The simple-minded native American of two centuries ago saw a portentous and direful crisis in an eclipse of the sun or of the moon. To him such an event was an occasion of terror. He had no means for estimating his danger; he could make no calculations upon efficient means for escaping a supposed calamity.

The intelligence that marks the civilization of the present century and that which preceded it not only makes visible an interesting epoch in the world's progress, but brings to view very distinctly the contrast between the helpful conditions of to-day as compared with the unenlightened and unhappy environment of the native of an earlier time.

This ability, through our intelligence, to discern danger, to estimate the extent of its menace, and thwart its purpose by calculations based upon substantial data, is well presented in the opening paragraph of Webster's great speech in his oratorical battle with Hayne on the floor of the Senate.

A commander out at sea, with vessel buffeted and tossed by the storm, is in control of an organization, the crew being the facile body of which he is the head. In the first lull of the storm he will give orders to investigate the situation. He will get his bearing by the compass, take his sounding, and ascertain his latitude and longitude. He has a given course to pursue, a port to enter, and the means at his command for the achievement of such purpose are scientific and adapted with precision. Not so in the medical crisis to which I will now call attention.

Here let it be clearly understood that this article is not dealing with the medical profession in its entirety, composed of three departments,— surgery, practical medicine, and obstet-

rics. Its drift bears alone upon one section of the triune — the department of practical medicine. Surgery is out in the open daylight of progressive thought, with a basis for scientific work. So it is with the department of obstetrics. But practical medicine is an old hulk out on the professional sea without sail, oar, rudder, compass, or north star. It has no head. It has no body, unless we accept as such the conglomerate mass of discordant elements seen in the opposing schools — the allopaths, eclectics, homœopaths, hydropaths, etc. Its reliance is on its voluminous tail, a prehensile tail, by which it clings tenaciously to old-time theories and dogmas.

The star-fish, resting upon the cool sand of the seashore, responds with his five arms to the impulse sent out from the concentric ganglion of his body. That ganglion is practically its head.

So man, at the head of the vertebrates, responds in every portion of his anatomy to influences sent out from the convolutions of the brain, from the *medulla oblongata* or from a neighboring basal ganglion.

But practical medicine has no head, while its body, composed of a half dozen hostile schools of medicine and presenting the paradox of life emanating from disorganization, has not even the impulse centre of the star-fish. It looks to its prehensile tail, with its old theories, dogmas, and traditions, for impulse and guidance. This is well illustrated in the shameful declaration of Massaria, a professor at Padua in the sixteenth century, that he would rather err with Galen, who lived in the second century, than be right in accepting any of the new views of his own time.

In order to obtain a fair view of the tremendous interests on the side of human life that were involved in the crisis of which I am writing, we must look at the medical doctrines taught and the character of the work accomplished in the department of practical medicine during the two thousand three hundred and fifty years that terminated about the middle of this century.

Hippocrates is generally credited with being the father of medicine. He lived and founded the medical profession about four hundred and fifty years before Christ. At that time the nervous system was unknown, and it was his belief that the blood was the life of the body, and that every movement of the body depended on that fluid. At the same time he taught that there were four fluids, — the blood, phlegm, black

bile and yellow bile. As he could see a man bleed to death, he naturally supposed that a patient prostrated with fever or any other ailment not surgical was suffering from some obscure involvement of the blood. So he based his plan of treatment on the blood. It was a new plan, for previous to his time, up to and through the Esculapian period, there was no systematic treatment of disease save by incantation and prayer.

Hippocrates generally found in his acute cases three indications for treatment, — blood-letting, concoction, and food prohibition.

By bleeding his patient he hoped to remove a portion of the disease from his body.

By "concoction" he proposed to increase the heat of that portion of the blood that remained in the body. He did this from the belief that fever, or the increased heat of the body, was produced by nature in an effort to throw off the poison from the blood by a process of fermentation. As he could aid this process only by making the body hotter than the fever made it, he would put the patient into a hot room and exclude, as far as possible, light, air, and water. It was a professional purgatory, best fitted to prepare the patient, not for the return of health, but for the narrow house in the cemetery.

His prohibition of food up to the crisis of the disease was apparently due to his ignorance of the bodily necessity of a continuous supply of nutriment. He knew nothing of the composition of the blood, or of its control, or of its offices, or of its circulation or supply, and he was as ignorant of anatomy, physiology, animal chemistry, and pathology as of the blood composition. But profound ignorance did not restrict his dogmatism.

On his self-sufficiency he erected the framework of a great profession, and assumed the function of a teacher before he had entered the novitiate of the pupil.

It is now well known that his blood theory of disease was a fatal error, and that his three indications for treatment — blood-letting, roasting, and starving — are appalling to the consciousness of the competent physician of to-day.

So irrational were the doctrines taught by the so-called dogmatic school which Hippocrates founded, that active opposition soon developed. Erasistratus opposed the blood-letting, and later Asclepiades antagonized the assumption that

nature made an effort to cure the sick. Meantime Aristotle had discovered the motor nerves. Herophilas followed with the discovery of the sensory nerves. Then new interest was awakened in the study of anatomy and physiology and in the practice of surgery and obstetrics, but no good came to the unfortunate department of practical medicine where the acute, epidemic, and chronic diseases are encountered.

The reason for this was not far to seek. Surgery has to do with the anatomy of the body. By the sense of sight and also of touch we may judge of its integrity. If there is fracture of bone, dislocation, tumor, abscess, or incised or lacerated wound, the attendant conditions can be seen and understood. There is no mystery in the case to obscure the treatment.

We may have, then, in surgery, professional work that is as scientific as can be seen in any department of the mechanic arts. And so with the obstetric art, that is now taught in our medical schools as a matter of absolute science.

But the department of practical medicine was a dark and unexplored region. Here all was uncertainty. Of the acute, epidemic, and chronic diseases nothing was known, save their uninvited and alarming presence. Their coming was a mystery, their course a painful reality, their termination an enigma to be guessed at in spite of medicine. Why the inflammation, fever, loss of appetite, and intense prostration? The doctors couldn't tell.

In this condition of medical affairs we see the cause of deep confusion that was soon followed by division into opposing schools. The first was that of the empirical sect. Then came the methodic. Soon followed the eclectic, and in after years the pneumatic, which was followed by other schools of medicine.

But little direct good came from all this contention, for all these schools accepted the leading Hippocratic error that all diseases were of the blood, their exceptions to the teaching of the dogmatic school having connection only with methods of investigation and practice. They were as deep in the darkness of uncertainty as the old school. The acute, epidemic, and chronic diseases were still profoundly mysterious in their distal and proximate cause, their phenomena and their pathology.

This scholastic *ensemble* of medical ignorance, first seen in the dogmatic school, proceeded abroad, stalked up into the

days of Christ, invaded the centuries, approached the dark ages, and there, as if some evil genius had decreed it for the curse of the world, found the great Galen ready to receive and uphold all the pernicious doctrines of the Hippocratic school. He not only accepted those doctrines, but guarded and fortified them.

So thoroughly did he do this against the new schools on one hand, and Crinas and others actively teaching astrological views of medical treatment on the other, that the old blood theory of disease and the triune for treatment — blood-letting, roasting, starving — went on stoutly through the darkness of the middle ages, and for twelve hundred years there was little change.

In the fourteenth century the destructive tendency of medical practice was increased. Mercury, which was introduced into practice in the eighth century, was seldom used until the syphilitic involvement six centuries later, when patients were salivated without the least reason. Not many years later patients were generally salivated without any distinction as to disease. If these patients recovered, it was at the expense of a broken constitution, effected through injurious action of mercury upon the nervous system.

The dogmatic triune, destructive for eighteen centuries, had become a quartet whose deadly career was to abridge human life for four centuries more.

Not only was the span of life decreased, but a depraved condition of the physical body was produced that was transmissible. Heredity handed down the curse upon the unborn, and we see the result in many who are crippled, unsymmetrical in form, stunted in growth, or in some way warped in physical, mental, or moral make-up; while others, on the same line of inherited tendency, suffer more acutely from rickets, hip-joint disease, Potts's disease, club-foot, and other surgical diseases that are precipitated by slight provocation. It is apparent, too, that many of the chronic diseases now treated medically bear the same relation to the old-time practice.

Yet all of this fearful work in the medical department that reaches back to a period four hundred and fifty years before Christ has the professional trade-mark, "Hippocratico-Galenical," and is strictly regular.

Near the dawn of the Christian era, Themison was the leader of the methodic school. Impressed with the appearance of unsuccessful work in restoring the sick to health,

Juvenal put the query: How many of the sick has Themison destroyed in one autumn?

It is now clear that if Themison had killed every patient that he saw during his whole professional career, his deadly work would have been mild compared with that of the Hippocratico-Galenical methods in their sweep of two thousand three hundred years.

Fortunately the eighteenth century dawned with quickened mental life. Thought was active, investigation on the alert. Evolution and revolution were earnestly at work in the overthrow of time-worn institutions and conditions. In the medical world the sunlight of reason smote the old-time fallacies. Men eager to receive truth were to be seen: the day for scientific achievement was at its dawn. Keppler and Galileo had introduced their system of mathematical reasoning for obtaining scientific conclusions. Lord Bacon had proposed his method of induction.

Up to this time all schools of medicine taught the humoral pathology, or the blood theory of disease. A higher range of thought now gave new light. The old theory began to fade from sight, and the quartet of blood-letting, roasting, starving, and salivating was put upon the defensive.

Stahl was first to obtain prominence with a new theory. He taught that the rational soul of man controlled the whole economy of his body. His views were largely accepted in Germany. However, while they were teaching his theory and his methods in practice in the University of Halle, Hoffman, one of its professors, ardently opposed them, while he advanced the physiology of the nervous system as a guide to medical practice. Here was a discovery. It was the first rift in the ancient obscurity of medicine.

The light seen was but feeble compared with the fulness of that emitted by the nervous system to-day; yet Hoffman's eyes discerned its portent, though he was unable to outline and measure its full significance. While this light was feeble, there was still great strength in the ignorance, selfishness, prejudice, and intolerance of old-time dogmatism.

At this juncture in medical affairs, the great Boerhaave was at the summit of his fame. Did he see the new light and aid in disseminating its life-giving rays? He saw, but did not heed, accept, or aid the new light. He was brilliant and masterly, and preferred to advance theories of his own, which time has proved to be wholly untenable. His influ-

ence was as great in England as was that of Stahl in Germany. Their systems were amplified on errors. Yet from both came an indirect gain to science, inasmuch as they were a protest against the more fatal errors of the Hippocratico-Galenical school.

Haller, who became famous as a physiologist, and who had been a pupil of Boerhaave, proclaimed his discovery of irritability as a property of the physical organism, especially of the muscular system of animal life, and of sensibility as applied to the sensory system. This threw wide open the doorway for the advance of Hoffman's nervous-system theory; and Cullen, one of the most advanced physicians of that day, formulated a system of practice on that basis. The rapid advance in the physiology of the nervous system gave him an advantage over Hoffman.

Cullen was active in support of his views, but he was actively opposed by Dr. John Brown, who was advocating a system of his own, holding that all diseases could be reduced to "the two general heads of direct and indirect debility, or debility arising from a deficiency or an excess of excitement." His system admitted only sthenic and asthenic conditions. In the former he made free use of the lancet. This indicated that it was hard for him to break entirely away from the old practice. His system was narrow and of evil tendency.

Following Brown came Dr. Erasmus Darwin in support of the physiological or nervous-system theory of disease. As Cullen was in advance of Hoffman, so Darwin was in advance of Cullen. This was made possible by the continued progress in the attainment of knowledge of the physiology of the nervous system.

Darwin called attention to the connection throughout the bodily organism, and "placed theory and treatment upon the doctrine of association," claiming that even the symptoms of fever came from irregular action of the nerves.

Back of every disease there existed a pathological condition of at least a portion of the nervous system.

It was disturbed physiology that gave rise to the phenomena incident to morbid anatomy or a pathological condition of the body. This was the truth of science, but it was not generally accepted. Like Stahl, Hoffman, Boerhaave, Cullen, and Brown, Darwin had followers, but he found no earnest and general upholding of a grand theory. The time was not ripe for it.

Bichât had not yet completed his foundation in general anatomy for a full and clear exhibit of physiology and physiological medication; Magendie had not demonstrated the physiology of the spinal nerves; and Claude Bernard and others had not performed the remarkable vivisections that have since proved that normal physiology is the standard of health, and that deranged physiology constitutes the pathology of the sick.

So Darwin and his colleagues, like Pythagoras and Philolaus in the early history of astronomical research, saw clearly the head-light of approaching science, and were filled with the promptings of a great truth, yet, from want of proper and sufficient data, were unable to establish a representative system.

The old triune-quartet of practice, however, received a blow sufficiently hard to produce its death, but no new theory as to disease was prominently sustained, nor did any new method of practice alone supplant the old, the medical work that continued partaking largely of the systems of Stahl, Boerhaave, and Brown, though deeply tinctured with the physiological ideas of Hoffman and his followers.

The present low state of medical practice, with its death-rate but little less than hundreds of years ago, indicates a great loss sustained by the non-acceptance of the new physiological theory. What anatomy is to surgery, physiology should be to practical medicine — the basis of scientific medication.

In surgery we never look for a death to follow the fracture of a limb, though it may be a compound fracture, unless it is seriously complicated. But our fevers, which are far less serious at the outset than a compound fracture, have a death-rate of from five to fifty per cent without any complications. Now to cut the death-rate in fevers down to its surgical level in compound fractures it is necessary for the physician to understand the pathology of fever as well as the surgeon does that of compound fracture. This is impossible as long as the old-time ignorance of the real nature of the acute diseases continues to exist. Here we see the necessity of the adoption of the Hoffman theory; for under it we would know the pathology and the proximate cause in all of the acute diseases.

There was a time — a long time — when the movements of the heavenly bodies were clouded in mystery. Copernicus, alive to progress, opened a way for the light of science, and

man saw in the vast realm above the wonderful system of universal movement before unknown.

It should be observed that the interests of life and health made no demand for this educational development. In astronomy ignorance may indeed be bliss to those who never look upward or think upward. But in the department of practical medicine the joys of health, and life itself, are at stake. So we cannot doubt that, on the upbuilding line of progress, the one thing needful for the salvation of the physical body will come — the light of opportunity for scientific medication.

That the death-rate is about the same in all the medical schools, though in creed or in practice they are sharply antagonistic, is strong proof that they are all wrong. And they are wrong because, having never been taught what disease is, they have no reliable guide for the administration of medicine.

In the antagonism between the allopath and the homœopath, the size of the dose is the chief point in dispute. The former has a standard by which he gives a large dose; the latter, to meet the same symptoms, gives a dose that is infinitesimally small. It appears that as many patients recover under the one as under the other form of treatment. Now if the allopath and the homœopath in their practice will put aside external appliances and rely wholly on the internal use of medicine, the Christian scientist, using no medicine, but acting upon the body through the mind, will save proportionately as many patients as in either of the other cases.

If this conclusion is correct, — and it is in accord with my experience in medicine, — it is proof of the uselessness of the internal administration of medicine on the *present lines of general practice.*

This prompts the query, Can we have a basis where medicine can do accurate, scientific work in overthrowing disease? Yes; in a limited manner we already possess it. It is the physiological method that Magendie, following in the footsteps of Bichât, introduced into practice nearly a century ago. He began this scientific work by using strychnine, a spinal stimulant, to restore the physiology of the powerless muscles in a case of paralysis. It is now known that in every disease there is lost power to be restored either in the nervous system of animal life or in the organic system of nerves. This view is the outgrowth of Hoffman's

theory, and Magendie's work was a practical application of it in therapeutics.

Casper, in his great work on Forensic Medicine, published forty years ago, recognized man as a machine. Dunglison, in his History of Medicine, issued twenty years ago, also makes reference to man as a machine. So does Landois in his great work on Physiology of a more recent date. And every intelligent physician will accept this conclusion.

When our medical colleges accept this great truth, they must accept its corollary that every machine has two prime factors — the machinery and the power that runs the machinery. We know where to find the machinery of the body; it is in the anatomy where surgery comes up smiling.

But as to the power — what is it? Where is it? How is it obtained? How is it applied? In what portion of the anatomy is its reserve held? When the eminent professor in physiology will properly answer these questions we shall have the key that will let in a full blaze of light on the thick darkness that has so long enveloped professional work in the department of practical medicine.

The engineer upon the steam engine thoroughly understands the power that runs his "iron horse." He knows what it is, how it is secured, how it is applied, and how it is controlled. So the machinist who puts up any machine made by human hands understands the power that is to run it. The physician is the only man in the wide world who has charge of a machine without having been taught what its power is, and how it is secured, applied, and controlled, — and this machine the acme of all mechanism! What a burning shame that this machine, man, while thrilled with life and its aspirations that are human, can only live at the sufferance of blind chance, while for the management and maintenance of the inanimate machine the highest degree of skill that is known to the science of progress is at command!

In concluding I will present a matter of belief: Had not the strenuous advocacy of the individual theories of Stahl, Boerhaave, and Brown, which have been repudiated, been contemporaneous with the unfolding of the physiological or nervous-system theory of Hoffman, Cullen, and Darwin, the latter theory would have been accepted by the profession before the close of the last century. In this event, the most active investigations would have been directed to the nervous system, and its double organization, with the relation of

the organic to the animal nerves, would have been demonstrated. This would involve the elucidation of the power as it is expressed in every act of physiology, and we should be able to see that pathology is simply deranged physiology. This would give the physician scientific control of what we call disease. Not the least importance would attach to the distal causes of the acute diseases, the overthrow of the nerve power being the proximate cause of all the morbid phenomena to be seen. With the reinstatement of the normal nerve control disease would disappear.

In the full consummation of this theory we should witness the grandest achievement that human progress has scored since civilization began.

KATE FIELD.

BY LILIAN WHITING.

"I will paint her as I see her."

Kate Field was a woman who impressed the imagination. She abounded in spiritual vitality. Delicate in physique, artistic in temperament, exquisite in taste, lofty in all poetic and heroic feeling, she had that intense and finely strung nature that leaves in some form or other its haunting impress. She was

made of spirit and fire, and dew,

and her tenacity of endurance was a striking illustration of the signal power of the mind over the body. The pathos of her death, alone in a foreign land, is something that "lies too deep for tears." The unfaltering courage of her struggle during the last five years of her life, the ceaseless and splendid energy which she opposed to a series of disasters, translates personal regard to that enthusiasm which greatness of character must compel from us all. Kate Field was one, indeed,

Who walked too straight for fortune's end,
Who loved too true to keep a friend,

and she had the defects of her qualities which sometimes led to her being misunderstood. She was sincere to a fault. Margaret Fuller once said that "A truth-teller is a truth-compeller," and this assertion might well be applied to Miss Field. Her truth was crystal clear, and hypocrisy and insincerity shrank abashed before her presence. Not unfrequently she proclaimed some unpalatable truth with less tact than frankness, from which a more politic person would have refrained. Her friendships were somewhat of the heroic fibre, and those who require the ministry of flattery did not receive from her any incense to their self-love. Friendship represented to her a noble sincerity and unfaltering faith which held nothing in common with vain phrasings. She had the unconscious exactingness of a lofty nature; where she gave faith she gave largely, and she expected the same generous and genuine comprehension in return. When this failed, she scorned to explain herself, and thus she was liable

to misconstructions. A keen sense of honor was among her strongest qualities, and as a friend Kate Field was ideal. Her loyalty was flawless, and her tenderness was as profound and as unchanging as it was delicate and reserved in outward demonstration.

Miss Field's varied and prismatic life flashes before one like a romance of destiny. It was strangely rich in exquisite and unique experiences. It rose before me like an incantation, like a vision, like a dream, on a June morning of this past summer, as I sat alone in the English cemetery in Florence by the tomb of Elizabeth Barrett Browning. By some rhythmic coincidence of fate the day was almost the anniversary of Mrs. Browning's death (which occurred at Casa Guidi on June 29, 1861), at which time Kate Field was in Florence under the care of Isa Blagden, Mrs. Browning's dearest friend. In company with Miss Blagden the young girl often passed days at a time with the Brownings at Casa Guidi, and at the time of Mrs. Browning's death she wrote for the *Atlantic Monthly* a paper on this greatest of woman poets, which remains to this day the most perfect interpretation ever given of Mrs. Browning. From this I had quoted in an article on Mrs. Browning, in a magazine article a few months since, and just after Miss Field's death in Hawaii, last May, a tender tribute to her in the leading Honolulu paper (entitled "She will be Immortal in our Hearts") said of Miss Field:

> She has spoken of her life in Italy to only one woman in Honolulu, — one who knew nothing of her early life until, on picking up a recent number of *The Bookman*, she found in an article on Mrs. Browning passages quoted from Kate Field, which revealed her intimate knowledge of the Florentine circle. When Miss Field was told of this discovery her face grew sad and tender as her thoughts flew back to those golden days. Yes, indeed, she had known the Brownings and Walter Savage Landor. He taught her Latin and formed her English style. Little wonder that her style was a well of pure English fed by perpetual springs of life and wit.

On that golden June Sunday, as I sat by the tomb marked "E. B. B.," with the grave of Isa Blagden almost within touch and that of Landor, with the kneeling woman sculptured in marble at its head, very near, as I sat in the shadow of the tall, dark cypress trees, the silence broken only by the chirp of birds, —

> O, the little birds sang east, and the little birds sang west,—

the life of Kate Field seemed to rise as a panorama before

me. It was but five weeks since her mortal form had been placed in the flower-laden casket in Honolulu; it was thirty-five years since she had stood — a girl of eighteen with her visions before her — by that grave of one who had been to her, supremely, friend and poet. And now the drama of earth for her, too, was over. The gifted girl who had been the idol of that choice circle of spirits — Mrs. Browning, Landor, Isa Blagden, by whose graves I sat — had now rejoined them in the life just beyond. The moment was a dramatic one.

Kate Field was the only child of Joseph M. and Eliza (Riddle) Field, and a cousin of George Riddle, the distinguished reader. She was born in St. Louis, where her parents, both actors on the stage, were then living. Mr. Field was a journalist as well as an actor, and at that time was publishing his sparkling daily paper, the *Reveille*. He could trace his direct descent from Nathaniel Field, one of the Elizabethan dramatists and the friend of Shakespeare. An old friend of Mr. and Mrs. Field's visiting them when Kate was about seven years old thus speaks of her:

> A little maiden, with lithe, slender form, great blue-gray eyes, with the fairest of skins and a well-developed head covered with a mass of curls, brown, tinted with gold, — I see now her bonny bright face, and hear her gay laugh as her papa teased her about some nonsense. For while it was evident that she was wrapped deep in the tender mother's heart, it was even more evident that she was her father's idol.

Not strictly beautiful, Kate Field had always that delicate grace, more beautiful than beauty, — an exquisite charm, as indefinable as a strain of music. She was pre-eminently "a spirit finely touched, but to fine issues." In her childhood she was placed in school near Boston, and she studied under private tutors here and there. In her early girlhood she was taken to Florence, and there placed under the care of Miss Blagden (who occupied the Villa Belosguardo immortalized in "Aurora Leigh"), where for five years she studied music and the languages. Her aim at this time was the lyric stage, and meeting her, Bayard Taylor remarked to a friend that here was a girl with the most remarkable literary promise, who yet was possessed to go upon the operatic stage. A fall from a horse obliged her to relinquish this purpose, and to literature she turned, writing at this time a series of exquisite papers for the *Atlantic Monthly*, on Walter Savage Landor, on "English Authors in Florence," on Mrs. Browning, Ristori, "A Conversation on the Stage," and other matters of life or criticism. During

these years she was under most stimulating influences. The gifted girl was the idol of a choice group, residents and those who came and went, including Landor, the Brownings, the Trollopes, Dall' Ongaro the Italian poet, George Eliot and Mr. Lewes, and others. George Eliot took a great interest in her — an interest that deepened in later years to a permanent friendship. Vedder painted her portrait, — a picture now in the possession of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. These dawning years of the girl's life tempt one to linger over so fair a picture, with the purple hills and marvellous sunsets of Florence for its background; but life and stories must always move on. At this time Kate Field was considered by her uncle, Milton B. Sanford, a Newport millionnaire, as his heiress, a prospect she sacrificed out of her patriotism and her intense love of justice to the colored race. The war came on, and she began a series of press letters, espousing the Union side. Her uncle's sympathies were with the South, and her loyalty caused her the loss of this inheritance, a matter she never regretted; and in this instance, alone, one grasps the key to the supremely noble quality of Kate Field. She was a woman who kept faith with her ideals. What higher tribute could be given?

In the decade of the seventies, Miss Field was largely in London and Paris, writing a series of brilliant press letters. The Bell telephone was then being introduced in London, and Miss Field became deeply interested in the new invention. She wrote a number of valuable articles regarding it for the London *Times*. She sang for the Queen through it, and the company, in acknowledgment of this, gave her a number of shares which subsequently rose on her hands and gave her a modest fortune. Two books entitled "Hap Hazard" and "Ten Days in Spain" contain the essence of her experiences and observations during this period. Her social outlook was wide. She was a much-sought dinner guest, this brilliant young woman, whose wit and repartee were quoted on two continents, and her personal friends included too large a circle of noted authors and artists for space to admit of mention here. Mr. Browning greatly valued her criticism and read to her one of his dramatic poems before its appearance. Both by heredity and circumstance she was always closely associated with the drama, and her criticism of Ristori, her critical biography of Fechter, and other writing on the drama won high recognition. Of

late years, writing of Paderewski, she characterized him as having "the head of a poet and the face of a spirit."

The decade of the eighties ushered her into new and stirring experiences. She determined to hitch her wagon to the star of Empire and study the great West. For years she had been a student and keen critic of British and American politics, and the great work of her life came in her crusade against treason in the guise of Mormonism. Her lectures and her personal pleadings before Congress aroused the entire country, and to her vigilance is chiefly due the improved legislation regarding Utah.

On the lecture platform Miss Field had a very distinctive place. She had a rare combination of the intellectual and the artistic qualities. Her personal grace, her distinction of manner, and a certain indefinable charm of presence were telling attributes as a speaker. Her power and eloquence made her a leading factor in the latter-day progress of our country.

The object of her first lecture, when she was a girl in her early twenties, was to tell the story of the neglect of John Brown's grave and to organize a company to purchase and care for it. Forty-eight hours after the girlish figure, in pale blue and white silk, with her bonny brown hair tied with a bonny blue ribbon, appeared on the stage to tell the impressive story, every share was taken and the purchase money raised. The last work of her life in America, in the few weeks just before sailing for Hawaii, was to raise funds in Chicago for the transportation of the John Brown fort back to Virginia (whence it had been taken for the exposition) to be placed permanently on a site at Harper's Ferry which had been donated through her efforts. Is it not well, indeed, that her country should hold in honor and reverence the name of Kate Field?

For many years she made her home in New York, where, in a favorite hotel, she had a suite of rooms made beautiful with her books and pictures, her grand piano and her souvenirs of travel. She gave delightful little dinners, and had friends and guests constantly about her. In 1890 she transferred her home to the national capital, on establishing her weekly review, *Kate Field's Washington*. Entertaining with her was a fine art, and she was always a brilliant figure in society. Three distinctive objects successively engaged her editorial work, — the cause of free art, the

securing of an international copyright law, and the Hawaiian problem. In the interest of removing the tax on art she labored incessantly, appearing before Congress to plead the cause; and to her efforts is chiefly due the great blessing that art to-day is free. The French government recognized her service by conferring on her its highest distinction, naming her an "Officier de l'Instruction Publique," and decorating her with the "Palms of the Academy," in the form of a beautiful pin in diamonds and gold. It is the highest distinction ever conferred upon any American woman. Her work for the international copyright law was valuable, and Mr. Lowell, Phillips Brooks, Mr. Stedman, and hosts of others expressed to her in letters their gratitude for her effective aid.

The Hawaiian problem began to engage her pen some years ago, and when, in April of 1895, her health obliged her to suspend the publication of her *Washington* and seek rest, destiny seemed to lead her to these islands, where her sudden death in Honolulu, on May 19, 1896, was a touching event that sent its thrill of sorrow throughout the entire country. She was engaged in some of the most important work of her life, — a work in which she was herself deeply interested, and whose conduct was a matter of no little significance to the nation. For the past few years Miss Field had written more about Hawaii than almost any other subject, and when forced to seek change of climate, an agreeable work seemed to lie in this direction. Hon. H. H. Kohlsaat, the accomplished editor of the Chicago *Times-Herald*, has always held the opinion that Hawaii should be annexed and under the protection of the United States. To carry out his desire for accurate data, and to give Miss Field the rest and change she needed, Mr. Kohlsaat commissioned her to go to that country and study the situation. On this journey she sailed from San Francisco last autumn, arriving at Honolulu in November.

She entered on the work with that intelligent zeal and thoroughness of method which so characterized her. She ingratiated herself with the natives and gained the confidence of the authorities. Her writing was very judiciously handled, and when she spoke of the government of the country, her letters were read at cabinet meetings before they were mailed. Sometimes they were changed in part, but usually they were sent as originally written. The government

recognized in Miss Field a worker for the good of the country, and seldom took any exception to her convictions or her expressed opinions. She obtained from President Dole the first interview that he had ever granted to the press. She investigated the sugar interest: she lectured for the benefit of a kindergarten and other local work. Afar from the brilliant cosmopolitan life to which she had so long been accustomed, she entered with force and fervor into all that made for advancement in Hawaii.

Kate Field gave her life, literally, for Hawaii. She had undertaken the closest observations by going from island to island, almost from house to house, meeting and mingling with the natives and learning the absolute status of their lives and progress. "She has shown what a woman can do toward shaping public opinion and making the world better for her having lived in it," said a Honolulu paper of her after the touching pathos of her death.

This last remarkable chapter of Kate Field's life was, indeed, one of supreme distinction and beauty. In the midst of her absorbing work, with hardly twenty-four hours of illness, she went out and on to the new life. The riddle of progress had always haunted her eager mind. All her life had been a quest. Always had she fared forth in search of new realms of thought and purpose.

Sensitive to a fault, her life was something of that spiritual tragedy which results when such a spirit beats against the adverse conditions of this world. But she had, too, a keen sense of humor and an infinite gift for seeing the funny side of things, and she was fortunate in always having a largeness of outlook that left no room for undue dwelling on petty details. She was the artist born, and both by gifts and grace this temperament dominated her. Her culture was as exquisite as it was extended, and her conversation was of the choicest quality. A woman of marvellous gifts, of the most generous and noble nature, intense in energy, she lived and died the life of a heroine. The wonderful outpouring of love and admiration for her by the people of Hawaii was deeply impressive. She was borne to the vault in the flower-heaped casket draped with the stars and stripes— fit emblem for one with whom patriotism was a passion— with almost royal honors. The people poured out lavish tributes of love and respect to her whose whole life had been service to truth and progress.

She believed in God and immortality. She was deeply interested in psychical science. "I am one of those who believe in the communion of the unseen," she wrote in a private letter within a few weeks of her death. Some years ago she said to me during a conversation regarding the future life, "I look to see science prove immortality." The remark was fraught with something of that prophetic power with which a certain temperamental force of insight always invested her. That science must and will prove immortality is the message of to-day, for there is a distinct and recognizable approach of the two worlds, the seen and the unseen, each of which is flashing its signals to the other. In the higher spiritualization of life here will be found the conditions for communion with the life beyond.

On that life have the eager mind, the generous heart, the noble purposes that informed the spirit of Kate Field entered. She was always deeply interested in psychical problems, and she was one of the earliest experimenters with planchette. In 1868 she published a little book entitled "Planchette's Diary," in which she narrated her experience with it (the numerous messages written through her hand being of rather an unusual character), and in this book she said:

> I have no prejudice against a belief in spiritual communion. If we are endowed with immortal souls and preserve an individuality in another existence, it seems to me natural, judging by my own feeling of what I should be impelled to do, that spirits should desire to communicate with their friends on earth. The Bible teems with supernatural visitations, and if they are possible at one time who shall say they are impossible at another?

This mental attitude was an advanced one at the time it was recorded: with the subsequent development of psychic science Miss Field kept always in touch. The interest with which she has entered on the life beyond is its own consolation to those to whom her companionship was so dear and her personal presence one of perpetual charm. Over her grave in Mount Auburn we may well lay the immortelles of fame, the roses of love, the lilies of eternal peace.

The world is the better, social progress is the more advanced, and the world of the unseen is nearer and more real because of the life, of the infinite energy, of the lofty purposes of Kate Field.

NIGHT AND DAY.

BY REV. G. D. COLEMAN.

When night her dusky mantle spreads
  O'er objects here below,
And nature fades from mortal sight
  And dies the sunset glow,

Then shines the heaven with starry swarms,
  And glory is revealed,
Eternal knowledge is proclaimed,
  Eternal wisdom sealed.

In daylight things of sight appear,
  The passing temporal shows;
But night reveals eternal truths,
  Diviner wisdom glows.

The things unseen in brightest day
  Are shown forth by the night,
And darkness opens wide the gates
  To heaven's broader sight.

So ever fortune's favored ones,
  That seem a moment blessed,
That bask in favor, wealth, and power
  And are in purple dressed,

Can see but what the day reveals,
  Are blind to higher things,
They know not God's eternal truth
  The happiness it brings.

But 'tis the poet, prophet, sage,
  Whose soul is not a clod,
Whose life, though spent in shadows here
  Still lives the life of God.

Then envy not his portion full,
  He is the child of day,
His time is now, his pleasure short,
  'Twill quickly pass away.

But thou hast life he knows not of,
  A heritance divine,
A nobler view while here below,
  A future beyond time.

FOUR EPOCHS IN THE HISTORY OF OUR REPUBLIC.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

Four great epochs stand out in bold relief since our fathers protested against a foreign yoke. They may be summed up as follows:

(1.) Tyranny of a foreign power, or taxation without representation.

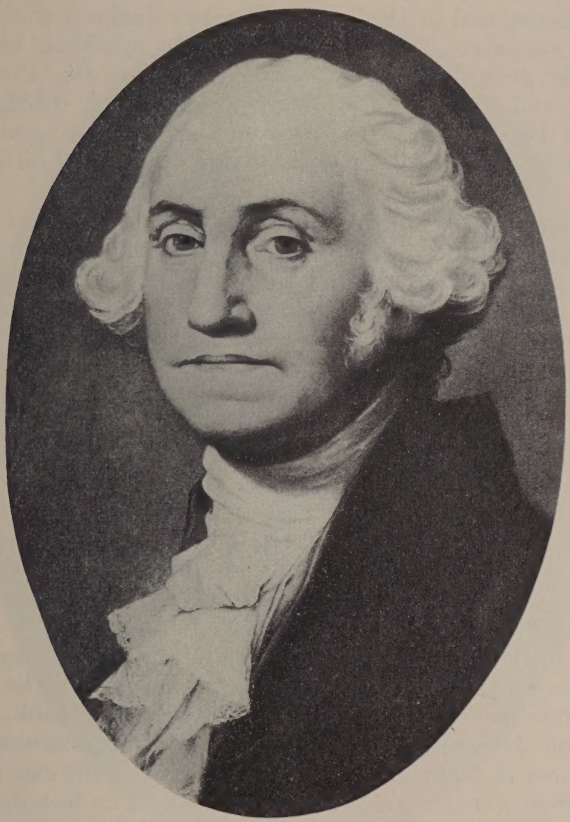
(2.) The tyranny of the money power, or the baleful influence of the United States National Bank in American politics.

(3.) The conflict of a nation half slave and half free, or the slavery of the African race.

(4.) The fierce battle of a plutocracy intrenched by special privileges against the wealth-creators of the nation, or the despotism of acquired wealth over the masses who create wealth.

In the first conflict we find England and the "respectables," or the "Tory class," arrayed against the people. John Hancock and Samuel Adams were, in the eyes of conservatism and the upholders of injustice cloaked in law, traitors and criminals deserving death. So also were Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin, and the battle was fought with fearful odds against the patriots who fought for justice and a larger life; the great power of England and her hired Hessians were in the front, the Indians were in the rear, while the country was honeycombed with Tories at home. Yet, armed with justice and compelled to accept serfdom or the desperate alternative of war, the little band of freemen conquered the allied powers and the mercenaries who fought against them.

The second great epoch was the struggle of the National Bank, or monopoly in the circulating medium. The bank had, octopus-like, extended its tentacles around Congress and the press. The hour was crucial in the history of the nation. Republican institutions were in peril, and in the supreme moment of need a man came forth, *a man from the people, who could not be bought*, not even by the great National



GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Bank which controlled the treasure of our government. The war between the sturdy patriot and the money power was almost as desperate as the struggle now being waged by the wealth-creators and the trusts, the monopolies and the gold magnates and their minions to-day. In speaking of this battle of giants, the scholarly ex-congressman, George Fred Williams of Massachusetts, in a recent address uttered these pertinent remarks:

"In 1832 there had been erected in this country an enormous and overpowering influence in the monetary force of the country known as the United States Bank. It handled all the treasure of the government. It had the power of

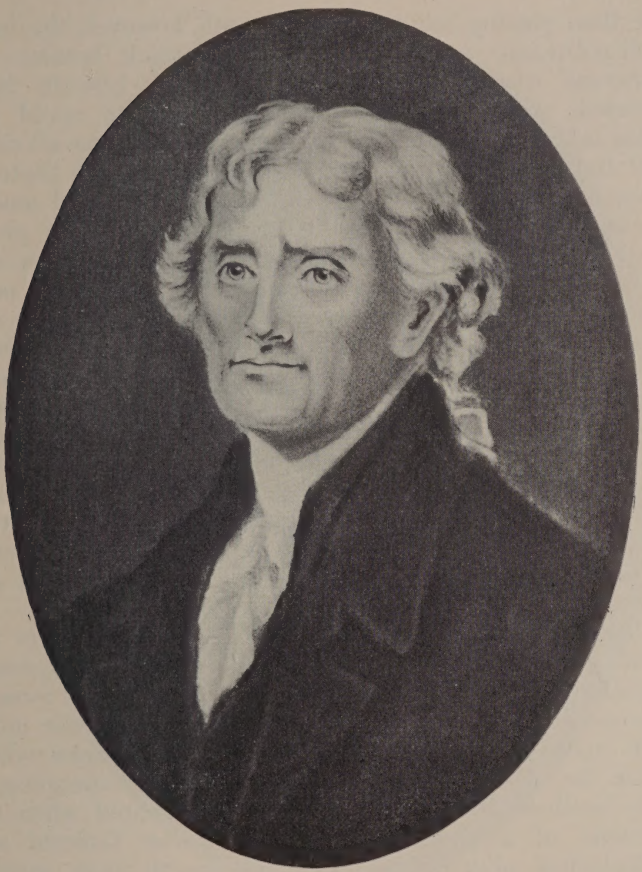
issuing notes, and in 1832, when Andrew Jackson was again to be a candidate for the presidency, the president of that bank, the great banking king of that day, the Pierpont Morgan and the greatest Belmont patriot of 1832, Mr. Nicholas Biddle, went to President Jackson and reminded him that he, Mr. Biddle, had the power to defeat him for re-election.

"He had given out that that bank was watching over and caring for the interests of the people, the finances of the country could not survive, and he reminded Andrew Jackson — and how familiar this proceeding is to-day — that his bank, by its control of credits through the country, could control the business men and regulate the nominations of all the candidates in the coming election, including the President.

"Jackson is reported to have made this answer to Mr. Biddle, and I may be pardoned by a sensitive public if I use President Jackson's exact words: 'If your bank can make and unmake Presidents, governors, and congressmen, that is a d——d sight too much power for any one man or institution to hold. And if you bribe Congress to recharter your bank, I will veto the new charter.'

"Then the fight was on. Then a mighty power began to gather its forces just as it is gathering them now. The newspaper press turned against him and went for the bank. But President Jackson had something to say concerning the newspapers at that time. On July 10, during his canvass he wrote these words concerning the press: 'The fact that the bank controls, and in some cases substantially owns, and by its money supports some of the leading presses of the country is now clearly established.'"

The struggle was relentless. On the one side was incipient plutocracy or a new oligarchy of wealth which controlled the press and to a large extent intimidated business men, but the instincts of the people were with the *unmortgaged patriot.* His triumphant election marked the overthrow of the bank, with its immense possibilities for evil, as a monopoly of the medium of exchange; and though the experiment which followed was not well matured and like many other experiments in free government could not be said to be satisfactory, the defeat of the octopus, which had already grown so powerful, arrogant, and unscrupulous, saved the republic from an evil more to be dreaded than the sword of a foreign foe.

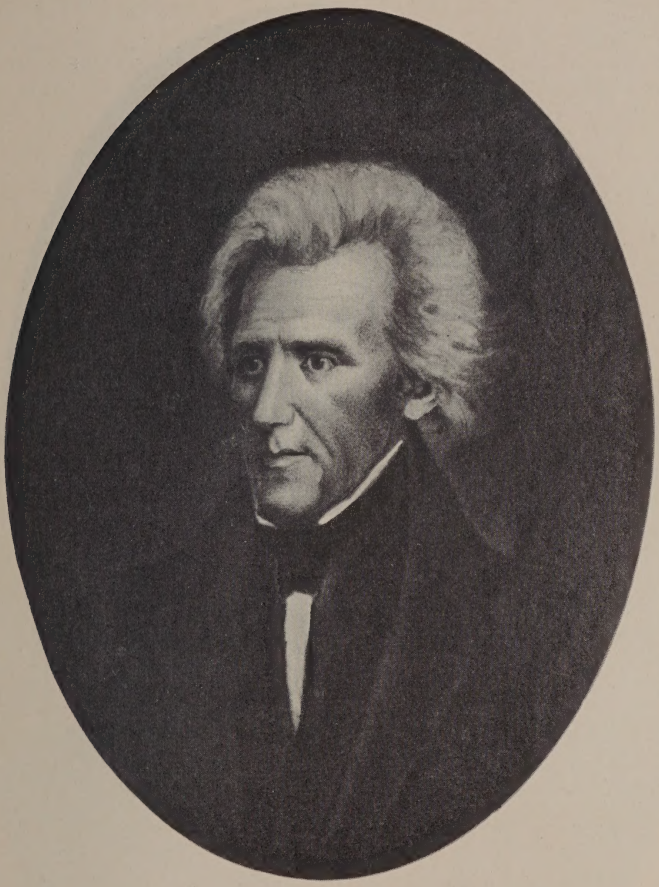


THOMAS JEFFERSON.

The third great epoch was the culmination of a long-waged struggle of a government half slave and half free. The North deserves no particular credit for being free. Indeed New England generally, which in early days was most industrious in slave catching and trading, and at a later day Boston and New York, were swayed by cupidity far more than conscience, even though these cities had far less direct interest in maintaining slavery than the Southern States. The lawlessness of the "*best element*" of Boston and the subserviency of the clergy in the early days of the anti-slavery agitation are too much matters of history to need

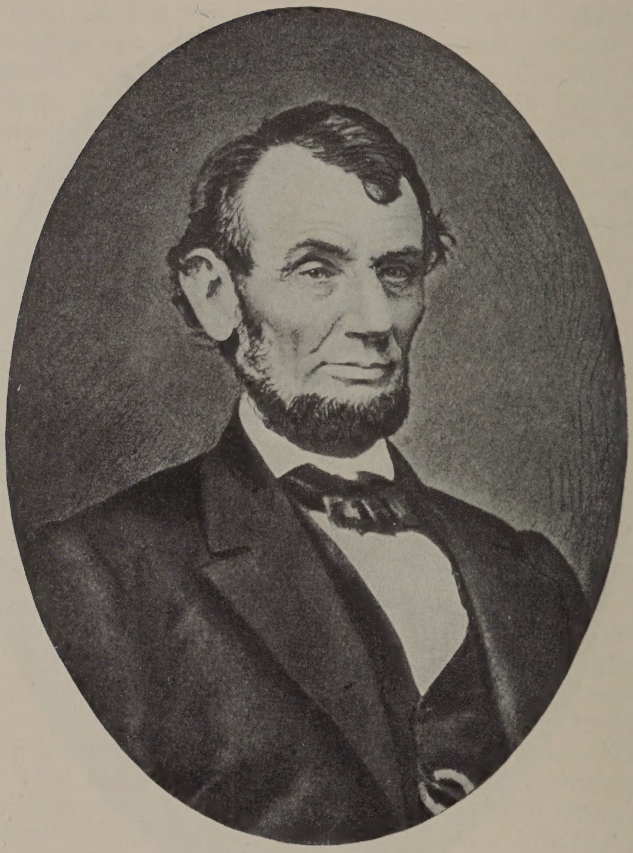
more than passing mention. At length, however, the issue which politicians fought so hard to sidetrack became the paramount question, and men felt what Lincoln later expressed, when he declared that the nation could not remain half slave and half free, that it must become all slave or all free. At the crucial hour the great prairie State of Illinois sent forth an adopted son destined to stand among the most commanding figures in history. *He was a plain, homely man to look upon, but he had the keen perception and tact of a statesman and the conscience and heart of a man.* He was unmercifully caricatured by the eastern press, and abuse and calumny took the place of argument. It was said he might be a good rail-splitter, but he was wholly unfit to be the Chief Executive even in a time of peace. *The people thought differently.* They trusted the man whom they knew by their instincts to be honest, patriotic, and noble-souled. They nominated and elected him in spite of the bitter opposition and brutal ridicule of conservatism and conventionalism. To-day he towers aloft in the pantheon of fame, one of the noblest and manliest figures in the history of our nation.

Abraham Lincoln was a prophet: he saw with alarm the rise of a plutocracy through *special privileges*, and expressed his well-grounded fears for the future. What he foresaw has come to pass. We are at the present hour in the midst of an epoch-marking conflict as clear-cut as those which marked the other struggles our republic has undergone, as boldly outlined as that which was consummated when the patricians of ancient Rome overthrew the Gracchi and established an oligarchy of birth and wealth more terrible than a limited monarchy, on the ashes of republican Rome. To-day democracy is on trial and Illinois has again furnished a son to lead the forces of freedom, progress, prosperity, law, and order against the money-changers and the opulent and lawless trusts, monopolies, and baleful Old World influences. This time the standard bearer of the people was born, raised, and educated in Illinois, after which he moved to another great western commonwealth, and, singular enough, he settled in a city bearing the name of the great commoner and emancipator of our last great epoch. Will he triumph? That depends upon the various factors which have been present in our other great struggles. The corrupt power of the gold ring of



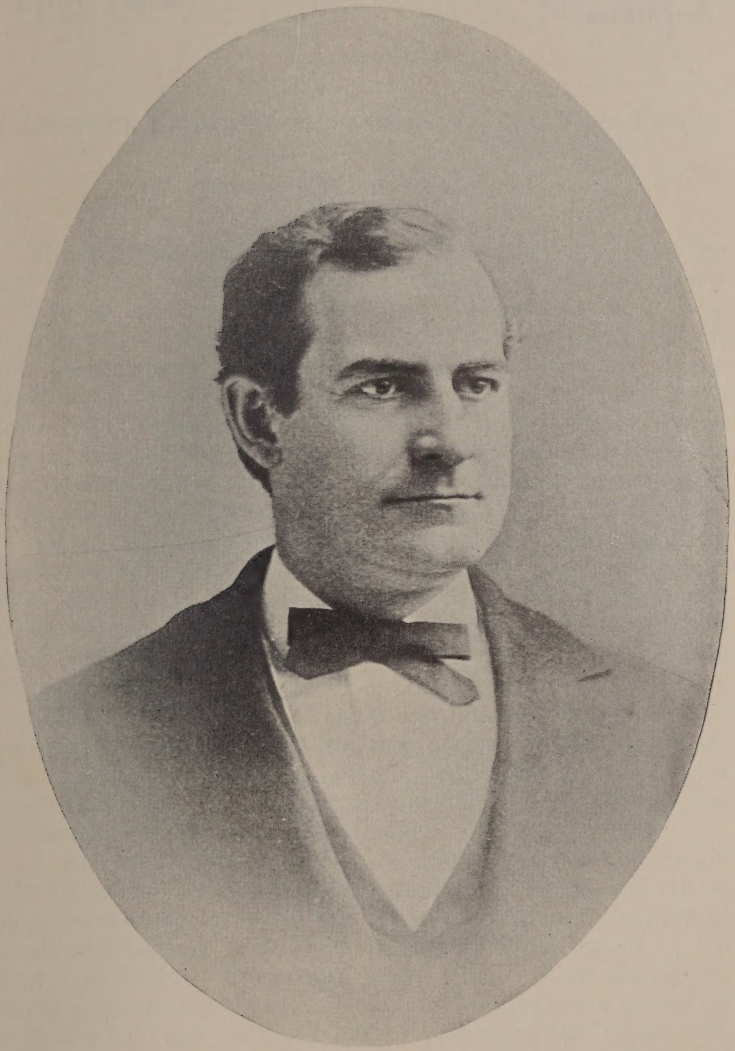
ANDREW JACKSON.

Europe and America, with unlimited wealth, aided by the trusts, monopolies, and combines and an administration false to *every instinct* of democratic government, are arrayed against the people. The odds seem insurmountable; but so they seemed in the times of Jackson and Lincoln. If the people fail now, the growing misery of the past thirty years will be greatly augmented, while the few will grow vastly richer, until the burden of the masses will be unendurable. Then will come a change, or the republic will go as did ancient Rome, and society will be, in even a



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

more real sense than when Hugo made his observation prior to the downfall of Napoleon III, "one part tyrant and the rest slave." Hence, as patriots, as freemen, and as lovers of peace, prosperity, and the triumph of the principles of free government, a solemn and august duty confronts every true American. The present is no time for halting or indecision. All voters should sink party prejudices and array themselves against the double-headed party of plutocracy and centralized wealth. If there ever was an hour when freemen should refuse to sell their birthright, and be vigilant workers for home, freedom, prosperity, and the great republic, that hour is NOW.



WILLIAM J. BRYAN.

The election of Mr. Bryan will mean the rejuvenation of democracy and the salvation of republican government from a lawless plutocracy, the most dangerous of all despotisms.

FREE COINAGE INDISPENSABLE, BUT NOT A PANACEA.

Passenger Fares, Freight Charges, and Free Passes.

BY JUSTICE WALTER CLARK, LL. D.

The question has been often asked whether the free coinage of silver would be a panacea for the depression under which the country now drags out a lingering life. The friends of free coinage do not consider it a universal remedy, but an indispensable one. The single gold standard is the rock which has been placed against the door where our hopes have been buried, and until it is rolled away there can be no resurrection of our prosperity. Dives is urgently opposed to the removal of the stone, but certainly Lazarus cannot come forth till it has been taken away.

Among the many oppressions visited upon the masses by their present masters who have "laden the people with burdens grievous to be borne, but which they will not touch with so much as one of their little fingers," are the freight rates and passenger fares, which have not decreased with the decrease in the value of our products, but have enhanced with the enhanced value of the dollar, the owners of the great railway lines being among the most active agents in procuring the adoption of the gold standard, and they are the largest contributors to the campaign fund to be used against the restoration of silver to free coinage.

J. Pierpont Morgan, who was conspicuous in procuring Mr. Cleveland to issue the $262,000,000 of bonds, and whose firm shared largely in the $18,000,000 of profits the syndicate made by handling that issue, is the principal owner of the Southern Railway Company's lines. When cotton was fifteen cents a pound (as it still remains in Mexico) one pound of cotton would pay for five miles of passenger fare on his railroads; now, though he and his combination have increased the value of money till cotton brings only six to seven cents a pound, he has not reduced his fares nor freights, and a pound of cotton will only carry its producer two miles instead

of five as formerly. Freights remain as high as ever, and vegetable gardening, which should be a very profitable business, has been reduced to the same level as other farming business, and in both alike all the profit is absorbed by the transportation charges.

Inter-State Commission. Is there no protection for the people? Certainly there is, but it is in their own hands. It cannot be found in the railroad commissions. The Inter-State Commission has proved so utterly inefficient that two of the great parties have recently put into their platforms demands for its being made really efficient. In fact the Inter-State Commission has practically restricted itself to protecting the corporations against hurting each other by reducing rates, with no protection to the people against exorbitant rates, nor against secret rebates to large or favored shippers, which were the objects in view in creating the commission. Whenever that commission has shown any disposition to serve the object of its creation it has been promptly shackled by injunctions or highly technical rulings by the Federal judges, holding their positions for life, and a large proportion of them having secured their appointments by the influence of the corporations in whose behalf they extend their powers by every possible construction. Besides it is not certain that all the appointments to the Inter-State Commission itself have been made without the influence, more or less active, of great railroad systems interested in the future action of such appointees.

State Railroad Commissions. After this result with the Inter-State Commission could the record of the State Commissions be other than disappointing? In some cases, as a western railroad president cynically and openly declared, the railroads have "simply added the railroad commission to their assets." In the majority of instances, however, the members of the State Railroad Commissions have been gentlemen of unimpeachable character, but elected by legislatures instead of the people (a radical defect which the corporations carefully looked to), they have in rare instances had a majority of progressive members in close sympathy with the people. They have generally been intensely conservative, listening to the assertions of impending ruin liberally made by railroad managers if rates were reduced and not seeing the patent ruin to the people if they were not. As a rule railroad commissions have limited them-

selves to a cheese-paring reduction of one fourth or one eighth of a cent per mile on passenger fares, and a similar microscopic reduction on freight rates, and with ordering a few railroad stations built, where the corporations were not over-much indisposed to build them. Sometimes they have somewhat raised the valuation of railroad property for taxation, over which those corporations have raised a sham battle, knowing that the extra taxation would really be paid by the people, by quietly raising the freight rates on certain articles. When the Standard Oil Company was assessed for part of the taxes it justly owed, Rockefeller said, "Add one fourth of a cent to the price of oil till the people have paid our taxes."

The only way to reduce the burden on the people is by a *bona-fide* genuine cut in passenger and freight rates. It may be said of more than one railroad commission that at a respectful distance they imitate the ways of Providence in one particular. It has been said, "He takes a step and ages have rolled away." All railroad commissions, probably, when first appointed have made a show of reform by cutting off some infinitesimal amount from railroad charges, as one eighth or one fourth of a cent from passenger fares, and then two or three generations hence, if the people wait so long, they may possibly cut off another one eighth of a cent. In the mean time, the multi-millionnaires who own these roads, living in their marble palaces in London and New York, with their yachts, fast women and fast horses, have gone on with their fellow conspirators enhancing the value of the dollar, reducing the value of produce, and thereby more than doubling their passenger and freight rates.

Effect of Excessive Rates. It is in this way that Ireland, naturally one of the foremost countries on the globe, has been pauperized. All the profits of the soil have been drawn in the shape of rents by non-resident landowners to London, and nothing going back, the country has been impoverished like a field from which all the crops are cut and nothing returned. In like manner to-day the South and West are impoverished by all the profits of agriculture being taken to London and New York in the shape of excessive transportation charges, and nothing being returned or spent among us, the South and West are rapidly being reduced to the condition of Ireland.

In honest fact, the railroad commissions of the several States have served only as buffers to protect the railroads from real criticism by the people, and from direct legislation to reduce their rates, while the States have uselessly taxed themselves to pay the several commissions salaries to *seem to do something.*

In the public distress we demand real relief, and we must have it and not its phantom.

What is the remedy? The remedy is to cut the rates and exactly in proportion as these multi-millionnaire railroad kings have, in combination with others of their kind, cut the prices of our produce.

United States Supreme Court Decisions. The Supreme Court of the United States has decided (Chicago Railroad *versus* Wellman, 143 U. S., and in several other cases) that rates which will allow a moderate interest on the actual value of the railroad property are valid. In that case it sustained a passenger fare of two cents per mile. Upon the same basis, every passenger and nearly every freight rate should be cut in two. It is what has been done with our produce, and will simply restore railroad charges to their former basis. Can the railroads stand it? Upon the basis of watered stock, making the railroad patrons pay dividends and interest on three or four times the value of the railroad, they cannot. But upon the legal requirement of moderate interest on the real value of railroad property, they can. Besides, the dividends and interest on stock and bonds on three or four times the value of the property are not all the present high rates are levied for. In the first place, the freight shippers and passengers are taxed to pay enormous salaries to railroad officials, ranging from $100,000 per year down. The officials are as numerous as their salaries are exorbitant. J. Pierpont Morgan pays out of this levy upon the poor southern people $50,000 a year to his chief manager, President Spencer, while his, like all other big railroad systems, has three or four honorary sub-presidents at approximate salaries, each equipped with palace car and staff of servants, and a host of other officials with high-sounding titles, salaries in proportion, and duties in the inverse order, while the real work is done by hardworking subordinates with moderate salaries. In addition, the travelling and shipping public is loaded with the sums used in running newspapers, editors and lawyers, the maintenance of expensive lobbies at all the State capitals and

at Washington, and with the free travelling of all those who the corporations think can be influenced in that way; for the cost of the passage of those who travel free must be added to the charge against those who do not. It must be noted that this host of $100,000, $50,000, $25,000, and $10,000 salaries — not one of which can be really earned — is collected out of the people by the station agents as surely as the salaries of the governor and other State officers are collected by the sheriff. The people of the greatest and wealthiest States do not pay their highest officials upon any such scale, and they have the same right to regulate the salaries of railway officials, unless they can be paid inside the six per cent interest upon the real value of the roads, to which point and below it the legislature has power to cut down the rates. The Supreme Court of the United States in many cases says that these high salaries and other unnecessary expenses need not be considered by the legislature in fixing reasonable railroad rates.

People Pay Lease Money. Here may be noted another favorite extortion practised on the traveller and freight shipper. One railroad will lease another. The leased road is only entitled to rates that will produce not exceeding six per cent on the value of its property, and these rates should not be increased by leasing to another; yet the lessee road will put its rates so high as to earn the six per cent rental contracted for and six per cent to twenty per cent additional for itself, besides the high salaries to the great officials, newspapers, and lobbies of the lessee. This is making the people pay the rental for them, and the operating company, though not spending a dollar to build a road, taxes the people an additional six per cent to twenty per cent on a paper capital. Reduce the charges for fares and freights to the legitimate six per cent on the cost of the leased roads and we should cease to see competition stifled by leasing rival roads.

Two Cents per Mile. If the people insist on the relief to which they are entitled, there is scarcely a passenger or freight rate that cannot be cut in two. Two cents per mile is the highest that can fairly be allowed for first-class fare on any railroad, and on most of them economists say that one cent per mile would pay a fair interest on the property actually used. We should make fewer millionnaires; railroad salaries would be more moderate, railroads would run fewer newspapers and lobbies. But on the other hand the country would be prosperous. Instead of a few cars half filled with

people and a large part of them with free passes in their pockets, there would be more trains and cars filled with people. The freight rates would not afford a few residents of New York and London palaces with all their adjuncts,

> Where low-browed baseness wafts perfume to pride,

but there would be countless thousands of happy homes when the producer could get his produce to market without all the margin being taken off to pay for transportation.

The Remedy. How can these moderate rates be obtained? Clearly experience has demonstrated that we cannot get them from the railroads themselves nor from the railroad commissioners, either State or national. The remedy is by act of the legislature as to rates within the States, and by act of Congress as to inter-State rates, which acts should

(1.) Cut down passenger and freight rates to, on an average, one half those now exacted to accord with the doubled value of money and the halving the prices of our produce.

(2.) More powers should be given the railroad commissions, with stricter penalties for the non-observance of their regulations.

(3.) Free passes should be rigorously forbidden, as is now done by the Constitution of New York and several other States.

And, lastly, railroad commissions should be made independent of corporate influence, as far as possible, by being in all cases made elective by the people instead of by the legislature. The railroad lobby cannot control elections by the people as easily as it can have a deciding influence in a legislative caucus.

There is no influence more debasing in legislation than that of the lobby. Every well-wisher of his country would wish to see it broken up. Chief Justice Maxwell of Nebraska discusses this subject and the remedy for it in a late number of the *American Law Review.* He calls attention to the fact that very recently the governors of Illinois and Missouri were forced to call special sessions because the corporation lobbies had defeated necessary legislation at the regular session. But instances abound. It is notorious that in all the Southern States the corrupt legislation of carpet-bag days was procured by lobbies.

Free Passes. Attention should now and pending the election of members to the legislature be pointedly called to the

fact that the most potent lever of the corporation lobby is the free pass. As these favors are not sent to members before they become such, and cease when they cannot longer vote on railroad measures, that fact alone should prevent acceptance by any member. The excuse is, "They all do it," and hence an aroused public conscience must procure an act forbidding free passes. This the people have now forced into the Constitution of New York and several other States. A similar provision should be in every State Constitution. There is no excuse in any member of the legislature taking a free pass, as he is one of the few officers expressly provided by the State with mileage, and the sum allowed is enough to pay his actual railroad fare to the State capital and home again not once only, but several times. Yet the free pass is the railroad lobbyist's strongest pull. A railroad official has been heard to defend it on the ground that he could "influence many a man by a free pass, to whom he dare not offer money direct." In the last North Carolina legislature, a bill to forbid free passes, copied from the provision in the New York Constitution, was introduced and favorably reported by the committee, but it was not allowed to pass, being stolen from the files no less than three times by some railroad lobbyist. A legal investigation resulted in the desired delay and nothing more. The bill had been copied from the New York Constitution; and a well-known railroad official, having called in person to secure the withdrawal of the bill, was told that the bill had not only been prepared by request, but that it was in the interest of honesty and honest legislation. He used the following language, which may be pondered over by all honest men outside of North Carolina as well as within its bounds. Said he: "It might as well be withdrawn. It can never pass. The fellows who come here to the legislature are always anxious to be repaid with a pass. There is A [naming a prominent man], why, yesterday he asked for a pass for himself, his wife, his sister, his two children, and his aunt, and do you think such d——d cattle as that will vote against free passes?"

Such Cattle as That. "Such cattle as that" is the opinion railroad men have of legislators who are to vote on their measures and yet take railroad money in the shape of free passes. Now is the time the people should discriminate and see whether they are sending railroad cattle or men to represent them in the legislatures of the several States.

If proper care be taken, legislatures in the several States can be elected this fall, as well as a Congress, which will give a *bona-fide* honest reduction in railroad charges, so material in amount as to stop the manufacture of millionnaires, necessitate moderate salaries for railroad officials, the dropping of railroad ownership of newspapers and lobbies, and which shall restore prosperity to the wealth-producers of the land. All this can be done by electing legislatures that will not be humbugged or lobbied, and that will faithfully cut rates down to the legal limit of six per cent or less on the actual worth of the roads, "without trimmings" for high salaries, lobbies, and other expensive gear.

Control by Legislation. In Wellman's case, 143 United States Reports, the court say that the power of the legislature to cut down and fix all railroad charges "is not subservient to the discretion of the railroad corporation, which may, by exorbitant and unreasonable salaries, or in some other improper way, transfer its earnings into what it is pleased to call 'operating expenses.'" In other words, the salaries and other railroad expenses being collected out of the people by one of their own creatures, their representatives in legislature assembled have a right to supervise and pass upon all railroad salaries and expenses when they come to fix the reasonable rates the railroads shall be allowed to charge. The people have the relief in their own hands.

In the South one great railroad system has been more considerate of the poverty of our people than the railroad commissions, and has itself presented the public voluntarily with a reduction of thirty-three and one third per cent on its rates. Another still more liberal has granted a reduction from its former high rates of eighty per cent, though it has been charged — I know not how truly — that the latter at once procured from a judge an injunction against its own liberality. If railroad commissions will not give the people the benefit of an order reducing rates, they should at least be a "ratchet and pawl" to prevent their going up again. The railroad companies having voluntarily reduced rates, are estopped to say the new rates are not high enough. They have never been accused of not taking care of their own interests or of being too benevolent to the public.

THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN—THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE RACE A POPULAR FALLACY.

BY J. WORDEN POPE, U. S. ARMY.

There undoubtedly exists a deeply-rooted conviction, supposed to rest upon a firm historical basis, that the race of North American Indians is rapidly disappearing before the advance of civilization; and this conviction, coupled with the twin conception that the noble red man has been the victim of the abuse of the European conqueror, has long formed a theme for the writers of poetry, romance, and history. For so many generations has this theme formed part of the traditions of our race, and so firm a hold has it taken upon the imagination, the sympathy, and the sentiments of the populace, that any attempt to dislodge it would doubtless be regarded with complete incredulity, and any data adduced to disprove the belief would be disbelieved as absurd by the average well-read American. To assert, therefore, that there is no proof to sustain the popular belief, that on the contrary there is reason to doubt that the Indian race has materially diminished, would be considered by such persons simply as an iconoclastic attempt to subvert the basal facts of history. It may therefore be startling, but it is true, not only that there exists no substantial proof that the red man is disappearing before the encroachments of civilization, but that many solid facts indicate that there has been no material diminution of the Indian population, or at least in the quantity of Indian blood, within the historic period.

Were this regarded a moot question, it would require that the burden of proof should fall upon those asserting a decrease in population under improved conditions of food supply; but as such a status of the question had passed long before the existence of the present generation, it will be necessary to marshal a formidable array of evidence in favor of the opposing view, and this article is penned with the intention, in the interest of historic truth, of presenting

some of this evidence, with various reasons for disbelieving the imaginary dying out of the American aborigines.

The reasons for the belief in the lessening of the Indian population certainly seem to rest upon a substantial basis so long as the statistics are not critically examined, and numerous authorities might be quoted in its favor. For instance, the Encyclopædia Britannica says:

> At the date of the European settlement in the American Continent, the Indian population of the present area of the United States was variously estimated, and as low as 1,000,000. In Mr. Jefferson's time, it was thought that there were 600,000 to 1,000,000. In 1822 Rev. J. D. Morse estimated them at 471,136. In 1832 Drake placed the number at 313,000, and in 1840 at 400,000. In 1855 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs reported 350,000 then in the United States; 306,475 in 1866. By the census of 1870 there were 383,577, and by that of 1880, 255,938. In 1887 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs estimated the number at 247,761. The conclusion is that the Indians are gradually decreasing in numbers. For the last eighteen years the average decrease of the "civilized" or "partially civilized" Indians has been a little less than 2,000 a year. The number of Indians in Canada at the present time is estimated at 130,000.

Again, "Ballaert estimated the number existing in 1863 as follows: United States, 500,000." Such views are also held by Catlin, Hubert Bancroft, Baron de la Hontan, and Bartram.

Despite such authorities, it must be evident, in the first place, that any estimate of the early Indian population must have been based upon very flimsy evidence, no census being possible of a wild population scattered over a vast unknown and largely unvisited region, inhabited by scattered bands of roaving savage tribes—mere guesswork, in truth, complicated by the invariable tendency to exaggerate numbers.

If there is thus reason to doubt the accuracy of the estimates of writers on the numbers of Indians inhabiting the territory of the United States in early times, there are more substantial reasons for doubting the enumerations of the Indian population previous to recent really accurate censuses, say from 1886. Much gross exaggeration is known to exist in these reports by reason of the direct pecuniary gain accruing to Indian agents from multiplying numbers. The supplies so much coveted by these agents depended largely upon the number of individuals returned, and it is well established that many corrupt agents rapidly enriched themselves by exaggerations in the enumerations of their charges and pocketing the proceeds. These causes undoubtedly made the enumerations of Indian tribes entirely unreliable, and are sufficient to account for the supposed decrease

within recent years, especially as the estimates vary in so unaccountable a manner at short intervals. The following are the estimates of the Indian Bureau for most of the years from 1860 to 1886:

1860.....259,300	1872.....265,990	1880.....256,127
1864.....294,574	1873.....295,084	1881.....261,851
1865.....294,574	1874.....275,003	1882.....259,632
1866.....295,774	1875.....305,068	1883.....265,565
1867.....295,899	1876.....291,151	1884.....264,369
1869.....289,778	1877.....250,882	1885.....259,244
1870.....313,371	1878.....250,864	1886.....247,761
1871.....350,000	1879.....252,897	

As the census of 1890 shows 250,483, it would indicate that the Indian population, after so many strange oscillations, had returned nearly to that of 1860.

Recurring to the early estimates of the numbers of Indians, it must appear marvellous to any one acquainted with the mode of life of the various tribes subsisting chiefly by hunting and fishing, with their constant and destructive warfare, tending to the extermination or decimation of weaker tribes, with their roving life over vast tracts of territory, with the difficulty of raising and maintaining large families—it must appear strange indeed that even so vast a territory as that of the United States could support the large numbers of savages estimated by early writers, rising above the million mark.

The chief reason which causes the persistence of the notion of the decrease of Indians in modern times, and prevents proper inspection into the accounts of early writers, is the enormously rapid increase of the whites upon this continent, which makes the large numbers of Indians estimated seem insignificant in proportion. The knowledge that not only most of the states, but even several cities, contain more population than the total of the highest estimated number of Indians in the United States territories, makes even such largely exaggerated numbers seem reasonable, and reasoning is always largely, though unconsciously, affected by such comparisons.

Again, it would appear extraordinary that the small early settlements of whites could have maintained themselves against the large numbers of predatory savages trained throughout life to warfare had their numbers been equal to the lowest estimates of numbers which early writers ascribe to the Indians. The acceptance of such exaggerations by our early forefathers may not unfairly be accredited to the tribute that such numbers would pay to their prowess in overcoming them. It is doubtless true that should one ac-

cept without the classic grain of salt the accounts of the numberless Indians killed in early combats, the numbers of Indians must be acknowledged to be fairly estimated at many hundreds of thousands; but if human nature has not greatly altered, a large allowance must be made in these accounts for the boastful disposition to exaggerate the savage forces overcome, common to all warriors, especially of the unorganized class of our forefathers. Had the numbers of Indians been so large, is it possible that the few followers of Daniel Boone would have been able to wrest the fair lands of Kentucky from such formidable and numerous foes?

To the readers of Parkman, the most careful of American historians, it would certainly appear strange that such small bands as he describes should be scattered over so vast an area had the Indian population amounted to so large numbers as were generally estimated.

After the numbers of eastern tribes became comparatively well known, the upholders of the theories of exaggerated numbers of Indians found a vast unknown field in the boundless plains of the western territories in which to plant numerous hordes of savages; but here Lewis and Clark and other travellers found only comparatively small, scattered bands roaming over endless wastes, leaving small basis for the work of the ever active imagination. With the exception of the Sioux, which tribe are and have always been comparatively numerous, few Western tribes attained to any significant numbers.

When any one calls for proof of the large numbers of Indians claimed to people this land and the reason for such large decrease as is alleged, he is usually met by statements of the decimation of Indians caused by smallpox, ardent spirits, and other evils introduced by the whites, attributing to these causes the large increase of the death-rate. It will be vain to look for any proof of any such effects produced by the whites. With the exception of the Canadian Indians of the Huron tribe, some 20,000, described by Parkman as becoming exterminated through the combined effects of smallpox and the warfare of the terrible Iroquois, no statistics are forthcoming to prove that the whites have been responsible for any large decimation of the Indian race. According to Col. Garrick Mallory, part of these Hurons survive under the name of Wyandots.

The writer was first led to a doubt of the accepted theory of the decimation of the Indian race by seeing the remarkable increase among the Sioux and Cheyenne Indian prisoners held at Fort Keogh in 1878, where these Indians came

under the direct charge of the government. The frequent marriages of young Indians, the rapid increase in the number of children, and the small death-rate, told very decidedly against the notion of their decimation through the agency of the whites, and an examination into the birth and death rates reported by the Indian Department made the dying-out theory equally anomalous. Take the following birth and death rates, as given by the Indian Bureau from 1874 to 1886, thirteen of the eighteen years included in the estimate of the Encyclopædia Britannica:

	Births.	Deaths.	Increase.
1874	2,152	1,490	662
1875	1,889	1,601	388
1876	2,401	2,215	186
1877	3,442	2,781	661
1878	2,941	2,219	722
1879	2,352	2,025	327
1880	3,430	2,020	1,410
1881	2,339	1,989	350
1882	2,998	2,478	520
1883	4,751	4,508	243
1884	4,069	3,787	282
1885	4,145	3,754	391
1886	4,419	3,929	490

Meeting an old gentleman who had passed his life chiefly as a missionary among the Indians, from New York west to the Rocky Mountains, and stating the idea that it seemed in the probabilities that the Indians should have increased rather than diminished, the old gentleman unhesitatingly affirmed that his knowledge led him to believe in an increase rather than a loss in Indian population. This man knew a large percentage of the individual Indians among all the tribes from New York, where he began his vocation, to the Rocky Mountains, where he promised to end his existence among Sioux and Northern Cheyennes. With these ideas growing up, chance placed in the hands of the writer a newspaper account of an estimate of Indians compiled from the Notes of Thomas Jefferson, which of course applies only to the Indians then known, all of whom inhabited the country east of the Rocky Mountains. The following is the compilation which that writer compared with the census of 1887, by which time an accurate enumeration became possible.

1782. Jefferson's Census.		1887. Indian Commissioners' Census.	
Oswegatchies	100		
Connafedagoes, Conhunnewagoes	300		
Orondoes	100		
Abenakies	350		
Little Algonkins	100		
Mickmacs	700		
Amelistes	550		
Chalas	130		
Nipissins	400		
Algonkins	300		
Roundheads	2,500		
Missasagues	2,000		
Christenauxkris	3,000		
Assinaboes	1,500	Assinaboines	1,689
Blancs or Barbus	1,500		
Mohawks	160		
Oneidas	300	Oneidas	1,800
Tuscaroras	200	Tuscaroras	4,154
Onondagoes	260	Onondagoes	4,841
Cayugas	220	Cayugas	172
Senecas	1,000	Senecas	2,949
Aughguagahs	150		
Nanticoes	100		
Mohicans	100		
Conoies	30		
Sapoonies	30		
Munsies	150		
Delawares or Linnalinopies,	750	Delawares	44
Shawanios	300	Shawnees	855
Mingoes	60		
Wyandots	300	Wyandottes	264
Twightwees	250		
Miamis	300	Miamis	58
Ouitanons	300		
Peankishas	400	Plankishas	207
Sioux of the Meadows, Sioux of the Woods, Eastern Sioux	10,000	Sioux	29,716
Ajones	1,100		
Panis, White	2,000		
Panis, Freckled	1,700	Pawnees	998
Padoucas	5,000		
Grandeaux	1,000		
Canses	1,600	Kansas or Kaw	203
Osages	600	Osages	582
Missouris	3,000		
Arkansas	2,000		
Caonitas	700		
Shakirs	200		
Kaskaskias	300		
Piorcas	800	Peorias	144
Ponteotamies	450	Pottawatamies	1,056
Ottawas	300	Ottawas, Chippewas	16,816
Chippewas	5,900		
Mynonamies	550	Menominees	1,306

1782. Jefferson's Census.		1887. Indian Commissioners' Census.	
Onisconsuigs	550		
Kickapous, Otagamios, Mascoutins, Mescuthins, Outimacs, Musquakies	4,000	Kickapoos	567
Cherokees	3,000	Cherokees	25,000
Chicasaws	500	Chicasaws	6,000
Catawbas	150		
Chacktaws	6,000	Choctaws	16,000
Upper Creeks, Lower Creeks	3,000	Creeks	14,000
Natchez	150		
Alibamous	600	Alabamas	290
		Indians not enumerated,	125,040

The numbers and names of the tribes enumerated, many of whom have passed out of existence or have been absorbed into other tribes or survive under other names, prove that whatever may be thought of the accuracy of the enumeration, the compilation was intended to be complete and gave the best information then obtainable, especially as all the information that could be obtained was available to that statesman; and it is an important fact to note that there could have been no object in any underestimation.

This compilation from Jefferson's Notes was based chiefly upon the reports of four authorities: first, that of George Croghan in 1779, who was deputy agent of Indian affairs under Sir William Johnson; second, by a French trader annexed to Colonel Bouquet's account of his expedition in 1768; third, by Captain Hutchins, who visited most of the tribes by order in 1768 for the purpose of learning their numbers; fourth, by John Dodge, an Indian trader, in 1779. These seem to be good authorities, and while many tribes may be omitted or underestimated, it seems impossible that such authorities could have made mistakes that could multiply their inaccuracies by more than two or three without discovery; and this multiplication could only have been possible with tribes then little known, such as the Sioux, which, it may be noted, are set down at 10,000 against the present 30,000.

It will be noticed that the great increase which has since occurred, except in the case of the Sioux, is found among the so-called civilized tribes, such as the Cherokees, Chicasaws, Choctaws, and Creeks, which accessions may be largely due to the white and negro blood blended with them.

It is doubtless true that such blending of white and Indian blood among those tribes is fully overbalanced by half and quarter bloods who have passed into the vast white population who make up a portion of our western population and are not counted among the Indian population. Thus some of the best people of Saint Paul and probably other Western cities have Indian blood in their veins, just as many of the proudest of the F. F. V.s of Virginia claim descent from Pocahontas.

It is certain that only recently can it be claimed that any account of the number of Indians can be relied upon as strictly accurate, and it is a fair question whether within recent historic times, say from 1700, the Indians have not actually increased in numbers.

Thus the following birth and death rates, together with the enumeration of Indian population, from 1887 to 1893, during which time much attention has been given to obtaining really accurate statistics, is compiled from the reports of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs:

	Population.	Births.	Deaths.	Increase.	Decrease.
1887.....	242,299	4,594	3,850	744	...
1888.....	246,036	4,028	3,606	422	...
1889.....	250,483	5,181	4,719	462	...
1890.....	243,534	4,908	5,208	...	300
1891.....	246,834	4,128	4,762	...	634
1892.....	248,340	3,508	3,660	...	152
1893.....	249,366	3,559	3,741	...	182
				1,628	1,268

The reduction in population in 1890 below that of the preceding year is explained as due mainly to reduced estimates of the number of Pimas, Popagoes, and Navajoes.

It will be noted that in each case of decrease of births over deaths, except in the case of 1890 explained above, the Indian population shows an increase over the preceding year. This may probably be explained by the fact that the births pass unnoted, while the deaths, involving the burial ceremony, will be brought to the notice of the agent and be noted. At any rate, these statistics, which are the most exact of any obtained by the Indian Department regarding Indian population, decidedly indicate an increase in the last seven years.

It is equally certain that before 1880 the census of Indians was seriously affected from interested motives, and that no very great diminution of the Indian population has taken place within, say, twenty-five years. That the Indian wars of recent date have not seriously reduced the Indian popu-

lation is capable of proof. In view of these facts, it is difficult to account for the numbers of Indians given in the Encyclopædia Britannica—1,000,000 on the appearance of the whites, 600,000 in the days of Thomas Jefferson.

If such numbers existed in the days of Jefferson, how could he have made such egregious mistakes as shown by the enumeration before given? Such numbers might be accounted for through the exaggeration of combatants in their boastful accounts of their deeds, through ignorance and want of judgment, but on no known facts. It is well recognized what a power and terror the Six Nations became to all tribes within their sphere of activity, as well as to the colonists, but they certainly in historic times never until recently greatly exceeded 10,000, and probably should have been estimated at a less number in early history.

The Five Nations, increased to Six by the conquest and incorporation of the Tuscaroras, formed one of the most remarkable confederacies of savages ever known, and it would be interesting to speculate upon the course of so powerful a confederacy had the Europeans not interfered by their appearance. But however great the vital force of this wondrous confederated nation planted among the scattered tribes of aborigines, it does not seem possible that it could have exerted so terrific a power had the American Indians amounted to such numbers as we are accustomed to fancy peopled this continent. It is well known how great use was made of Indians by the French and British in their early wars, and had such numbers of savages as are estimated by early writers been at their disposal, a different history might have awaited this country.

Some of the tribes generally considered decreased or almost extinct have considerable numbers remaining in British America, as, for instance, we find in those territories: 1,249 Abnakis, 4,767 Algonquins, 17,386 Crees, 553 Delawares, 200 Kickapoos (in Mexico), 1,311 Menominees, 4,108 Mecinoes, 16,289 Ojibwas and Chippewas, 938 Ottawas, 166 Pottawatomies, 774 Mesesaugas, 1,673 Coghuawaugas, 972 Cayugas, 376 Iroquois, 2,352 Mohawks, 1,014 Oneidas, 346 Onondagas, 206 Senecas, 329 Tuscaroras, 377 Wyandots (Hurons); and this is probably true of some of the tribes of the Pacific Slope.

A few of such tribes are also incorporated with other tribes; thus 1,000 Delawares are with the Cherokees, 3 with the Senecas, 36 with the Onondagas and Senecas, 23 with the Stockbridges, and 37 with the Chippewas.

After penning the above reflections, the writer was, by the

kindness of Major Powell, Chief of the Bureau of Ethnology, furnished a copy of the annual report of that bureau for 1885–86, which contains the most complete and accurate study of the North American Indian extant; and in it is to be found ample proof of the truth of the views herein expressed. Though the report pertains chiefly to a study of the languages of the primitive tribes, an estimate, the most accurate in existence, is there given of the Indian population. Page 33 of the above report reads: "As a result of an investigation of the subject of early Indian population, Col. Garrick Mallory long ago arrived at the conclusion that their settlements were not numerous, and that the population, compared with the enormous territory occupied, was extremely small."

Careful examination since the publication of the above tends to corroborate the soundness of the conclusions then first formulated. . . . Over-estimates of population resulted from the fact that the same body of Indians visited different points during the year, and not infrequently were counted two or three times; change of permanent village sites also tended to augment estimates of population. . . . For these and other reasons a greatly exaggerated idea of Indian population was obtained, and the impressions so derived have been dissipated only in comparatively recent times.

Again, on page 38:

Nor is there anything in the accounts of any of the early visitors to the Columbia valley to authorize the belief that the population there was a very large one. . . . The Dalles was the best fishing station on the river, and the settled population there may be taken as a fair index of that of other favorable locations. The Dalles was visited by Ross in July, 1811, and the following is his statement in regard to the population: "The main camp of the Indians is situated at the head of the narrows, and may contain, during the salmon season, 3,000 souls or more; but the constant inhabitants of the place do not exceed 100 persons."

And as it was on the Columbia, with its numerous supply of fish, so was it elsewhere in the United States. . . . The effect of wars in decimating the people has often been greatly exaggerated.

Again, on pages 44 and 45:

Second, the early Indian population of North America was greatly exaggerated by other writers, and, instead of being large, was, in reality, small as compared with the vast territory occupied and the abundant food supply; and furthermore, the population had nowhere augmented sufficiently, except in California, to press upon the food supply.

On page 45 appears this statement, which will be equally a surprise with the conclusions against the exaggerated ideas of the numbers of the Indians:

Fourth, prior to the advent of the European, the tribes were probably nearly in a state of equilibrium, and were in the main sedentary;

and those tribes which can be said with propriety to have been nomadic, became so only after the advent of the European, and largely as a result of the acquisition of the horse and the introduction of fire-arms.

On the same page finally we read:

Fifth, while agriculture was general among the tribes of the United States, and while it was spreading among the western tribes, its products were nowhere sufficient wholly to emancipate the Indian from the hunter state.

The treatise of Col. Mallory referred to in the above report has come into the possession of the writer and is conclusive of the general views herein adopted. After showing the entire lack of facts on which early estimates were based and their numerous contradictions, he goes on to give such facts as are known by the best and most reliable authorities. These authorities conclude that the Indian race started from the Columbia River and spread east along the borders of streams where game chiefly abounded, leaving vast regions unoccupied; that travellers going along these streams and finding numerous bodies of Indians, supposed the whole country likewise occupied, though other travellers who journeyed through those regions found vast areas wholly unoccupied; that tribes wandering around were counted many times under different names; that the exaggeration of numbers was a trick of the savages themselves to increase their importance; that the many names given the different tribes augmented the mistakes of travellers; that many tribes supposed to be extinct exist under other names. For instance, the supposed extinct Mohicans of Cooper have descendants surviving as Mensees, Brothertons, and Stockbridges, originally known as Pequods.

He shows also that tribes supposed to be decimated by smallpox and other diseases simply migrated and continued to exist under altered names unknown to travellers and uncorrected, no records being kept by the tribes themselves. He shows that Europeans did not add to the destructive character of wars, the early Indian wars being equally or more destructive. Taking the instance of the Iroquois, he proves that there existed 13,668 in 1877, and less than 12,000 in 1763. He also proves that the alleged destruction of Indians in California through the barbarities of the gold-seekers of 1849 was greatly exaggerated, being less than 7,000 out of 30,000, while double this number was supposed to have been destroyed; that the reports of the Indian Bureau of births and deaths show an increase; and that

there is no truth in the theory that Indians necessarily from any inherent weakness die off by contact with civilization. His conclusions are:

That the native population of the territory occupied by the United States at its discovery has been wildly over-estimated—that while many of its opponent bodies have been diminished, or been destroyed, by oppression and violence, their loss has been in large part compensated by gains among others; that though some temporary retrogradation must always be expected among individual tribes at the crisis of their transition from savagery or barbarism to more civilized habits, yet now the number of our Indians is on the increase.

Probably the most complete data on this subject are given in a report of Major S. M. Clark, who was charged by the Bureau of Education to investigate the subject, and whose report is published in the Report of the Indian Commissioner for 1877. He gives the following estimates:

1	1789	Estimate of Secretary of War Knox.....	76,000
2	1790-91	Estimate of General Imlay.....	60,000
3	1820	Report of Dr. Morse on Indian Affairs.....	471,000
4	1825	" " Secretary of War.....	129,366
5	1829	" " " "	312,934
6	1834	" " " "	312,610
7	1836	" " Supt. of Indian Affairs.....	253,464
8	1837	" " " " "	302,498
9	1850	" " H. R. Schoolcraft.....	379,264
10	1853	" " U. S. Census, 1850.....	400,764
11	1855	" " Indian Office.....	314,622
12	1857	" " H. R. Schoolcraft.....	379,204
13	1860	" " Indian Office.....	254,300
14	1865	" " "	294,574
15	1870	" " U. S. Census.....	313,712
16	1870	" " Indian Office.....	313,371

Of the estimates from 1790 to 1876, this writer says:

1. It is entirely impracticable to present any trustworthy statement of the number of Indians in the whole territory comprised within the present limits of the United States. All enumerations and estimates were based on fragmentary and otherwise insufficient data. Our official intercourse with the Indian tribes at the beginning of this century did not extend much beyond the Ohio River and the Mississippi from its confluence with the Ohio to the Gulf of Mexico; and our information respecting the number of Indian tribes beyond, and their numerical strength, was extremely meagre and indefinite. The number of Indian tribes in official relations with the United States steadily increased from 1778, the date of our first Indian treaty, to within a few years.

2. Such estimates and enumerations as have been presented do not coincide (except in two instances, 1820 and 1870) in date with the years in which the regular census of the United States was taken; nor do they appear at regular intervals.

3. It is almost invariably true that estimates of the numbers of our Indian tribes exceed the real numbers; and from the nature of the case, all official enumerations, until within a very recent period,

have necessarily included many estimates, and are, for that reason, inaccurate.

4. The United States census returns before 1850 did not include Indians.

A footnote states that the estimates of Knox and Imlay may represent warriors only, in which case the total number would be 380,000 and 300,000, warriors being estimated at one-fifth of the population. Dr. Morse made his estimate under an appointment to make a report on the condition of the Indians, which ended in 1822.

The estimate of 1825 did not include Indians in or west of the Missouri valley, and is therefore incomplete. The estimate of 1829 noted the geographical distribution; that of 1834 did not include tribes north of Virginia and east of Ohio; and that of 1836 did not include Indians west of the Rocky Mountains nor those of Texas. That of 1837 is taken from Schoolcraft's history and includes all Indian tribes in the estimate stated by him to have been made up by the Indian Office.

The enumeration by Schoolcraft was the first real attempt to accurately count the Indians, and cost $130,000, appropriated by Congress. The investigations were never completed, and the enumeration was made up partly of estimates, some exaggerated, as, for instance, the tribes in Texas and the new territories being put at 183,042. The census of 1850 was chiefly estimated, one estimate being 271,930. The California Indians were placed at 100,000, whereas Schoolcraft had three years before placed them at 32,231, which was also doubtless an overestimate. The estimate of 1855 was admitted to be largely conjectural, also that of Schoolcraft of 1857.

From 1860 the Indian Office published statements of population, schools, etc., of tribes connected with the Government of the United States, which became of value after 1870.

This writer gives the following substantial reasons for the exaggerations in the estimates of Indians since 1790:

1. The estimates of the Spanish adventurers, whose explorations were more extensive than those of any other nation in the sixteenth century, were accepted and seldom questioned for a long period; some of them are still accepted. The Spanish estimates were largely based on their previous experience in the more densely populated countries of Mexico and Peru; besides, they warred with the natives, and it has never been a Spanish trait to underrate the numerical strength of an enemy.

2. The French explorers were largely composed of ecclesiastics whose imaginations were kindled by a contemplation of the heathen multitudes they were to win to the cross. The extravagance of many of their estimates has been shown, and yet they are to a considerable extent accepted to-day.

3. The early English colonists formed permanent settlements. Their little towns were naturally seated on water-courses which were the great highways of Indian travel, and at points on the coast to which the Indians had long resorted. They thus came in contact with a very large proportion, relatively, of the Indian population. They were also engaged in hostilities with the Indians, and were naturally misled as to the number of their foes by the ubiquity of the savages, whose mode of warfare enabled them to strike a hamlet here to-day and another fifty miles away to-morrow.

4. There were other reasons more general why estimates were exaggerated. Trade brought to the points of exchange large numbers of Indians from great distances. The Indians naturally, for purposes of their own, magnified their own numbers and importance.

The vast extent of country, compared with the more limited areas to which the English, French, and Spaniards were accustomed, and which were densely populated, led them to magnify the actual population of the new world.

The most perfect illustration of the effect of European civilization upon the American aborigines is to be found in the history of the Iroquois Confederacy, of which we fortunately possess complete and accurate accounts from an early date, which nation of Indians has come into contact in more various ways and has figured more largely in our early history than any other. The estimates below are from Major Clark's treatise:

Date.	Authority.	
1660	Jesuit Relation	11,000
1665	Jesuit Relation	11,750
1665	French Expedition	11,700
1671	Wentworth Greenhalgh	10,750
1677	Col. Coursey	17,000
1681	Du Chesneau	10,000
1682	Governor de la Barre	13,000
1685	French Memoir of Canada	10,250
1687	French Memoir of Canada	10,000
1689	Governor Bellemont	12,850
1698	Governor Bellemont	6,150
1720	Governor Hunter	10,000
1736	Joncaire (including Tuscaroras)	7,350
1738	Indian Commissioners of New York (including Tuscaroras)	8,825
1763	Sir William Johnson	11,650
1768	Capt. Thomas Hutchins	14,150
1770	Sir William Johnson	10,000
1774	Sir William Johnson	12,500
1779	John Dodge, Indian Trader	8,000
1791	General Imlay	7,430
1796	Dr. Morse	3,748
1818	Jaspar Parrish, Indian Sub-Agent	4,575
1819	Report to New York Legislature	4,538
1821	Rev. Jedidiah Morse	4,056
1825	Secretary of War	5,061
1829	Secretary of War	5,100
1845	H. R. Schoolcraft	6,942
1850	Indian Office	5,225

Date.	Authority.	
1855	Indian Office	5,778
1860	Indian Office	3,953
1865	Indian Office	5,300
1870	U. S. Census	4,962
1870	Indian Office	4,804
1875	N. Y. Census	4,672
1875	Indian Office	4,804
1877	Indian Office	5,881
	If to these are added the Iroquois in Canada	13,068

The figures from 1796 do not include the Iroquois who had moved into Canada. The number estimated in 1877, which is said to be an underestimate (13,068), considerably exceeded any trustworthy estimate of their numerical strength for more than one hundred years, and proves a certain increase. The wars of the French and Indians, the Revolutionary War, and the War of 1812, probably the most destructive wars to which Indians have been subjected, undoubtedly decreased the numbers of the Iroquois, but it is seen that they have more than recovered their earlier numbers.

Major Clark concludes:

> It may not be impertinent for the writer to observe that the above, and a multitude of other facts that have come to his knowledge during several years of study of the question of Indian civilization, have convinced him that the usual theory that the Indian population is destined to decline and finally disappear, as a result of contact with white civilization, must be greatly modified, probably abandoned altogether.

The above-mentioned reports were the result of vast research after an exhaustive consulting of the best authorities by the most painstaking inquirers, and their conclusions are absolutely decisive of the question so far as they extend. No amount of loose compilation by guesswork, indulged in by ordinary writers, can stand before the perfect method and unprejudiced study given by these honest government inquirers, and their deductions will undoubtedly be accepted as conclusive by all unprejudiced students.

It may therefore be claimed with confidence that the notion of the dying-out of the Indian race on this continent is a popular fallacy which the painstaking system of modern research has exploded; though it will long remain in the minds of the people as a tradition rendered sacred by many generations of believers, and will still hold its place as an historic fact to be worked up by sentimentalists in story, song, and romance.

It is time, however, that future historians should, in the interest of truth, relegate the theory of the disappearance of the race of North American Indians to its proper place among the disproved fallacies of history.

CHILDREN'S SENSE OF FEAR.

BY MARY M. HARRISON.

To a thoughtful mind the problems which already confront us, or which are casting their shadows over the near or more remote future, are fraught with interest. Practical science has developed in all directions to an extent and in a manner hitherto undreamed of. Like the sun, the going forth of the Time Spirit — the *Zeitgeist* — is from the end of the heaven, and his circuit unto the ends of it, and there is nothing hid from the heat thereof; the thing that is hid bringeth he forth to light. This broad statement of facts holds no less true in the realm of mind, and, although the science of child psychology is still in a more or less chaotic state, is not the quickening interest in this subject everywhere felt, together with the earnest determination to make it the basis of a more humane, intelligent, and sympathetic method of treatment, an unmistakable proof that pity, "the new sense," is evermore becoming deeper, broader, and more far-reaching in its range? And where can sympathy and help find more deserving objects than in the almost unrepresented class, the world-wide kingdom of childhood, which has suffered so long and often alas! so patiently?

Feelings make up the most interesting part of our nature, justice and fear standing at opposite ends of the long chain. If on one hand justice be the most abstract of the altruistic sentiments, on the other fear is one of the simplest. If justice seasoned with mercy be an attribute of God himself,

> From lower to higher, from simple to complete,
> This is the pathway of the Eternal Feet,
> From earth to lichen, herb to flowering tree,
> From cell to creeping worm, from man to what shall be.

Hence all nature is bound with golden chains about the feet of God; while man, earth's lord and king of things, stands as the meeting-place between two worlds.

In the emotion of fear psychologists note two stages: (1) Hereditary fear; (2) That gained by experience. If a child makes a gesture or utters a sound, too early for imitation or spontaneous invention, the sound or jesture or the predis-

position to so express himself has been born with him. Now as this instinct of fear exhibits itself in the infant from the earliest dawn of life by trembling and cries, by great rapidity or cessation of breathing a sentiment so universal, set at the very threshold of life, must have weighty reasons for its presence ; and scientists scarcely err in regarding it, not only as a result of anterior experiences, but also as an indispensable factor, not alone in the evolution, but in the very continuance of the race, a too premature acceptance of the altruistic doctrine of the brotherhood of man having invariably proved fatal to its earliest adherents. And the persistence of this emotion in the child is a safeguard against certain very real dangers, of which it has not yet had any experience ; while rightly used it is an invaluable element in moulding the character.

Fear is a strong passion ; none other sooner unhinges or dethrones the judgment ; none is more contagious. How else account for the panics, to which all history bears witness, spreading through entire armies, where each man turns his hand against his fellow ; or when they flee, none pursuing ?

Moreover, what are all forms of despotic government, whether in States, communities, or families, save the outcome of fear? But by the universal law of retribution every act carries with it its own reward or penalty. Good must come of good, and ill of evil evermore. If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door, is a truth old as eternity, and yet ever new and fresh as a spring morning. So the tyrant, ruling by fear, may disarm rebellion or suppress disaffection, and thus insure, not peace, but stagnation and decay ; for from coward, cowed, or timid natures, devoid as they are of all vigor, physical or mental, little or nothing may be expected, either in the matter of general progress or of energetic action or service in any form.

> Tyrants are but the spawn of Ignorance,
> Begotten by the slaves they trample on,
> Who, could they win a glimmer of the light,
> And see that Tyranny is always weakness,
> Or Fear, with its own bosom ill at ease,
> Would laugh away in scorn the sand-wove chains,
> Which their own blindness feigned for adamant.

The word fear is derived from what is sudden or dangerous, and forms one link in the series of kindred emotions, the first being attention, which, if sudden and close, gradu-

ates into surprise, surprise into astonishment, this again into stupefied amazement, a feeling akin to fear.

When under its sway the heart beats quickly and violently, and palpitates or knocks against the ribs, thus the heart's action becomes disturbed; while if fear has passed into terror, the heart almost ceases to act, the muscles of the body become relaxed, and both physical and mental powers fail, all the nervous force available being already concentrated on a single point. In these respects terror differs from horror, although an element of it. Horror is full of energy; the body is in the utmost tension, not unnerved by fear, although including it.

Thus we see that no power of mind or body acts apart; that in the little state of man — the subjective world within, as in the objective world without — the same universal law holds. "None liveth to himself, none dieth to himself." All, all are parts of one stupendous whole.

This being so, the question arises, What shall we do with children's sense of fear? When and how seek to eradicate it altogether? When and how enlist it as an ally in the development of the character, and so raise it to a high rank in the long chain of the emotions?

As our early fears fade away and give place to the graver anxieties of more mature life, we are apt to underestimate how varied, violent, and intense these feelings really are, owing to the absence of reflection and experience; and yet in some respects my own earliest recollections are so vivid that I should like to enlist the sympathy of all on behalf of the children,

> Whom the angels in bright raiment
> Know the names of to repeat,
> When they come on *us* for payment.

At every stage of childhood I seem to see my former self looking out of children's eyes, and my heart fills with love and pity as I realize what infinite possibilities lie hidden in each, what a high ideal the universal Father holds of them, — "That they might be unto me for a people, and for a name, and for a praise, and for a glory," — and how much of their failure to reach their own ideal lies at the door of those placed over them. "Where is the flock that was given thee, thy beautiful flock?" is a serious question for parents, teachers, the Church, all of us.

In dealing with fears arising from ignorance, it is not wise

to pooh-pooh them nor laugh at them. Doing so affords no *explanation*, nothing short of which satisfies a child. Moreover, dreading ridicule, he shrinks back into himself, and thus already a barrier begins to rise between him and you. If you would retain your son's or your daughter's confidences, you cannot begin too early. Let them be always sure of a ready, interested, sympathetic hearing and help, and *habit*, if nothing else, will draw them to you when greater but not more real dangers than are those of childhood threaten or overtake them.

If we desire to supplant fear, not by fearlessness or rashness, but by a thoughtful courage, we refrain from overcautioning children, especially as they grow older, regarding pursuits attended with an element of danger, knowing as we do that such a course weakens the judgment, and so an additional terror is added. In general there is least danger where there is least fear. Sad it is we so often fail to perceive that the same principle, although less obvious, is not a whit less true in the higher domain of moral courage. By habitually referring a child's action or speech to such worldly maxims as what people will say of him, or think of him, or how they will look at him, we run the risk of destroying all his just sense of self-reliance, while, at the same time, we impress on his mind an exaggerated idea of a standard at once too uncertain, too vague, and too imperfect — PUBLIC OPINION. And having at last learned to accept it as his recognized guide of life and conduct, he is in imminent danger of applying it in ways altogether unthought of and undesired by those who had previously inculcated it.

Teach him to look within, beyond, and above him for the eternal law of right.

> The word unto the prophet spoken
> Was writ on tables yet unbroken.

By trusting and following the monitions of the living oracle within, all the higher qualities shall develop, virtue shall increase, and new powers shall appear. The "still, small voice," which whoso wills may hear, is a safe and sure guide to which we may all take heed. If we live truly we shall see truly.

> So nigh is grandeur to our dust,
> So near is God to man,
> When Duty whispers low, Thou must,
> The youth replies, I can.

Children's mental and moral nature is a bundle of mixed

impulses, good and bad; while the will — the directing power — is yet absent, or weak and untrained. And in their fitful, spasmodic efforts to be good, they have often a conscious, painful sense of their own weakness. Their fitful desires toward right, their sympathetic nature alive to every look, word, and action of those around them, their love of approbation, their longing for appreciation, their fear of reproach, — all these and more are powerful agents, in skilful hands, for uprooting or weakening the evil impulses and for strengthening the good, till by repeated acts they become habits, and *habits*, when formed, become *character*.

Truth, courage, purity, and kindness are the pre-eminent virtues to be instilled, and children are likely to acquire them or not as they see and hear in what estimation these qualities are held by those surrounding them. And their clear eyes being quick to detect any discrepancy between precept and example, let us beware of offending one of these little ones by blurring or confusing for them the eternal rule of right, which they should see reflected in us as is a face in a mirror.

Teach them to fear to do, not alone wicked or cruel actions, but what is almost as degrading and demoralizing to the character — mean, cunning, or cowardly acts. And, as every act is first a thought, let them take heed to keep their heart with all diligence, and so to

> Make the house where gods may dwell
> Beautiful, entire, and clean.

In the matter of mental training we have only to look at the effects produced by fear in order to realize how detrimental it is to all high culture and progress. Its certain results are to paralyze or waste the energy, arrest action, and dissipate thought. Hence so great are the evils attendant on the use — and how much more on the abuse — of it, that it should never be resorted to till all other means are exhausted; and it ought never to be so great as to damp the spirits or waste the energy.

A moderate present privation, or the certain prospect of a future one, will usually effect the desired results without producing the state of general debility engendered by fear. Indeed, so patent are these facts that one wonders how the great majority of us have been so slow to perceive "that young children should be allured to learning by gentleness and love, rather than compelled to learning by beating and fear." What

is gained through fear we forget without care. And we are not so likely in after life to pursue *con amore* any subject, however interesting, connected with such unpleasant associations.

Dr. Stanley Hall has compiled an admirable, lucid, indeed almost exhaustive, list of children's fears. From his catalogue I select but a few, beginning with *fears of punishment.*

Children, as a rule, have a shrinking, nameless dread of arbitrary punishment, and also of its instrument. Now the chief end of all discipline being melioration of character, we should seek to ascertain whether and in what cases arbitrary punishment is likely to have the desired effect. When it is possible to do so, let the child suffer the natural consequences of his fault; and let us be sure that it is a fault, not a loss merely or an inconvenience to us. Thereby he learns caution and catches a faint glimmering of justice, and also gains experience of special instances of the laws of causation, which in time he shall find to be universal. Moreover, this method has the further advantage of preventing much unnecessary friction, irritation, worry, and consequent waste of energy on both sides.

If you wish the child to have a moderate fear — not dread — of punishment, do not accustom him to it, nor perpetually threaten him with it, as passive impressions grow weaker by repetition.

Inure him to hardships or difficulties he should lightly esteem. Let judgment be your strange work, reserved for grave offences, and beware that the punishment does not exceed the offence, as it is certain to do if anger, passion, or wounded vanity be at the bottom of it. There is still much chastisement administered rather for pleasure than profit. In general, nothing more terrifies and bewilders a sensitive nature, and, if frequently or cruelly inflicted, nothing more dulls, degenerates, or deadens a promising or even an unpromising one. "The twin shapes" of fear and hatred are seldom far apart; while to angry threats and harsh treatment may often be traced a habit of untruthfulness common to many children.

One word in reference to another object of children's fears — *darkness.* Judging from my own recollections, and also from observing its apparently similar effects on little ones, darkness itself, apart altogether from any dangerous objects possibly there concealed, is mysterious, oppressive,

and even full of dread. At times it seems almost as if endowed with life, or, to be more explicit, part of the darkness appears to gather itself together and assume weird fantastic forms as of something which might be felt, almost immovable so long as one looks at it, but preparing to follow or spring the moment of retreat. And does not darkness, especially when on a large scale, hold somewhat of a mystery for all of us? while to children, ignorant as they are, not only of the laws governing phenomena, but also of the phenomena themselves, the novelty of their surroundings, the sights and sounds, new every morning and fresh every evening, are quite as wonderful, mysterious, and unaccountable as are any their imagination could picture or their fancy weave.

To them the supernatural is the natural. As superstitious terrors are the worst of all, their conquest is one great object of education. Although much may be done in allaying them or in minimizing their baneful influence, the utter annihilation or dispersion of them is one of the incidental but most salutary results of the exact study of nature and of nature's laws, in other words, science.

In referring to another object of children's fears, I venture, more at length, to call in the aid of experience. And, as child psychology is still to so large an extent an inductive science, it naturally lends itself to this mode of treatment. For we may go into learned descriptions and minute details as much as we will respecting fear and its results, still the feeling itself, being almost a single one, cannot adequately be explained by referring it to a simpler. Hence, if we would really understand how children feel when under its influence, we can only do so by going back in memory to our own early years and recalling the emotion, or failing this, we may by humility, love, and sympathy become once more as little children, and so see things from their point of view. Thus doing, we shall also get a deeper and clearer insight into the kingdom of heaven within us — the kingdom of love and trust and purity and self-lessness.

How shall I mention without giving a painful shock children's fear of hell?

At the mere sight or sound of that ominous word memory invariably travels back to a time long past and as if to another world, where in imagination I see a very small child sitting on a low seat by her father's side, while he is initiating her for the first time into the mysteries of that awful

creed. For a time I failed to grasp the thought, so new, so unexpected, so unimagined had it all hitherto been; but as the description continued and question after question was answered most circumstantially, and quite cheerfully, as to its temperature, its capacity for accommodating large numbers, the probable length of their sojourn, its possible duration, my own prospects in regard to it, together with those of the family in general, I breathlessly drank in the tale of horror. I then stretched out my tiny hand toward the fire in a curious, tentative way in order to ascertain with what fortitude I should meet the event when my turn came. The result was unsatisfactory. I burst into a flood of tears and said to my father in wonder and amazement, "You knew all this, and yet I have seen you laughing. I can never laugh again." In vain was I told I should not go there if I were good, such a contingency appearing too improbable to be worth counting on. I might forget some time, and what then? Meanwhile was not the devil there with all his angels and ever so many more besides?

At first I saw it as a huge fire, but chance scraps of information were gradually worked into the picture, making it more minute and ghastly. The lake of fire especially tended to give it a local habitation and a name, for there was but one lake in all the universe to me, and quick as thought by the alchemy of the imagination it did indeed become a fiery one. How I wished it were possible to go to the brink and tell the unhappy occupants I was sorry for them, perhaps help them! But on further learning that even a drop of water however acceptable was not permissible, in sorrow I relinquished the project, — for would not my presence on the margin but mock their misery?

And I well remember two or three years afterward, when I may have been about seven years old, hearing one brother recklessly call another a fool, and this at a time when I was much exercised in mind as to the fearful consequences thereby incurred. In alarm I ran to my mother, partly, no doubt, because like Joe I wanted to make her flesh creep, but chiefly because I wished to find a responsible person with whom to share the awful secret.

Imagine my astonishment on hearing the cold and cruel reply, "Well, dear, never mind." I could only attribute such unwonted heartlessness to the supposition that in the natural course of things judgment would still be long

deferred. And I see yet the wistful, yearning look with which I would regard him as one already appointed to utter destruction; but I never gave him a hint of his impending fate; I had not the heart to do so.

After this episode I realized more than ever that we were a doomed family; it was henceforth only a question of time; for "if such things could be done in the green tree, what would be done in the dry?"—for my eldest brother was always unusually thoughtful for his years. How bitterly I regretted that he had not thought of calling him "Raca"—a much more terrible-looking epithet, yet entailing comparatively mild consequences.

Some time afterward, while spending an afternoon at a friend's house, and in the midst of play, a most doleful, melancholy sound arrested my attention. On inquiring the cause I was informed that a swarm of bees was being suffocated with brimstone. I stood amazed and horrified at the cruelty, but much more at the audacity of the sacrilege; for that the brimstone had been surreptitiously abstracted during one of its periodic showers to the lake appeared to me to be beyond the shadow of a doubt, although I was ignorant of

> The old classic superstition
> Of the theft and the transmission
> Of the fire of the immortals.

And from then till now the mere mention of bees or brimstone, Dives or devil, lake or Lucifer, sends memory back on its well-trodden pathway in the brain, where, in imagination, I still see the tiny child, seated at her father's side, drinking in her first lesson in dogmatic theology. For

> Always the memory
> Of overwhelming perils or great joys
> Avoided or enjoyed, writes its own trace
> With such deep characters upon our lives,
> That all the rest are blotted.

As a young child's brain is physiologically strong and as impressionable as soft wax, so it is readiest to receive and surest to keep anything learnt in youth. Let us therefore take heed that what we put into it be of the fairest and best and purest and cleanest.

Let their young life be encircled with love and embosomed in beauty; and when the days of darkness come—for they shall be many—early memory shall become a treasure-house

filled with all that is holy and happy and sacred, and shall prove not only an inspiration in troublous times, but also an earnest and prophecy that

> There is a height higher than mortal thought,
> There is a love warmer than mortal love,
> There is a life which, taking not its hues
> From earth or earthly things, grows white and pure,
> And higher than the petty cares of men,
> And is a blessed life and glorified.

THE NEW CHARITY.

BY BOLTON HALL.

The word charity has been perverted to mean more or less intelligent alms. We have evolved a theory of systematic beneficence whose shibboleths are "self help" and "relief by work," and we are tempted to assume that if we keep to those and recognize by "philanthropy and five per cent" that we must cope with the forces of the world through the laws of the world, we have only to do enough charity to effectually improve the condition of the poor.

Yet the experiment has been thoroughly tried already. Mr. J. H. Crooker says that in China in the year 159 B. C. there were refuges for the aged and sick poor, free schools for poor children, free eating-houses for wearied laborers, associations for the distribution of second-hand clothing, and societies for paying the expenses of marriage and burial among the poor.

These seem simple and natural charities, and except the free eating-houses and the payment of marriage expenses of the poor, would be approved by our modern charity organizations; yet if they have not helped to degrade Chinese labor, at least they have not prevented its degeneration. It is true that much of this charity was not enlightened, yet the testimony as to the effects of even the best forms of our own charity is not such as to assure us that the results, in the long run, would have been much better if it had been so. For instance, Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell says: "It is not only or chiefly selfishness which should lead every large city to dread an influx of the 'homeless and unemployed;' for in the nature of things little can be done for them which will not finally be more of an injury than a benefit both to them and to others." (Poverty and its Relief, Twenty-second National Conference of Charities, 1895.)

To those who nevertheless believe that this "new charity" will regenerate the world its least encouraging feature is that even if it is true charity it is not new charity.

About 1711 the *Armenstadt*, or poor help, was established in Hamburg as a department of the Sanitary Association,

and the policy of personal supervision of the poor was inaugurated.

When public sentiment had been educated up to a point which made it practicable, Prof. J. G. Büsch, aided by Lessing, Klopstock, VonVoght, and other able helpers, organized the charities of Hamburg and also marshalled the workers, who consisted of large numbers of the wealthy and respectable people of the great free city.

They created a central bureau, with a clearing house such as we have, to prevent duplication of relief. They subdivided the city into sixty districts, each of which was under the care of three regular workers, so that there was one visitor to each six hundred of the whole population. They put in operation "relief by work," "sanitary reform," and "industrial training;" in all of which they had the fullest and heartiest help of the legislative power.

They understood the danger of pauperization, and were even in advance of us in that everything given to the poor was considered as a loan. They provided trained nurses, who went out to the homes of the poor. Artificial work for the unemployed, just like ours, and, later, agricultural experiment stations, were established. They had the hospital, the home for the aged, and what we might well imitate, a medical commission to examine applicants who claimed physical disability. They had a *crêche* or day nursery, free schools, a building loan fund, and an improved housings committee. These advanced thinkers appreciated that pauperism is easier to prevent than to cure, and so gave particular attention to the children, beginning with compulsory education, for which they provided sufficient accommodation.

Nor was Hamburg lacking in the scientific spirit. The volunteer visitors were instructed to collect information concerning the state of the poor — the causes of poverty, the amount of rent, all the census particulars about the children, means of support, scale of living, relatives able to help, character and history, and many other items such as we gather in our "case-counting." As Crooker says, "more recent experiments have hardly made any important additions to the philosophy or methods of poor-relief there put in operation. The original Hamburg system of 1788 contained all the essential principles and methods of that scientific poor-relief by which the workers of to-day are able to produce good results." ("Problems of American Society," Ellis, Boston.)

None of our difficulties, alms-giving, the reluctance of private corporations, especially churches, to co-operate, appear to have been unknown to Hamburg. Finally they spent $70,000 a year in a city of about one hundred thousand persons, at a cost for operating expenses of less than three dollars in the hundred.

Neither was this great work obscure nor forgotten. Francis II of Austria made VonVoght, one of the leaders, a baron in recognition of his organizing services in Vienna. Napoleon put him in charge of the charities of Paris in 1808, and later Marseilles followed suit in deferring to him. An account of the system was widely circulated in 1796 in London. Two years later Malthus noticed it in his book on Population, and in the same year it was reviewed in J. M. Good's "Dissertation on Maintaining and Employing the Poor." Count Rumford borrowed his system from it. In running through the extensive literature upon the reform of the poor-laws from 1798 to 1830, we find everywhere similar evidence of an acquaintance with VonVoght's pamphlet and of the profound influence of the Hamburg institution.

Why, then, it may be asked, has organized charity, so intelligent, so extensive, and so long continued, made so little improvement in social conditions?

Perhaps because organized charity, looking as it necessarily does to the politician or to those who profit by the low rates of labor, has been prone in its investigations to underestimate the causes of misery which are chargeable to those classes, and in seeking to remove such causes as it does see, habitually avoids (because it is itself a part of "things as they are") anything which seems "radical" or "extreme."

But at the risk of being thought revolutionary, it is necessary that we should seek, not the individual causes of individual cases of extreme want, but the reason why "a large and increasing proportion of the population," of average temperance, average health, average industry, and average morality, "in our great manufacturing centres, whether in England or in other countries," live, as Prof. Huxley says they do live, though "there reigns supreme . . . that condition which the French call '*la misère*, . . . a condition in which the food, warmth, and clothing for the maintenance of the functions of the body in their normal state cannot be obtained."

Conscious, however dimly, of these facts, we are repeating the experience of a past generation, which, finding that even

by so perfect a system as that which we have reviewed, involuntary poverty could not be eradicated, took refuge in the doctrine that it was part of the necessary course of nature. Malthus then appeared to teach them that population increases faster than the means of support, and that there must therefore always be a large pauper class.

The doctrine of Malthus having passed away, we now take refuge in trying to believe that most pauperism is the result of drink, laziness, or vice on the part of the poor.

The statistics gathered by our present charities have shown to those who have studied them that this theory also is false.*

The failure of charity is inevitable, however, mainly because, sad as it may seem, no quantity of organized charity, old or new, however great, and no quality, however good, can accomplish social regeneration. It is not the proper remedy, and, like an efficacious medicine applied on a wrong diagnosis, whilst it sometimes seems for a time to allay the distemper and often suppresses its most prominent symptoms, it really only scatters or changes and generally aggravates them.

* See Prof. Amos G. Warner's "American Charities."

THE IMPENDING CRISIS.

BY WILLIAM H. STANDISH, EX-ATTORNEY-GENERAL OF NORTH DAKOTA.

Everything in nature, left to its course, grows and develops until it ripens and matures. The germs of disease may be arrested and eradicated by timely treatment or change in the mode of living. If these remedies are not applied they ripen into fever and end in the purification of the system or the death of their subject. So it is with all wrongs of government.

Wrongs little felt at first grow and develop until they reach a crisis which eventuates in war, and that war generally ends in a change in government or legislation which could have been as well obtained without the war if the people in time had been willing to break loose from the political thraldom to the party which enslaves them.

The crisis of slavery was the war of 1861. The cause of that crisis was the importation of the first slave in 1620, and the cause of that importation was greed.

The origin of our Revolution dates back to the legislation made a century before, excluding us from having home factories, requiring us to ship through British vessels, to trade with British merchants, and excluding us from having vessels of our own and shipping and exchanging with other countries than Britain under penalty of imprisonment and the forfeiture of the vessel. The foundation of this legislation, retaining its grasp until thrown off by war, was greed.

No barbarians were ever ruled more oppressively or unjustly than the common people of France up to 1789, when matters reached a crisis ending in the revolution of 1793, which destroyed the power of the priesthood and nobles, stripped them of their estates, killing many or driving them into exile. Those who lost their lives exceeded a million (some say nearly two millions) out of a population of twenty-five millions.

The priesthood and the nobles dictated the press and the government, and absorbed the earnings of the people, leaving them a bare existence when famine intervened and distress

drove the people to kill the priests and nobles and seize their estates. Oppression created the revolution and greed created the oppression.

What is this monster greed? In the language of another:

Avarice heads the list of passions, demanding for its satisfaction the blood of human sacrifice. Revenge is sluggish and inactive, lacks life and energy, and strikes where it can do so without effort. Avarice is alive, wide awake, energetic, ambitious, stops at no obstacles, knows no fear, is aggressive, unprincipled, heartless, knows no pity, and is a living, moving engine of destruction. It has created nearly all wars, it brings to its aid the press, the Church, and the State. It is more unrelenting, aggressive, wicked, and far-reaching in its evil than the passion that creates murder.

The gold standard was planned and pledged at Paris in June and July, 1867, and enacted in 1873 in pursuance of that plan and pledge, Senator John Sherman participating in the plan in 1867 and in its execution in 1873. On pages 152 and 153 of the Great Debate, Hon. Roswell G. Horr states that the law of 1873 was made to consummate a plan and pledge made in Paris in 1867 to place us on the gold standard. We quote from Mr. Horr as follows:

THE LAW OF 1873.

I should have stated that previous to 1873 there had been a monetary conference held in Paris — I think he (Mr. Harvey) has referred to that conference and said that Senator Sherman was present at the conference. I quote here from W. A. Shaw's "History of Currency," page 275:

The first widely embracing international conference proper, however, was the outcome of an expression of opinion in the conclave of the Latin Union. It was called at the invitation of France, and met at Paris on the 17th of June, 1867. The States represented were — now listen — Austria, Baden, Bavaria, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, the United States, France, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Prussia, Russia, Sweden and Norway, Switzerland, Turkey. The eight sessions of the congress occupied until July, 1867. *All the States except Holland declared in favor of the gold standard.*

Now that is the record of that conference, showing that the subject was being agitated by the civilized nations of the world. They had met together; they had discussed this question eight long days or sessions; and then, with the exception of Holland, *every one of them had declared in favor of the gold standard.* It was after that action that our experts commenced to examine the question and see what legislation should be enacted.

No necessity existed in 1867 to plan in Paris for the adoption of the gold standard and to consummate that plan in 1873. Silver money was then on a parity with gold money, and had been at all times since Abraham purchased the cave of Machpelah for a burying-place, three thousand eight hundred years before, with four hundred pieces of silver, then "current money with the merchant," although at times during that interval three times as many silver dollars had been coined

as gold dollars, as the tables given in "Coin's Financial School" show; yet silver money had, at all times, maintained its parity with gold money. The invitation of France in 1866 for a monetary conference in 1867 was to suggest a uniform coinage, not to adopt the gold standard.

We had the dollar unit, France the franc, England the pound, and each other nation its coin-piece, differing in size and value from the other, which made confusion in figuring commercial balances or settlements.

No nation represented at that conference commissioned any one to pledge it to the gold standard, or to labor to secure the adoption of the gold standard by other nations, and neither Mr. Sherman nor Samuel B. Ruggles (the only Americans at this conference) reported to Congress that they had pledged this country to adopt the gold standard. If they were there with authority for that purpose they would, on their return, have placed before Congress a report to the effect that they had executed the duties they had been sent to perform by pledging us to the gold standard. This report would have been made public through the press and its merits discussed before the adoption of the law, which Mr. Horr says was made in 1873 to consummate a plan and pledge made in Paris six years before to put us on the gold standard.

If Mr. Sherman or Mr. Ruggles had any authority in 1867 to pledge us to the gold standard, it would be in a resolution of Congress, as all of the departments, including the President acting with them, have no power either to pledge or bind us with a foreign power, or any representative of it, except by a resolution or enactment of Congress or a specific ratification by the Senate.

All governments, from the smallest village council, act by written authority, first recorded in the proper book; but neither Mr. Horr nor any one else can find anything in the call for the Paris conference of 1867, nor from any of the nations mentioned above, directing or authorizing any one to pledge our country or any of the others to a gold standard. Hence the gold-standard pledge then made was without any authority from any of the above-named governments, and it was only a mutual pledge between the persons at this convention that they would endeavor, each in his own country, to secure the legislation needed to increase the purchasing power of the dollar.

What follows shows that the object of the individuals con-

gregated at Paris in 1867 was to secure the adoption of the gold standard to double the purchasing power of the dollar. Had there been previous authority from these nations to pledge them to the gold standard, the close of the Paris conference would have practically completed its adoption throughout Europe, outside of Holland (we believe it already existed in England, Spain, and Portugal, but not outside of them, and that it was not adopted in any of these other countries earlier than in 1873 — a period of six years after the close of the Paris conference).

There having been no previous authority to pledge these nations to the gold standard at the Paris conference, when it adjourned measures were set in motion to secure its adoption in these various countries of Europe, as well as in the United States, but in each instance they were rejected or laid over for six years before any of them were adopted, — another proof that there was no authority for the gold-standard pledge made at Paris.

In 1869 the governor of the Bank of France, M. Wolovski, and Baron Rothschild each warned the French government to have nothing to do with the gold standard. Their warning can be found in Dunning on Price, page 53. M. Wolovski said:

> The sum total of the precious metals is reckoned at fifty milliards, one half gold and one half silver. If by the stroke of the pen they suppress one of these metals in the monetary service they double the demand for the other metal, to the ruin of all debtors.

Baron Rothschild made this statement:

> The simultaneous employment of the two precious metals is satisfactory, and gives rise to no complaint. Whether gold or silver dominates for the time being it is always true that the two metals concur together in forming the monetary circulation of the world; and it is the general mass of the two metals combined that serves as the measure of the value of things. The suppression of silver would amount to a veritable destruction of values without any compensation.

On Oct. 30, 1873, Prof. Laveloye gave the following warning to the Belgian government against adopting the gold standard. When asked to give his views, he said:

> Debtors, and among them the State, have the right to pay in gold or silver; and this right cannot be taken away without disturbing the relation of debtors and creditors, to the prejudice of debtors to the extent of perhaps one half, certainly of one third. To increase all debts at a blow is a measure so violent, so revolutionary, that I cannot believe that the government will propose it, or that the Chambers will vote it.

Previously to this, J. Stuart Mill said:

If the whole money in circulation was doubled, prices would be doubled; if it was only increased one fourth, prices would rise one fourth.

Dunning "On Relation of Money to Price" contains the above and others corroborating them which are by Hume, Crawford, R. M. T. Hunter, Encyclopædia Britannica, Léon Faucher, Adam Smith, Ricardo, Jevons, Chevalier, Jacobs, Alison's History of Europe, Henry Clay, Bryant, Gallatin, Humboldt, Archibald, Sealey, John Locke, and a host of others. Three hundred thousand of this book have been printed and read. What I have quoted must be known to the editors of the great gold-standard press; but they draw their salaries and their orders like clerks, and are under as much censorship from the stockholders of the papers as if they were in Russia publishing a paper under the censorship of that government; hence they fail to publish these matters for the people. The reader of this should send twenty-five cents to N. A. Dunning, Washington, D. C., and order Dunning on Price.

Senator Sherman, when he pledged us to the gold standard in 1867 and consummated that pledge in 1873 by securing the enactment of the legislation which placed us on the gold standard, could not then have been ignorant of the results to be produced by it.

In a late interview appearing in the Minneapolis *Times* of March 28, a gold-standard paper, he says:

"No one can misunderstand my position on the money question. *I favor the gold standard* now adopted by all the leading nations of Europe, and the use of a limited amount of silver coins maintained as now at par with gold. This policy secures to laborers and all producers money of the highest purchasing power for their labor and productions."

"What would be the effect of the free coinage of silver?" he was asked.

"*The free coinage of silver would reduce the purchasing power of money one half.*"

The North Dakota *Sun-Independent* of Fargo, a gold-standard paper since March 1, on March 28 editorially says:

It is true that the free coinage of silver will give dollar wheat and double prices for all classes of products, and in cases where contract has not been made to pay in gold, would be of advantage to the debtor class; but the Republican idea is that the good to result will not be equal to the harm wrought.

This is a candid statement of a Republican journalist of the Republican view of the question, showing that the party does not believe the purchasing power of money should be lessened, and that present low prices should be maintained.

Here comes the meat of this question. Let us consider it dispassionately. We owe, in North Dakota, over $30,000,000 in public and private debts. We have to sell property to pay them. In addition to these debts we have railroads that were built when wheat brought a dollar a bushel. We have to sell property to get money to pay freight and passenger rates over them, which rates must be maintained high enough to pay interest on the cheap dollar which built these railroads. We have taxes to pay to meet fees and salaries which were fixed years ago to maintain city, county, State, and national government; and as we have to pay in a dollar which has been doubled in value by the gold standard, we double all these charges, and they will soon absorb all our people have.

The chief production in our State, in the eastern third of it, is wheat. The other two thirds is given to sheep and cattle. Last year we are supposed to have raised sixty-four million bushels of wheat, leaving for sale after saving for seed, fifty-six million bushels. This brought the farmer an average of forty cents a bushel. It is now some higher. At forty cents it brought $22,400,000, out of which came all charges, living and travelling expenses, taxes and interest, leaving little or no residue to apply to reduce standing debts; and in some instances those debts increased; but an advance of $22,400,000 in the selling price of a single crop in the State, and a like advance in all other crops, and in the price of cattle, sheep, and wool, would soon extinguish the indebtedness of our people, make them loaners instead of borrowers, and soon enable us to do business on a cash system.

At forty cents it took one fourth of our crop to pay freight to Minneapolis and Duluth; at eighty cents it would have taken one eighth, enabling the railways to get a double portion of our crop for its freight, or seven millions of bushels extra, which at eighty cents would have brought $5,600,000. The interest on thirty millions of debt at seven per cent was $2,100,000, which took 5,250,000 bushels of wheat to pay, and 2,625,000 bushels more than would have been required at a double price; while our State and local taxes were approximately as much on nearly $90,000,000 assessed valuation, as the interest charge on our debts and a loss of 2,625,000 bushels of wheat had to be made to meet these taxes, making a total extra sale of wheat to pay freight, taxes, and interest of 12,250,000 bushels by reason of the

gold-standard price in North Dakota, over what would have been required with free silver coinage and double existing prices.

When we travelled we paid in fare that was doubled in value, and when we bought hard coal or pine lumber, we paid 1873 prices and in money doubled in value by the gold standard.

If low prices are desirable, the gold standard will maintain them and continue to reduce them, because the production of the gold mines will not keep pace with the increase of population, commerce, and debts, after allowing for abrasion, loss, and the use in the arts; and gold is so easily cornered that the money power can retire it at pleasure, and thereby reduce prices and add to the purchasing power of its income and that of monopoly from the people at will.

What has been said of the effect of the gold standard in North Dakota applies with equal force elsewhere. When I visit my old home in New York I pay the same fare on the New York Central as in 1873, in a dollar doubled in value, making that fare, in effect, four cents a mile. I find the selling price of farms reduced one half, many of them swept away by mortgage sales, and old friends rendered homeless by the gold standard.

Our President draws double the salary he did before 1873, in a dollar of double value. Our congressmen and judges have advanced salaries in dollars doubled in value. In 1890 the people paid in various forms of taxation $1,040,433,013; while the annual wheat crop of the United States, if 600,000,000 bushels and all sold at sixty cents a bushel, without retaining any for seed, would have realized but $360,000,000, or only about one third enough to pay the various forms of taxation to maintain government; and yet we are told that what we need is a dollar of large purchasing power, and that the gold standard must be maintained for that purpose.

Since the gold standard was put in force, in pursuance of the plan originated in Paris, the price of property and produce has fallen one half in Europe, as the eminent men we have quoted prophesied; while in those countries keeping silver as standard money this decline in prices has been avoided.

"Public Document No. 1713, Treasury Department, Bureau of Statistics," made under the supervision of John G. Carlisle, closes its statistical tables at June 30, 1894. It

shows that for sixteen years ending on that date Great Britain paid us the sum of $3,860,122,071 to settle the balance of trade, and in the last year of that period all Europe computed together paid us over $405,000,000 for that single year on the balance of trade in our favor; while we had to pay out large sums to settle the balance between us and the silver nations of the world.

With a double price on what we bought and for what we sold for that year we would have received $405,000,000 more than we did from Europe, and in that sixteen years $3,860,122,071 more money than we did from Great Britain, which would have made it unnecessary to borrow that sum abroad. All foreign as well as domestic debts bring increased in value and size by reason of the gold standard, it seems to me Great Britain will not soon join any international conference to restore silver and destroy the gold standard which brings her this advantage in commercial exchange with us in addition to the other advantages she derives from it. During all the period these sixteen years of statistics cover we were living under Republican tariff legislation without the free coinage of silver, so that no tariff legislation without restoring free silver coinage can save our loss of foreign trade and the increase of our foreign and domestic debts, to end in the utter bankruptcy of our people.

Free silver coinage would put our money on a level with other free-silver countries and would elevate our prices to theirs. If that failed to place the silver money of these countries and ours on a par with the gold money of Europe, we could at once furnish to Asia and the western continent, containing a billion of consumers, all the manufactured articles they now buy of gold-standard Europe, and quadruple our export trade in manufactures.

We have but little show now in that field of trade. Europe, chiefly England, gets it. From this statistical report it appears that for the sixteen years ending June 30, 1894, we sent to Japan, China, Cuba, Mexico, and Brazil the sum of $2,076,557,976 to settle their balance of trade against us, and large sums for the same purpose to other silver-using countries, which sums should have been paid by the sale of our manufactured goods, which they bought of Great Britain and western gold-standard Europe.

In countries retaining free silver coinage prices have been

more stable, and they have not declined one half as they have in those countries excluding the free coinage of silver; equity has been maintained between debtor and creditor; the tax-gatherer, the interest-gatherer, the officeholder, the mortgagee, and every monopoly have not absorbed a double tribute from the people as they have with us by reason of the gold standard, whereby they have made tenants and tramps who would now but for the gold standard have been possessed of homes entirely out of debt, and living with their families in comfort.

The rejection of free silver coinage has injured our silver-mining property amounting almost to actual confiscation. This is un-American and unprotective. The control of the gold-standard power for another four years means a further bonding of our government to destroy our greenbacks, coin, and silver certificates and silver money to keep up the large purchasing power of our money. This means at least $800,000,000 more of national bonded debt, even if we have no foreign war or civil revolution to meet, as this circulation aggregates over $850,000,000, and it must be purchased by the government before it can be destroyed by it or retired.

After the notice went out that the purchasing clause of the Sherman Law was to be repealed, and no free silver coinage in its place, prices immediately fell, and the McKinley Tariff Bill, owing to less revenue as a result of lower prices on importations, furnished as great a deficiency to meet government demands as the Wilson Bill has since. Hence the re-enactment of the McKinley Bill to meet the present deficiency at present would not relieve it without restoring free silver coinage, which will advance prices and give a greater valuation to imports and a corresponding increase of revenue, even on the same *ad valorem* tariff rates.

As we increase the purchasing power of the dollar we draw an extra supply of substance from the public in every avenue of life, which is absorbed by the rich. We have two per cent of the people in the United States who own one half of the wealth, and they are those who draw this extra substance by the increased purchasing power of the dollar. On the other hand, we have had five times the evictions in New York City that Ireland has had in a year. In Chicago one hundred and thirty-five thousand have been fed by charity in one year since 1893, and eighty-five thousand arrests made,

while distress exists everywhere. Which of these classes appeals the louder for legislative consideration? As you reduce the purchasing power of the dollar to what it was, you relieve this distress and restore to the debtor, laborer, manufacturer, producer, and taxpayer only that which was taken from him by the law of 1873. All these will then stand where they would now if the law of 1873 had not been made, except they will be short what the gold standard has taken from them in the interim.

The gold standard originated in avarice, and by avarice it is maintained. Avarice controls all the governments of Europe, and it will never release its grasp except by adverse legislation to force such release. This can never be done by pleading, but by acting independently and in defiance of Europe.

Republicans and Democrats who talk of international bimetallism insist on conditions which will make the free coinage of silver impossible, and on terms which will give us no benefit. They insist that all greenbacks, certificate and silver money shall be treated as currency to be redeemed by gold money, *in order to keep up, as they say, the present purchasing value of money.* The present purchasing value of money means a continuance of the present low prices of property. It is the present purchasing power of money, or an increase of it, that they want. It is not a parity in the value of all money. Let me explain the theory of the matter.

Mr. Sherman met the agents of greed in Paris to plan for the gold standard, when all gold and silver money was on a parity and had been for three thousand eight hundred years. The parity did not trouble them. They wished to increase the value of money. They procured the gold standard and did thereby increase it.

There is no way by which we can restore former conditions by enacting such legislation as will retain the value of money to where this gold-standard legislation has placed it, and yet such a provision is attached to every proposition for international bimetallism or for silver coinage by every one who opposes free silver coinage. This shows that they desire the results obtained by the gold standard, and that all their silver talk is a delusion to prevent a stampede from their gold-standard parties.

The parity question is not involved and never was. Silver money, as before stated, was on a parity with gold when they planned to destroy silver as redemption money.

If a part of the governments should combine and destroy one half of the wheat of the world, and give wheat checks for it, wheat and wheat checks would be on a parity, but the price of wheat would double, and still the wheat and the checks would be no more on a parity with another bushel of wheat, or the bushel which redeemed the check, than before one half of all the wheat had been destroyed.

England has $10,000,000,000 of foreign credits which would be reduced in value one half by pure international bimetallism. She would be compelled to pay us about $300,000,000 more money than she does now annually to settle the balance of trade. She would soon see us square our debt with her and cease sending her interest. She would experience the same results with all other countries she holds credit against. She is crafty and never voluntarily releases an advantage once obtained; and therefore she will not consent to international bimetallism, and we must restore the free coinage of silver independently, or remain on the gold standard forever.

Avarice created the gold standard, and it never will be obviated by making its abolition dependent on the avaricious who created it. Therefore it will never be destroyed by waiting for the consent of those nations whose moving and controlling spirits profit by the gold standard. Hence voting those into power who espouse bimetallism by international agreement with England, France, and Germany is voting to make the gold standard perpetual.

It will be said these views are not entertained by our press and many of our rich and educated. A casual observer can see that our press and press service are owned by wealth, and that they are moved and controlled with the precision and plan of an organized army. Extreme wealth and all monopolies are for the gold standard, and it would be strange if their own machines were not moved to serve the purposes of the owners, or that they would favor what benefited the masses, if it lessened the tribute from them to the stock owners of our press and press service.

The nobles and priesthood of France were both rich and educated. So have ever been the governing class of all European countries. So were the Tories of the Revolution. So are the native class in Cuba to-day who are upholding the cause of Spain. The selfish part of man rises but little above the brute.

The die is cast. One side requires the present value of the dollar to be retained, which requires the retention of the gold standard, the destruction of our greenbacks, certificate and silver money, and bonding the government for $800,000,000 to obtain this money before it can be destroyed, causing a yearly decline in prices, making an increase in tribute to railways and monopolies, and for taxes to meet officers' salaries, and for interest. This will reduce the power of the people to consume or employ, and increase the idle, homeless, and destitute. With these conditions growing more intense each year, let a famine intervene, as it did in France, and what will ensue?

CAN WE HAVE AND DO WE NEED AN INFALLIBLE REVELATION?

BY REV. T. ERNEST ALLEN.

When the chicken breaks through the imprisoning shell, it enters a new world. So does a man emerge into another realm of being when, having become convinced that the opinions imposed upon him by environment are some of them false, he sets about the work of testing his stock of ideas and organizing them into something like a coherent and consistent whole.

In religious discussions it is a common thing to hear one of the disputants open with the remark, "You accept the Bible, of course?" meaning thereby, "You believe the Bible to be *all* true." Sometimes this view crops out in even grosser forms. One says, "It is wicked to question the truth of the Bible;" and an intelligent young lady, speaking of a gentleman, once declared, "I hate him because he is a Democrat and don't believe the Bible!" This ready question, "You accept the Bible?" is regarded as a crucial one. If you say "Yes," the expectant sectarian, if logical, has a vision of a railway along which he is to draw you to a predetermined stall in the theological round-house as irresistibly as a locomotive would pull a caboose. If "No," a dynamite cartridge has blown up the roadbed and excavated a chasm usually recognized as impassable by a refusal to talk upon the subject.

That the dogma of Bible infallibility is not one entitled to be accepted as a postulate of Christianity, that it is by no means the self-evident truth implied in the mental attitude of the great mass of professed Christians and even of clergymen, it will be the purpose of this paper to show.

1. The antecedent improbability that a man or book is infallible is exceedingly great.

Those among us who claim an infallible book point to the Bible as the only one. To set up this extraordinary claim for one book out of the hundreds of thousands, if not several millions, of books which constitute the world-literature of all time, certainly imposes upon the advocates of the doctrine the burden of proof, demands that they should clearly

set forth the essential characteristics of an infallible book and show conclusively that the Bible belongs to that class. Again, many men have been active agents in producing the Bible. It must be shown that these men, less than one in a billion of all who have lived upon earth, were infallible when acting as agents, if not at other times in their lives. Nor is it permissible *to assume* the infallibility of the Bible and then infer that of the agents or *vice versa*.

2. We have no test whatever which can discriminate between a finite authority not yet transcended and an infallible authority.

Consider the nature of human authority. A scientist, A, strictly defining his terms, says, "All x is y." Previously he had made many statements which had been verified by other scientists, and this agreement in results established his reputation as an authority. Because he was correct in a number of instances, he is assumed to be correct in others. P, at any number of removes from A, observing something inconsistent with the proposition "All x is y," or finding no record of the statement having been verified, may conclude to test it, and, noticing cases in which x is not y, dissents from his predecessor's conclusion. Before P appeared, the authority of A may never have been questioned since the time his reputation became established; but obviously, however painstaking and conservative A may have been, there always existed, not a possibility merely, but a strong probability, that an induction based upon a greater knowledge of facts, the use of finer instruments, or a change in some other factor, would discredit some things which he held to be true.

This will illustrate what is true in the case of the Bible. The only legitimate foundation B can have for the statement, "The whole of the Bible is true," is a careful consideration *of each and every proposition* contained in it, and then having found all of them true, his conclusion will embody the result of a perfect induction. But what does this imply? That the Bible in its entirety is really true? that it will withstand the tests which other men may apply through all time to come? No, but simply that measured by the degree of development attained by B no flaw was found. C, more unfolded than B, may at any time point out errors which will compel the restatement, "Some of the Bible is not true." As it cannot be proved that C never can furnish

evidence contradicting B, therefore no man is justified by reason in claiming that the Bible is an infallible book. Under circumstances most favorable to the case of conservatism, he could not go beyond the assertion, "No man has ever yet disproved a single statement made in the Bible."

3. Only an infallible being can apply the necessary tests to prove that a man or book is infallible.

We have to deal now, not with assumptions, uncertain beliefs, or guesses, but with the question of *sufficient* proof. The testimony of a fallible being cannot furnish sufficient proof, because the very attempt to measure another person with a view to finding out whether he is infallible or not, presupposes the possession of an infallible standard and the infallible action of all of the faculties concerned in the comparison. To call attention at this point to but a single difficulty, by what process can a man infer that one product of his mental activities, namely, a certain standard, is entirely independent of a universal condition of fallibility which has been operative in every thought and act throughout his whole life? It will be seen, then, that the affirmative statement, "He is infallible," involves the declaration "I am infallible, therefore I know." The same course of reasoning applies to the Bible.

4. Even conceding the infallibility of a man or book, this furnishes no guarantee that the teachings promulgated can be infallibly interpreted or applied to every-day life; but, on the contrary, the fallibility of man necessarily involves a fallible interpretation and application and so destroys that very certitude the alleged need for which constitutes the raison d'être for such a revelation.

As the strength of a chain is measured by the strength of its weakest link, so is the authority of an alleged infallible revelation reduced for each person to the authority of the weakest faculty or power brought into play by him when he tries either to comprehend or to apply it. The greater the emphasis laid upon the necessity for such a revelation, the greater the implied weakness of the link joining the revelation to the understanding of man. Some may say, "Did not God know what He wanted to say, and don't we know what the language used means?"

Setting aside various readings in manuscripts, translations, and many other difficulties, the truth is that we do not know the meaning of the language used to that degree of perfect

precision which the transfer of infallibility from a book or man to the mind of a disciple would require. Even in the physical sciences, where many terms have been freed from ambiguity almost or quite up to the ideal limit, there is a subjective element involved, not interfering, ordinarily, with the communication of thought, but at times illustrating that language is not a perfect medium for inducing in one mind the state of another. How great the difference between the concept "oxygen" in the mind of an old chemist and in that of a high-school boy who has just witnessed his first experiments with this element! It is true that the word *denotes* the same thing, and so it serves for the purpose of identification, but the *connotation*, the full meaning of the term to the two persons, is very different. What is true in physical science applies with even greater force in religion and ethics, where there is less real agreement as to the meaning of the terms employed.

Were Christians asked to point out a proposition in the Bible fundamental in religion and destined to be permanent, they would accept "God is love" as such an one. And yet how fluent and necessarily so are these terms, "God" and "love!" How different the meaning to a boy of ten and a Hedge or a Martineau, and how inadequate the present thought of the latter will seem to them a thousand years hence! The truth that the mere alleged fact of infallibility fails utterly to accomplish the results desired by the advocates of the doctrine is practically illustrated by the large number of creeds formulated during the last eighteen centuries and by the forty or fifty sects now existing in our own country. If infallibility is worth anything in every-day life, how happens it that there are so many sects?

5. A consideration of the internal evidence shows the Bible not to be infallible.

Were it not such a common thing in life, in science as well as in religion, for *a priori* views and dogmas to blind men's eyes to facts which ought to be patent to all, one might well be amazed at contemplating the thousands of ministers and millions of professed Christians who accept the teaching of Bible infallibility when the facts are all against it and there is nothing approximating a valid argument in its favor. It is so generally assumed by laymen that their religious leaders have fairly and squarely reconciled all alleged discrepancies in the Scriptures, that I will present

what I consider a clear case of contradiction. Can the reader harmonize the different statements?

The inscription on the cross is given in Matt. xxvii. 37, Mark xv. 26, Luke xxiii. 38, and John xix. 19 respectively as follows, *This is Jesus the King of the Jews; The King of the Jews; This is the King of the Jews; Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews.*

The Authorized Version is identical with the Revised, except that the comma after Nazareth is omitted. Speaking of the inscription, John says (xix. 20), "And it was written in Hebrew, and in Latin, and in Greek." Granting that it was different in the three languages and that three of the evangelists took their records one from each language, both of which suppositions are improbable, how are we to account for the fourth? Even if we thus reconcile Matthew, Luke, and John, it will not do to say that Mark's inscription, "The King of the Jews," which indeed forms part of the other three, does not contradict the others and therefore does not need to be harmonized with them, since the infallibility of the record is as positively disproved if Mark *omitted* a part of the inscription as it would be had he added to it. Observe, too, that this comparison of the *strict letter* of the gospels is the proper way to sustain the point here taken, because the infallibility claimed by the advocates of the doctrine must be an infallibility of the letter, a plenary inspiration. For it is because reason cannot be trusted, we are told, that such a revelation is needed as an authority independent of and higher than reason. But *if every word* of such a revelation be not infallible, obviously it is not only competent but necessary that reason should discriminate between the fallible and infallible portions, a procedure which would subject all of revelation to reason and which is, in fact, a complete abandonment of the doctrine.*

Having cited reasons for rejecting the doctrine under consideration, let us ask whether, after all, we need an infallible revelation. The claim of dogmatic Christianity may be summarized thus:

(1.) God loves all men.

---

* Should the reader be interested to trace out other contradictions, let him compare 2 Sam. xxiv. 10 with 1 Kings xv. 5; Gen. xxii. 1, Jer. xx. 7, and Matt. vi. 13 with James i. 13; Eccl. i. 4 and Ps. civ. 5 with 2 Peter iii. 10, Heb. i. 11, and Rev. xx. 11; 2 Kings ii. 11 with John iii. 13; 1 John iii. 9 with 1 Kings viii. 46 and Eccl. vii. 20; Isa. xl. 28 with Jer. xv. 6 and Ex. xxxi. 17. For other instances see "What is the Bible?" by Rev. J. T. Sunderland (G. P. Putnam's Sons), pp. 107–115. This book presents the results of modern scholarship in a popular and entertaining style.

(2.) He desires that all should be saved.

(3.) He has furnished us with all of the means needed, the Bible among others, to secure salvation. Possessing, then, from this standpoint all of the means, and the Bible being fallible, it follows from the premises that an infallible revelation is not needed.

A father dying when his son was an infant left explicit directions as to his education and course in life. "How unfortunate," we exclaim, "that he did not live so that he could guide his footsteps through the pitfalls of youth!" and yet Christians generally hold, and *to-day*, that God in His dealings with humanity has played just such a part. "These are the last words God ever spoke to man," said a clergyman, referring to the last verse of the last chapter of Revelation. At the same time, though God be an "absentee" to man, Christian theism insists that we must look to Him as the First Cause of all of the phenomena we witness day by day in the material universe. No, the Father of all has not so abandoned His children. We do not require an infallible revelation, then, because we have something vastly better; our Father has not gone away, He is with us always, adapting His words to our unfoldment and needs.

Let us ask ourselves which was the earlier in origin, the religious sentiment in man or the Bible? Setting aside the consideration that dogmatic Christianity would deny the saving power of the Old Testament without the New, and in order to date the Bible back as far as possible, conceding for the sake of the argument the claim that Moses wrote the Pentateuch, it is clear that there could have been no Bible before the time of the Jewish lawgiver. But the religious sentiment must have been active long before this. History and psychology furnish independent proofs that such was the case. The "thus saith the Lord" of the leader in the wilderness would have evoked from the children of Israel no more response than from so many stones, had not the religious sentiment been more or less developed in each of them. Herbert Spencer points out that this sentiment must either have been created in man or else have resulted from the intercourse of man with his environment. In either case, then, since, as indicated, to appeal to the religious sentiment of men who have none is like asking a man born blind whether he admires a white or a red rose the more, the religious sentiment must ante-

date the Bible, and it must also have had a purpose then as well as now.

As from the very beginning of his career upon earth, man has, through his senses, lived in communion with the material universe, so, not less certainly, has he, through his religious endowment, lived in communion with a spiritual universe; and as much in one case as in the other has marked progress been a work of time, with no more a leap to absolute truth in religion than in science. Who would think of binding together the classics of modern science, of claiming the books of Bacon, Newton, La Place, Darwin, Helmholtz, and others as canonical and then insisting that they contained the infallible truth, that for all time men would find in them the last word to be said upon the great themes of science? No one, for science is recognized as being a growing body of knowledge. Not less surely, however, does every man live in a religious environment which, through experience and inference, furnishes the objective conditions essential to religious progress. In place of the dogma of Bible infallibility, then, we should put the truth of the universality of revelation, that men are no more cut off from access to God than they are from nature.

Again, as an infallible bible of science would most certainly be a great stumbling-block in the pathway of science, by directing the thought of men from the sources of knowledge, so has been and is an infallible Bible of religion a mighty impediment to the progress of religion. The conception both of the need and existence of an infallible book is based upon a psychology which is false through and through. It belittles and dries up the religious nature of man by centring his thought upon written human productions as a finality which, however good, though registering the high-water marks of gifted religious natures through centuries, are at best but sign-boards pointing us to the Father.

Would we behold God, we must look *at Him*, not at the sign-boards! Helpful as a means, to view the Bible as an end in itself becomes as positively an idolatry as the worship of a graven image; the misguided worshipper is led blindly by the letter when he might be inspired, enlightened, and strengthened by communion with and guidance by the living God.

Yours Truly

Anna C. Reifsnider

BETWEEN TWO WORLDS.

BY MRS. CALVIN KRYDER REIFSNIDER.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

A crowd around a theatre where Salome plays can only be compared in size to the one where Solon lectures. Only it is the great, the wise, the learned, who come to listen to him; the ignorant and superstitious hie away. Here are the clergy and the laymen, the literati and the orators, the artists, all waiting for this young Greek to rise up in their midst, and to hear his heathen ancestors, again alive in him, speak to the world. Every seat and every inch of standing room is occupied.

Ruby and her friends had a most perfect view of the stage, and Ruby could hear her own heart beat. Joy, hope, fear, blended, united, made one in her mighty love. Would he see her? Would he recognize her? Was he changed?

Now the Universalist minister introduces him, and then is seated, leaving Solon alone. How like a solitary monument he stands. There is a hush after the applause, and Ruby lays her hand upon her throbbing breast and listens. Why does he wait so long as his eyes wander over the great crowd before he speaks. As he bows with lofty gratitude to the warm welcome, memory chains her. Again she sits in the temple where the statues and the palms seem awakened into life by that clear, thrilling voice, and now listen! Words that might come from the soft keys of a flute, changing to the stronger and clearer tones of the clarionet, filled with the most wonderful magnetic power that ever a man sent forth, break the stillness and fall upon his hearers binding them to him like needles to a magnet.

"Man finds himself in a world of mysteries. All his knowledge, beyond the merest animal sensation, comes to him through instruction which is to him as a revelation. He finds himself in a world where glories change with all the varying seasons which succeed each other like the moving pictures of a panorama. He asks 'Who made all this?' and his instructors answer, 'The scientist, the naturalist, the

religionist!' And after all the answers given, his soul, gazing out through his eyes at this world of beauty, still questions 'Who?'

"Now if the world is to be enlightened I claim it is truth alone which can give permanent light. I do not believe that ministers of the gospel preach the truth, for the truth is rational and reasonable.

"Mankind will always have more or less faith in the unseen and the mysterious, but under the searching light of science, truth, and common sense, they are refusing to believe in the ridiculous. They are getting tired of this old story of the creation of the world in six days; of beautiful, sinless Eve who had no clothes to wear and nothing to do but stroll around in the garden and listen to serpents talking to her about something she ought not to hear, just as the Eves of to-day listen to serpents. And their God, the Christians' God, because this silly woman eats of the tree, (I believe they even call the fruit an apple, but history does not say so), this God, so they preach, actually condemned the whole human race to death for this one offence. But mark ye! 'The day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die,' was the threat. Did God change his mind after making this assertion? Surely he did, for Eve did not die that day nor the next, nor until she had brought other poor mortals into the world to suffer for her sin. Would it not have been better if he had kept his word and let her die before so much misery was entailed upon humanity? I have never heard this explained: 'For in the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.' I would like some one to tell me why Jehovah did not keep his word that time as rigidly as they say he does in burning the creatures of his own hand in hell.

"Now whether it be a fact that the serpent knew better than the Lord God, and proved it to Eve's satisfaction when he said to her 'Ye shall not surely die,' and it came to pass that she did not, I cannot say. Nor has any man proved this to my mind, nor has he said whether or not that is a reason why to this day the serpent has equal or more honor than the Lord, because his prediction came true and the Lord's did not on this first occasion; but it is true that they have been dividing honors unequally ever since, the serpent getting the better of it all the time.

"There is another remarkable fact concerning the great lawgiver of the Christian Bible. This same Moses given as

account of his own death and burial, a thing which, I believe, no other man since his day nor before, ever undertook to do.

"I claim that ministers do not preach the truth or common sense and are keeping the people in the bondage of ignorance. I ask truthful, reasonable answers to my questions. These things are not. For instance, if man disobeys an organic law and suffers, a christian cries, 'God has punished him for his sins,' while I claim he suffered the penalty of a law breaker. A mother neglects her babe or dresses it in winter in thin shoes and stockings. It takes cold and dies. The minister preaches a touching sermon in which he says 'The Lord hath taken the little darling. He hath given and He hath taken away.' I claim the Lord had nothing to do with it. Its mother killed it by neglect or through ignorance. Let these preachers teach people common sense; teach the mother she killed her child, or neglected to give it proper food and clothing until natural organic laws were broken and disease and death was the penalty.

"Now I have seen people grow very rebellious against God for taking their loved ones, and the preachers are responsible for it. Let them teach that God established laws, and if they break these they must pay a penalty; that would be common sense, the other is not.

"The widespread doubt that everywhere prevails as to the plenary inspiration and absolute divinity of the Scriptures pervades the various divisions of the church much more than is readily perceived or willingly acknowledged. I have found this to be true by earnest inquiry and private personal interview. I have gone from priest to pastor, and asked them honestly and earnestly to solve by their Divine Book the questions that are puzzling me and are stumbling blocks to the great masses of inquiring minds who cannot close their eyes and blindly believe things that go forth from the pulpits as truth, and I have come away again and again disappointed. And then I asked my questions openly, publicly. I give a reason for the faith that is within me, and as a humanitarian, I ask that for the good of humanity some errors of the religionists be corrected, for errors I certainly believe them to be, because there is no true enlightenment in their teachings, and no progression. The development of the natural sciences during the present and latter half of the past century, has been without parallel in the history of the race, and as the religionists have not kept pace with

these developments by the light of their Divine Inspiration, which ought to be the knowledge of all knowledges, they have seen the important influence of science in causing doubt as to the divinity of their Bible. Astronomy, looking out and tracing the movements of the heavenly bodies, has declared that 'the accounts given in the earliest records of the Bible, assuming them to refer to the creation of the material universe, cannot possibly be correct.' Geology repeats the conclusion of its elder sister and says, 'The Bible record as a history of natural creation as preached by the clergy, cannot possibly be true.' The rapidly developing science of psychology repeats the verdict 'The Bible record as it is interpreted by the clergy cannot possibly be true.'

"Science has given demonstration; religion has given but vague and illogical statements, and demanded belief on its asserted supernatural authority. The religionists have gone so far as to oppose science itself as a new attack of infidelity, and denounced its votaries as the enemies of religion. When the truths of science could no longer be denied or put aside, the commentators modified their interpretation to meet, as well as they could, the new exigency. They clung to the preconceived idea that the Bible record is a veritable history of the natural creation, and as the only mode of reconciliation they could adopt, they agreed that the 'days' of creation, as given by Moses, might be interpreted to mean not literal days, but indefinite, geological periods of hundreds of thousands or millions of ages, as the necessities of the case might require. This was clearly a giving up, in fact, of the literal meaning of the record, and ought to have led them to suspect that if there was an error in the beginning, there would be in the end. All the arguments in all the countless volumes that fill the shelves of theological libraries, and all the sermons they have preached, never dispelled the doubts of a single inquiring mind.

"Hundreds of its professed ministers deny to the Bible any degree of Divine inspiration at all, while others claim for it such a degree of Divine supervision over its writers, as to enable them to relate with accuracy, and in literal terms, the events recorded in it, and with the same accuracy, the religious doctrines and duties which it teaches, together with its prophesies, which either have been or yet will be literally fulfilled on the natural theatre of this world.

"No text-book would be allowed in a college that did not teach the truth, yet this Christian Bible that is in open conflict with scientific investigation, utterly obscure to the men who read it, is the educator of the people, the fountain from which they must gain spiritual knowledge. That the clergy do not teach the truth is evidenced by the fact that they have failed to enlighten the world by their teachings from the Bible.

"Is the real condition of the Christian world to be determined by outward appearances, by statistics of numbers and wealth, by manifestations of learning and power, or is the state of society a true index of the value and vitality of the religious system dominant in that society?

"Christianity is amenable to this law which has been unsparingly applied to Judaism, Buddhism, Brahminism, Mohametanism, and all the heathen systems, and is applied every day by Protestants to the Roman Catholic religion.

"The Church of Christ may be said to have governed what is called the civilized world for one thousand five hundred years, and its votaries claim that it has played an immense part in the production of all the good in modern life, while I ask all the thinking, reasoning world if it has not also played as great a part in all the evil of modern life. It claims all the good. Let me ask, 'Has it fraternized the world? Has the civilization it has engendered expressed the highest possible love, peace, purity and justice? Has it sanctified the family, purified the sexual relation?'

"If the clergy have preached a system of Divine truth for one thousand five hundred years, we have a right to expect the grandest results corroborative of the claim of these religionists. Scientists are in advance and have results to show for their work in harmony with their teachings. The religionists are in deeper darkness than one thousand eight hundred years ago, for they can no longer cast out devils, heal the sick, open the eyes of the blind, and raise the dead by their faith, and the world sees in the midst of its hundreds of thousands of churches, spiritual dissolution in all its most painful forms, increase of emotional disorders, scrofula, blood poisonings, blindness, deafness, monstrosities, the frequent desecration of marriage to the barbaric level of bargain and sale, politics reduced to a contemptible trade, the chief instruments of which are falsehood, purchase, bribery, corrup-

tion and fraud, the obstructions and tardiness of justice, the venality of lawyers and officers of the law, the perpetuation of abuses, the wretched mismanagement of prisons, penitentiaries, hospitals, poorhouses, lunatic asylums, and other *charitable* institutions, the diffusion of vile, cheap literature through all classes, children included, like an underground sewer full of nameless putridities, and to add a crowning horror to these allegations, men professing the religion of *Christ* participating in the spirit, the performance, or the profits of all these evils. And yet there is no crime committed to-day that is not recorded in this sacred history, the Bible, their guide. Is it not high time for them to seek a higher guide or find a new and different interpretation of it?

"Do they want to steal? Let them turn to their Bible and they will find that Jehovah ordered the Israelites to borrow all the Egyptians' jewels and not to return them.

"Does the State want to execute a criminal? They have a royal example in the sacrifice of Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of the living God, to appease the Father's wrath and satisfy justice.

"Do they want a precedent for any crime? Why, turn to their Bible and they will find it recorded of God's chosen. Does a man want another man's wife? David wanted Uriah's wife and put him in the front of the battle to be killed, having already desecrated his home.

"Are men and women enlightened to live better, purer lives by following these so-called scriptural teachings? If they are cruel and unjust do they not find a worthy example of cruelty and injustice in the Jehovah you teach them is all-wise, all-powerful? Is there a more cruel act to blot the pages of history than the flood, or a more fiendish sacrifice than the story of the redemption?

"Perhaps I, as one man, have no business to claim a right to know why they go on teaching these terrible lies, but in the interest of humanity, for the sake of unborn generations, I appeal to the reasoning world to note the tendency of these teachings. Not content with filling the minds of so-called civilized nations with these falsehoods, they invade the domain of the heathen, who at least live in the innocence of ignorance, and thrust them upon them. And what do we see? Intoxication where temperance only was known; theft where honesty was once the common heritage. Be-

cause, forsooth, the Bible, the holy Book of God tells them that David, a man after God's own heart, committed a sin for which a heathen would suffer death, but Jehovah winked at it in his favorite.

"I appeal to every human heart if such things are not diabolical, and if the being created by the priests and churches is not more fiend than God.

"Notwithstanding the very great service which the church claims to have rendered in the civilization of the world, its historical record shows that the sacrifices to Moloch, Mars, and Juggernaut never equalled the devilish cruelties practised systematically and for ages by one school of Christians upon another for a little different shade of opinion.

"No heathen nation has ever exhibited so much ambition, covetousness, and cruelty, as these so-called religionists, professing all the while heavenly doctrines of brotherhood and peace.

"In Spain alone 130,000 human beings were burned at the stake by these holy men of God. In the Netherlands 50,000 were butchered during the reign of Charles V, and 25,000 during the reign of his son. Europe has been saturated with blood in endeavoring to force mankind to accept a God that they hated simply because of such practices.

"Behold, then, some of these persecuted people flee to a New World, and once there what do they do? Let every man, woman, and child live in peace, security, and religious freedom? Not a bit of it. The Puritans were the most intolerant brood that ever lived. They scourged the Quakers, burned the witches, who were perhaps their most spiritual and enlightened people, they punished even with death a sin which the Christ they pretended to follow forgave.

"And what do we see to-day? No one Christian denomination strong enough to persecute all the others, but, if it were, I, for one, believe the inquisition could be readily established. And, too, the wholesome fact that the State and not the Church rules is another safeguard.

"What do we see in the so-called religious world to-day? In each church separately, in every church collectively, the autocracy of money lording it over intellect, virtue, and labor. Selfishness, malignity, and begging from the poor, the common people, to erect churches and charitable institutions where everybody must pay to get in or receive care. Christian church members squandering in ostentatious displays

and selfish appetites more money than would relieve all the necessities of the world. Christian men and women witnessing admiringly, and suffering their sons and daughters to witness, the ballet dancers in a state of disgusting nudity in theatres. Indeed, there are no crimes committed outside the churches that are not committed inside of them.

"Of course time does not permit me to go into all the details, but I say that the church as it stands before us to-day is a vast, wealthy, aggressive, self-assertive and powerful institution that strikes its roots deep under the framework of society, professing to have the oracles of God, and preaching that God to be a monster that all the thinking, reasoning part of humanity must disown; that he is going to destroy in the twinkling of an eye all creation.

"My first recollection is connected with a picture representing the flood. How my heart ached for those poor souls, men, women, and babies, with the great deluge pouring down; and it was explained to me as the wrath of God visited upon people for their wickedness. I remember saying to my nurse, 'You said God made everybody.' 'Yes.' 'Well what did he make them so wicked for?' 'He did not make them wicked, the devil made them wicked.' 'Who made the devil?' 'God.' 'Oh, what a God to make a devil,' I cried; and, ladies and gentlemen, here in the full strength of manhood I say, as my baby tongue lisped then, 'Oh, what a God to make a devil!' And then again I say what manner of men are they who can conceive of such a God? They must be fearfully wicked. They must needs know and feel that were they all powerful they would do these very things they attribute to him, for if they believe they would be more just and more merciful under like circumstances, then they credit themselves as being a greater and better God than he.

"Now I am going to believe in the absolute goodness, mercy, love, truth and wisdom of the God I adore. I am going to utterly and indignantly reject any meanness or cruelty attributed to him. If a man is a mean man it is his own choice. I say I do not love nor worship the God you preach and pretend to worship, and according to your theory I am an infidel, and I am going to tell you *I thank my God for it.*

"The classic Greeks in the days of their greatest culture had classified deities until it is said their altars numbered thirty thousand, — one, doubtless, for every significant word in the

language, and, not fully satisfied yet, an altar was erected 'to the unknown God,' and this is what a grand old heathen said of this unknown God:

"'This God, if he be good, is not the author of all things but he is the cause of a few things only, and not of most things that occur to men, for few are the goods of human life and many are the evils, and the good only is to be attributed to God alone, — of the evils the cause is to be sought elsewhere and not in him.'

"They also asserted that he was unchanging, that he was incapable of falsehood, and yet the preachers say all things are possible with God. I tell you frankly I glory in my old Greek ancestors and I am a heathen to-day, just as far as they were in attributing all good to the unknown God, and all evil to the perversion of good.

"The clergy, a learned, influential class of men, trained to think, walk, and talk, and feel in very narrow ways, are controlled by precedent and tradition and authority, like the legal profession. As a body they are notoriously unprogressive. They are, as a rule, idolators of the church and its institutions, and I believe I am not giving you a piece of news when I assert that many of them pursue the clerical avocation as a business and with all the shrewdness, tact and ambition of the men of the world, and 'Prophesy smooth things' for a certain liberal stipend annually. It is money, money, my ladies and gentlemen that keeps your churches going, and every device is used to get it for the churches that is used to obtain it outside; begging, borrowing, gambling, (they call it raffling). Money for the preacher, money for style, while millions of God's people suffer for food and raiment.

"A certain Divine told me that the reason the spirit of the wicked remained in hell always was because it was imperishable. Now isn't it a dreadful conception of God to believe he would give us a short term of years here, say seventy, in a diseased body that would with all its inherited evils cause us to be tempted and let us fall and rise only to fall again, try we never so hard in this corrupt body, and then draw out of us a spirit which did nothing to save us here, but is indestructible and must burn in hellfire forever! I tell you it is the most horrible conception — this God of yours. You need not tell me you love him. I know better. You may be afraid of him and I don't believe that,

else you would not lie, and cheat, and steal, and murder. You have no conception of him, and don't think of him at all except on Sunday, I want you to know that I could not even love or respect a man who would be so dreadful.

"Now if there is a God like *this*, then he is my God. One who loves every creature who draws the breath of life, who watches over them and teaches them to be useful and in that use to be happy; who touches the hearts of the mightiest men or women and causes them to love their little helpless children; a God who never forsakes anybody, who could never lie nor be angry, or be anything but love, truth, and wisdom; to believe in whom brings love and peace and hope; who when men close their eyes against his goodness is still merciful; who never forgets nor forsakes his own, no matter what they do, from the highest angel in heaven to the lowest devil in hell. He stands a power ready to save them, but in giving them freedom of will *permits* them to turn from him, but is ready to receive them back again through all eternity.

"The clergy have scared millions into their folds. Like so many sheep fleeing from a rapacious wolf have these Christians fled into the churches from an avenging God or his deputy, the devil.

"Now listen to the inconsistency of the whole teaching. Your spirit lives forever to shout in heaven 'Hosannah to the King of kings' or else to wail and gnash the teeth in a burning hell. This spirit is indestructible, they say. We will agree that fire has no effect on the spirit. Some tell us the departed spirit is a shapeless mass floating at will through a great luminous abyss, or a burning pit called hell. Now tell me how this shapeless, senseless thing can sing praises in heaven any more than it can groan and shriek in the fires of hell? Then they cry at me the resurrection. Resurrection of what? Go to your graveyards, open the vaults of your dead friends, or dig down into their graves, and you will find that the eternal decree is fulfilled, 'Dust thou art and unto dust thou shalt return,' or if needs be, in the vault they rot. Who of you would embrace the thing you find there as mother, child, father or friend? Why I have known women, and men too for that matter, who would not sit alone all night in the room with a corpse, (that cold, senseless casket, when its power of love and recognition was gone), for a fortune. Where is their religious faith?

"Another mystery of these religionists is that they do not all believe in the creed they profess, nor do they all practice the precepts which the creed inculcates, and in their minister's speculations as to the nature of the Deity, and upon the forms of belief and worship supposed to be most agreeable to him, they are led into such angry disputations as not only to divide communities and families, but in the course of discussing the attributes of God the very existence of God himself becomes argued away, or, what is worse, becomes invested with the passions and infirmities of the human disputants. A finite being cannot define an infinite being. When he endeavors to do so, he only reduces the infinite to a finite, like himself.

"They argue that God is good, all-wise, all-powerful, then having given him the glory of Creator they argue that He is capable of destroying His creatures. Monstrous thought!

"'Who by searching can find God?' Shall we say in our hearts that there is no God? To acknowledge a God and then to deny His goodness, truth and mercy, is inconsistent. With all my soul I reverence the Creator of this universe, and whatever I may say of the christian's God, the God of the clergy, has no reference to this Creator. I do not believe my God will destroy His creation or His creatures, and why ministers of the gospel believe it I cannot understand, and surely they must believe it, for as recently as 1878 a grand council of ministers of all denominations was held here in New York to discuss the great questions connected with the Second Advent. Grossly literal and sensuous interpretations were the rule, and the whole thing should have been supplemented by old Mother Shipton's prophesy made four hundred years ago.

"I have listened to frantic efforts on the part of preachers to convince an audience of the destruction of the physical universe, and I really think one of the most absurd, puerile and phantasmagoric freaks of imagination I ever listened to was the picturing of the literal events of the second advent by an orthodox minister. The God of the universe sitting on a cloud to judge his creatures as he represented him was not sublime, but grotesque in the extreme, and the dead bursting out of their graves and putting their bones together, was the most irrational, illogical tirade I ever listened to, for it was an abuse of Jehovah. It had no organic correlation with

anything else in history, science or philosophy, or any exalted idea of theology.

"He quoted from the New Testament everything in regard to the 'end of the world,' and as a Greek I call the attention of all scholars in the language to the fact that there is a mistranslation in all the above passages. The English word 'world' does not convey the signification which the Greeks attach to the word 'aion' used in the above places. The correct translation is 'the consummation or finishing of the age.' If the end of the physical world had been meant the word 'cosmos' would have been employed."

CHAPTER XXXV.

The war upon Solon had been fierce and hot; but from the smoke of battle he rose up giantlike and shook his tawny head and said: "Gentlemen, you have abused me, you have not answered me. You can't; you don't know any more about it than I do; but maybe you will tell me something about that flood that roused my first childish pity for mankind, or a little about that big fish that tried to digest the renegade Jonah. Gratify me in just one little point; I say old Abraham was a sun-worshipper,— the worst of idolaters; prove to me that he was not. I say portions of the Bible are not fit to be read in decent company; prove to me that they are."

And then they would load up and fire away at him again. They had become a matter of much public interest, these discussions, and the world, which first frowned and shook its head solemnly at the infidel and smiled on the Church, began to smile upon the infidel as the combat continued, and said: "He has loosened so many of the props of the Church the thing cannot stand always as it has if they don't down him." And now it had come to pass that the world laughed so loud that it showed its teeth and clapped its hands after every combat, and many wore the colors of the Greek. He was such a strong, noble, good fellow; so honest in his convictions, and the truth was, his idea of God, "if there is a God," seemed to be such a wonderful improvement on the angry, avenging God, who must find somebody to wreak his vengeance upon, even if it were His own Son, that they were all anxious to find out more about Him and were fast losing the faith of their fathers.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Ruby went to her father's old spiritual adviser and confessed all; told him that she loved Solon, and asked him to answer him.

She was proud to find this good gentleman a warm admirer of her brilliant and gifted lover. He went so far as to say:

"The whole truth is that half he says is so. Solon does not attack the Christianity of Jesus Christ. His attack is always upon historic and traditional Christianity. I believe that this remarkable man is in one sense a prophet, the mouthpiece of God. He is doing that which will do much to rid the world of the superstitions, shams, and humbugs of orthodox creeds. He, like them, reads the Bible in the letter of the word and as yet has not the spiritual sight to see deeper. We must teach him how to read the Bible, my child, and he will then teach more persons how to read it than any man I know."

"Then you accept his challenge?"

"Most willingly; and as you request, it shall be announced in the daily papers that I shall immediately prepare my answer."

"Thank you. 'When Greek meets Greek, then comes the tug of war.' I have no hope in any man but you."

"As he says, he has only been abused instead of being answered thus far. I feel most kindly toward him. I honor him most profoundly, so you can safely trust me. His God is my God, only I have learned not to stand on my head to read the Bible."

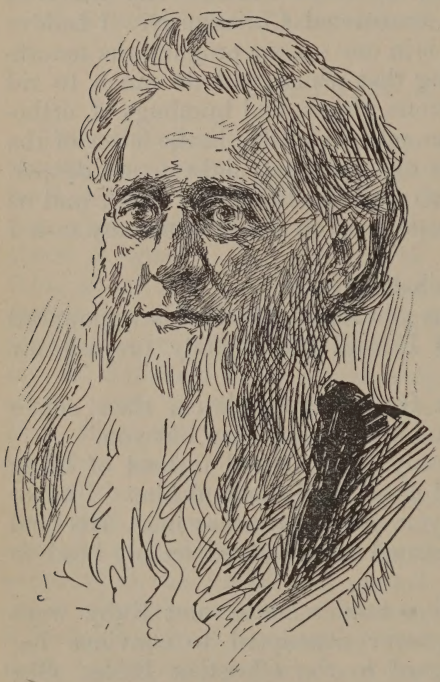
He dismissed her with a tender smile, and Ruby went away happy. She had never attempted to convince her lover of his error in regard to the Christian Bible. She understood where it was, but felt that it was not for her to argue. If he said he did not love the Jehovah of the old Bible because he made a devil, and punished all mankind because Eve ate the fruit this same devil prevailed upon her to eat, why he must look deeper and learn that Jehovah did not make a devil any more than that the Garden of Eden meant a patch of ground to grow natural trees and fruits in.

So now she had a hope in her father's old friend, and she walked all the way back to the hotel, revolving in her mind how it would end. Mr. and Mrs. Goode, who had accompanied her to the Doctor's door, went on to see some old friends,

and met her as she came out and reported to them the success of her errand.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

The hall was crowded with eager, expectant people. The great infidel was to be met by a great heretic, the Church said, a man who had been pitched out of the tent of his brother ministers because he happened to have an inquiring mind and did not indorse all the teachings of orthodoxy.



THE GREAT HERETIC.

When he appeared there was a deep hush upon the people more eloquent than the loudest applause. He was not what they had expected to see. There was a physical glory accompanied by a dignity of mien, a majesty of look and venerableness of aspect, as he planted his feet with a majestic step, and his whole demeanor had the native air of authority. But greater than his physical glory was the intellectual glory peculiar to this man of God. Lengthened years had continued to add their stock of ideas; judgment had been improved and corrected, not only by exercise, but by the logic of time; he was a man who had become wise in growing old.

"Ladies and Gentlemen: You all understand the object of my appearance here to-night. I see before me the great man who is my opponent, and I read in his face an earnest wish to be convinced if he can be proven to be wrong. There is scarcely a question that can arise in his mind that did not at one time arise in my own; and let me say here that

theologians are the hardest men on earth to convince on this subject. Why? Because they go through a theological school and are so crammed and stuffed with theology that there is not room to get any wisdom into their brains. While in school, if they ask a question such as our friend asks in his lectures, they are told that all those questions have been settled by the Church; this is the doctrine: follow it, shut your eyes and believe when reason calls out, and still the voice that questions. I want to say here that I did that very thing, and took my place in the pulpit, an ordained minister of the gospel, to preach the opinions of men in regard to the word of God, and did it for ten years, struggling with my own reason. I could not preach the gospel and follow the dictates of man, and for that reason you see me here to-night, a heretic in the eyes of the religious world.

"Here is the Bible of to-day, one third made up of men's opinions, a great portion of pictures of natural things intended to represent spiritual things only, translations incorrect in many instances.

"My Greek friend must first receive the fact that I believe the Bible to be true; the divine word of God, inspired, breathed into his prophets, and in some instances dictated; that every word has a spiritual meaning clothed in natural language, as a man's soul is clothed with his body; that its language is correspondential, and that it was written and given to man in the form in which he could receive it, and as he grew in spiritual things, the word would be unfolded to him, and thus it is fitted to every condition of man and the angels.

"The Bible is essentially a spiritual book, and its first pages do not refer to the creation of the natural world, as science has long since correctly proved; and, as our friend says, of what use would this book as a history merely of all these horrible things be to us to-day? I answer as he would answer, none whatever. But if it means the creation of the spiritual part of man and his regeneration, it refers to you, to me, to every man and woman who can read it on the globe. And now I proceed to explain why it is misunderstood.

"It is true, as he says, that life is governed by organic law or natural laws, and natural laws correspond with spiritual laws. If a man is sick, it is because he has sinned; the

beginning, the cause, is a spiritual one; the effect manifests itself in the body.

"The spiritual and natural worlds are consociated like the soul and body of man. The natural exists and persists from moment to moment only by influx of the spiritual into it.

"In regard to the popular idea which this gentleman ridicules, that the soul is a floating cloud of ether, a shapeless, formless thing, I would say that I for one do not believe that a soul can exist apart from a body and exercise thought and wisdom; the idea to me is as preposterous as it can be to our Greek friend. Every man's soul is in a spiritual body after it has cast off the material coverings which it carried out of the world.

"There is a common notion respecting the devil having been an angel of light, and we hear ministers making quotations from Milton's wonderful poems and giving it authority in the churches. It is a mere fable for which neither Scripture nor reason furnishes foundation. Our Lord says, John viii. 44, 'The devil was a murderer from the beginning, and liar, and the father of lies.'

"It is high time that men through enlightened investigation of the word of God break through this mass of poetic fiction and falsehood, and state the genuine truth on the subject according to our Lord's declaration.

"Abraham was indeed a sun-worshipper. Like all idolaters, having forgotten the meaning of symbols, at last they came to worship them as gods. The sun represented divine love and wisdom. The lamb represented love and innocence, and instead of giving to God love, they offered up a lamb, which was a symbol of that affection.

"Two things constitute the essence of God — love and wisdom. The essence of the love of God is to love others out of or without Himself. This is acknowledged to be in God by reason of His love to all mankind. Second. To desire to be one with Him. Divine love continually intends conjunction that we may be one, 'He in them and they in Him,' and that the love of God may be in them. John xvii. 21–26. Third. To make others happy is recognized in the gift of eternal life which is blessedness, sanctification, and happiness without end.

"The Greek philosophers did not recognize the natural body as the real man. They believed in the immortality of the soul destined to live forever in a world where all things

are spiritual. They recognized the body as the tomb or prison of the soul. Those old heathen were very near to God in their belief. The soul, they taught, gave life to the body. They did not believe in neglecting it, but rather urged the attainment of the highest good for it and that it took nothing with it but its nurture and education, which greatly benefited or greatly injured the departed at the very beginning of its pilgrimage. They taught the indestructibility of the soul; and when we consider these favored people we cannot marvel that this young Greek rises up and with Plato questions in regard to spiritual truths, and expects ministers to prove what they say. I read from Plato.

"'I dare say that you, Socrates, feel as I do, how very hard or almost impossible is the attainment of any certainty about questions such as these in the present life. And yet I should deem him a coward who did not prove what he said about them [spiritual truths] to the uttermost, or whose heart failed him before he had examined them on every side. For he should persevere until he has attained one of two things: either he should discover or be taught the truth about them; or, if this is impossible, I would have him take the best and most irrefragable of human theories, and let this be the raft upon which he sails through life, not without risk, as I admit, if he cannot find some word of God which will more surely and safely carry him.'

"If our Greek friend does not believe in the resurrection of the material body which the clergy preach, because he cannot understand it, he is entitled to a reasonable answer from the clergy who preach that doctrine.

"If the Church provides in her theology for a merely sensuous resurrection to take place at the end of the world, it is reasonable to suppose that this merely sensuous thought has taken the supreme place in her mind.

"We will take for our starting-point that it was the soul of man and not the body, the spiritual, the immortal man, that God provided to resurrect and save, because it is of this spirit, this real, immortal man and his eternal interests and his eternal destiny, and not of his mortal body and transient interests in the natural world, that revelation treats.

"His affections and thoughts were made rational and free, in order that he could enjoy the highest happiness and approach forever the infinite source of being. The possibil-

ity to retrograde and suffer was involved in this freedom to progress and enjoy; and having retrograded and brought upon himself the consequences of a perversion of his faculties or forms, until he could no longer receive the orderly inflow of life from its source, he sunk into ignorance and misery, and the record in Genesis, instead of being a history of the first creation of a single man or pair of human beings, is a divine history of the development of man's spiritual faculties, and also of the process of recovery or regeneration, or creation into the lost image of his Heavenly Father; the bringing of him back into an orderly accord with the divine order, to be made happy forever. It is, not a work that was performed once six thousand years ago, but is the process through all time, and is applicable to all people.

"There are various ideas of what constitutes a man. In the lowest and most sensuous, he is a man by reason of his form alone; in a rude state of society, his courage and superior physical powers entitle him to the name; under the law, he is considered a man at twenty-one years of age. Throughout the Divine Word, the term is used approvingly only to denote moral and spiritual excellence. Ask yourselves the question: When you think of a man or woman, how do you think of them? Do you think of their physical form? When you think that God made man, do you not at once refer the statement to the creation of his body? And when you think of his soul and spirit, is not the idea so vague as to be only a word without definite thought in it? Does not the word spirit suggest some vital principle analogous to ether or electricity that acts upon the brain and nerves and sets the machine in motion, and at death evaporates like vapor? Do you ever think of the spirit as being the real man or woman, a perfect organization adapted to the activities and uses in the spiritual world as the natural body is in the natural world? Then is it not rational, if this world is a world of effects, all the causes of which are in the spiritual world, that the body has the human form because the spirit which animates and perfects it is in the human form, and has all the organs and members of the body, but composed of spiritual substances as the natural body is of natural substances? The spirit when drawn out of the natural body will be a man or woman far more complete in form and action than this body.

"Revelation does not teach natural science, therefore we

do not know how this complicated thing, the human body, was first produced. If revelation had been given us to teach natural science, it would have prevented all growth and progress of the reasoning faculties. It is a growth we know the effect of, a producing cause. The Greeks taught that there was a divine spiritual cause, who was and is the first cause of all things, and in whom alone is life; that all created things are but recipients of life from him, the infinite source of life, and that this life is received and manifested according to the various forms and organizations of the recipients.

"The spiritual body is immortal, not because it has life in itself any more than the body has, but because it is a form gifted with the power of receiving life from the Lord, the source of all life, by reason of influx of this life forever.

"Man's body is mortal for the same reason; when its forms of organization can no longer serve as a recipient of life it goes to decay like the plant, the flower, or the lower animals.

"Now then, why should the physical body be resurrected? The spirit can do nothing in the sphere of nature without the body; now what could the natural body do in the sphere of spirit?

"That the resurrection of Jesus Christ was the resurrection of his spiritual body is fully attested by the fact that no one but those who were prepared to see him by having their spiritual sight opened ever saw him after his body was laid in the tomb, and this body was so perfectly human in shape that the apostles thought it flesh, even though he came through the walls to them when the door was closed, and called them to bring him something to eat and drink, and showed them the feet and the hands.

"Our Greek friend certainly is not an infidel, and I must say his conceptions of God are such as could only emanate from an exalted mind and a pure heart. His reason for insisting that a purer, truer conception of God be preached is certainly praiseworthy, since what he says is true, that truth alone can enlighten the people, and they cannot be enlightened by hearing the story of the creation given as a history of the creation of the physical globe upon which we live, and the flood as water poured from the heavens by an angry, avenging God to destroy His own creatures.

"The redemption of man by the sacrifice of the lowly Son of God is, as he says, calculated to set before men a terrible example of anger and revenge upon mortals.

"We should not look to the writers of the Bible for its interpretation, but to the book itself. A human composition can contain only human wisdom. If God should write or dictate a book it could contain nothing less than His infinite wisdom. If then the Bible be indeed the divine word of God, it must contain within itself the evidence of its origin. The real divinity and inspiration of such a book must lie concealed within the letter, just as the real man lies concealed within the outward form. Its every letter must pulsate with interior love and wisdom, for Jesus said:

"'The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life.'

"The tree, the flower, and the ripe fruit need no historical research into their origin to prove that they are not of human production. The proof is embodied within themselves. So, too, if the Bible is from the same author, it will contain within itself the like evidence.

"The material universe and the sacred Scriptures are both alike outbirths from the same infinite divine mind, and a key has been given in the Science of Correspondences that will open the seals from both and unite the beautiful philosophy of the ancient Greeks and religion in one everlasting marriage.

"What then is the Science of Correspondences? It is a science so all-embracing that men and angels will draw their wisdom from it forever without exhausting it; and yet it comes to the rational mind of man in such clear light that it removes all doubt and uncertainty so far as he becomes acquainted with it. It is so absolutely definite and certain that no two minds can differ about it any more than they can about mathematical truths, for it is founded upon the everlasting verity of things, being the relation which exists between causes and their effects.

"That the outward or natural world with all its phenomena is a world of effects is manifest; that the causes which produce them, back even to the first cause of all, are in the spiritual world, was not denied but affirmed by those old Greek philosophers, whose minds were illuminated by the divine mind.

"The ancient Egyptian priests used pictures and characters in which the representation of the object conveyed the idea of the object itself, called the hieroglyphic proper; the ideographic, consisting of symbols representing ideas —

as an ostrich feather is a symbol of truth; the phonetic, consisting of symbols employed as syllables of a word, or as letters of the alphabet having certain sound, as a hawk represented the vowel *a*.

"As man relied more and more upon his own wisdom he withdrew himself from divine wisdom. He ceased to use pictures to express his thoughts on all mental and spiritual subjects, and originated language, — for the roots of every language must have been in natural things. After a time, by disuse, the Science of Correspondences was lost, and language became to a large extent artificial and arbitrary; but it still conveys abundant traces of its origin, and we need only to call a man a fox to convey the idea that he is cunning and unreliable.

"By using the objects of nature a book might be written in the form of history, biography, poetry, or prophecy, so as to contain a most perfect record of all mental processes and spiritual truths without having a word of literal truth in it, and yet to persons ignorant of the structure of the work and of the spiritual life, and ignorant in natural sciences, nothing at all but natural ideas would appear.

"Many eminent scholars who are familiar with Homer's Iliad and Odyssey do not in the smallest degree understand the fact that Homer, under the veil of poetry, taught a science and represented the forces of nature by personifications. These were Homer's warriors which he brought into conflict on the Phrygian plains, which means the barren plains of the human mind. It is not probable that a single character or locality in Homer's Iliad or Odyssey ever had a material existence. As well might we search in English Bedford for Bunyan's City of Destruction as for Homer's city of Troy. Thus an idea may be formed of the magnitude of the errors that prevail in regard to Grecian history. The translations are imperfect, and are given to the world as the translators see them instead of as the original writers meant them to be understood.

"This has been the precise difficulty about the Bible. The languages in which it was written have long ceased to be spoken, and the great mistake has been made of assuming it to be a literal history of the creation of the world and the other events relating to it, instead of the spiritual creation of man.

"Having thus given you at length some reason for the faith

which is within me, and shown you how you can apply the true measure and investigate for yourslves, I believe it will not be difficult to clear up the mystery of the great flood which so stirred up the youthful heart of our Greek friend and roused within him his horror of an avenging God.

"Water in its purest form represents truth. Truth, as our friend himself observed, when perverted, becomes falsity. Could not falsity flood the world?

"I believe I may now refer briefly to the Garden of Eden and be thoroughly understood in the light of correspondence when I say that a garden signifies intelligence, or the understanding of truth, and Eden signifies wisdom, or the will of good.

"The sensual principle is represented by the serpent, self-love or proprium by the woman, and the rational principle by the man. This serpent, or sensual principle, induced the woman to believe nothing but what she could comprehend sensually, and persuaded her to scrutinize the realities of the particulars of faith in the Lord, which is signified by eating of the tree of knowledge, and the consent of the rational principle by the man's eating thereof.

"From the remnant of perception which they still possessed they perceived they were in evil, which is signified by their eyes being opened and their hearing the voice of Jehovah; by the fig-leaf of which they made themselves girdles, by their being ashamed and concealing themselves in the midst of the trees of the garden, and likewise by their acknowledgments and confessions, it is evident that natural good still remained to them.

"In ancient times those men were called serpents who had more confidence in sensual things than in revealed truth.

"Love in the Bible is represented by the sun, and faith by the moon. Stars signify divine spiritual truth, or intelligence originating in spiritual love, which is love toward our neighbor. Accepting these significations do not the words of Matthew xxiv. 29 become more clear: 'Immediately after the tribulation of those days shall the sun be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven'?

"According to the literal meaning of these words the whole material universe would be destroyed, and the Church has been agitated from age to age with calculations when these things should occur. Many even in this day believe that at some time in the future these things will surely take place.

"The meaning then of the Lord's prediction is briefly this: That after the tribulation of those days, meaning the divisions and contentions of the Church, after these take place 'the sun shall be darkened,' which means that love to the Lord will die out of the dismembered Church; 'and the moon shall not give her light' means that the faith of the Church will become obscured; 'and the stars shall fall from heaven' means that true knowledge of spiritual truth will fall out of the minds of the Church.

"And then it is that the Son of man shall appear in the clouds of heaven. By clouds is meant the literal sense of the word; and by the Lord's appearing in the cloud is meant the new revelation of Him by the perception of the spiritual sense of the word within the letter, or the opening of the letter of the word.

"The narration in Genesis was not given to teach man natural science. Its message is spiritual and was so understood by those who first received it; and it only tells of natural things because there is the relation of correspondence between spiritual truths as cause and those of nature as effect.

"'In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.' The heavens and the earth here referred to do not mean the starry universe and the natural earth, but the internal and external of man.

"Then again, 'Behold, I create a new heaven and a new earth, and the former shall not be remembered nor come into my mind.' Those persons who have not been able to elevate their thoughts above merely sensuous ideas have supposed that the natural earth and the starry heavens were to be destroyed and new ones created in their stead. It certainly refers to a new state or condition of the human mind, or man restored to the lost image and likeness of his creator.

"God called the light day, and the darkness he called night. Truth is light, and light is day; while error is darkness, and darkness is night. It is a beautiful simile. Now read further: 'And the evening and the morning were the first day.' Now in our natural day the morning precedes the evening, but the evening always precedes the morning in spiritual processes; and because the divine word treats of spiritual processes and not primarily of natural things, therefore throughout the word, evening always precedes the morning. The evident reason is that evening symbolizes a state of mental obscurity, of doubt, of darkness, of spiritual things;

whenever truths are received and accepted then it is the morning of the mind or a new state; and so on in successive days, signifying successive states of regeneration until the seventh; 'And on the seventh day God ended his work which he had made; and he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made. And God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it: because that in it he had rested from all his work which God created and made.' And this crowning glory is the work of the seventh day, or Sabbath. The six days of labor were the successive states in the process of this regeneration in which man is in combat with his evils; and when these evils are subdued and this combat ceases, man comes into a state of peace and rest; not rest from the activities of a useful life, but from internal warfare through which he has passed; and because God works in man and enables him to conquer when he comes into that state, it is said that God rested from all His work and blessed, sanctified, and hallowed the seventh day.

"That about six thousand years ago God worked six literal days in making the natural universe, and then rested literally the seventh day, and for that reason hallowed it, is no longer believed by any person of any degree of rationality.

"The danger is apparent that when the literal construction of the language is given up, the record itself will come to be neglected and finally denied unless it can be shown that it has a divinely true and important meaning of vital interest to all men, which cannot be seen by those who take it for a literal history. Such is the fact to an alarming extent. Throughout all Europe the Bible as a divine book has practically lost its hold upon the educated classes. They do not as a general thing denounce it, but they ignore it as something in which they have no interest; they simply do not believe it, and therefore they do not investigate it. But God has never yet forsaken His creatures, and the light will find its way through the darkness at last. A golden chain of love connects God and His creatures.

"All numbers in the word have a spiritual signification wherever they occur, and this signification always has a profoundly scientific basis either in natural or spiritual processes. It was because of this spiritual process and to symbolize it in outward life that time was divided by the most ancient Church or people into weeks of seven days in

which men engage in natural or physical labor, six days to represent this state of combat, and rested on the seventh or Sabbath to represent the state of peace and tranquillity of the regenerate state.

"The story of the flood is given up by the intelligent portion of the Church as the record of a literal event. It does not mean a flood of literal waters, but of spiritual temptations; and the ark does not mean a natural ship to save Noah from a natural flood, but true doctrine formed of divine truths which constitute the Lord's true Church or the kingdom of heaven within man. But mark you, Noah could not come into that ark and be safe until he had lived just six hundred years; that is, until he had passed through all the states of spiritual temptation, as signified by six hundred, being the product of six and one hundred multiplied together; and of course we do not mean by Noah any individual man of that name, but an ancient Church called Noah, as the most ancient was called Adam, and a subsequent one called Israel.

"The fall of man was not completed by the expulsion from the garden of Eden; it was only the beginning of the fall. He was falling all the way from Adam to Christ; he fell from the Eden or celestial state to a spiritual state, and from that into a natural state, and from that he would have sunk downward into a bestial state and lost both reason and immortality but for the incarnation of Jehovah, who bowed the heavens and came down to quicken perishing human nature, to sanctify it and glorify it, so that it would be an eternal mediator, the very centre of life, power, and salvation to the race.

"The evangelical 'scheme of salvation' does not incorporate the great central truth of theology that the glorification of the humanity of Jesus Christ and his union with the Father is the exact type of our own regeneration, which must be effected in the same manner and according to the same laws.

"To worship a false idea of God is to worship a false God. How can the world drawing its religious ideas from the Church be other than it is?

"When the churches preach a false Christ in that he is the second person of the Trinity instead of himself being the Trinity, a God of infinite love and mercy, who never condemns or punishes, who forgives without limit or condition, who is never angry, whose tender mercies flow forth to all

alike, who is the perpetual life and blessing to all, we can see that his commandments to us are in perfect harmony with his own nature. We are to be like him, 'For I have given you an example, that you should do as I have done to you.'

"'This is my commandment, that ye love one another as I have loved you.'

"'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.'

"'Judge not that ye be not judged.'

"When this forgiving, loving Christ is displaced by a false Christ, a doctrine that divine justice demands the infinite punishment of sin, and that God is only satisfied with the bloody sacrifice of His own innocent Son, no wonder our Greek friend cries out, 'What a God!' How contradictory and absurd it becomes with such a divine model before us to tell us to 'Judge not,' to forgive seventy times seven (which means to all eternity), to love and bless our enemies, and to pray for them that persecute us. This false God, this being created by priest and pastor, is responsible for all the bitterness and hatred, persecutions and bloodshed, of all the religious wars enumerated by our Greek friend in his last lecture. The Church made its enemies the enemies of heaven and proceeded in the blasphemous use of Jehovah's name to wreak the imaginary vengeance of God upon them.

"'The first begotten from the dead' does not mean from the death of nature, but from the death of sin. His death, which saves us, was the crucifixion of the old man of sin, the carnal nature derived from the mother, assumed for our redemption; his resurrection, which is our hope, is the resurrection in the soul of the new divine man, and this redemption work was totally separate and apart from his physical death upon the cross, which was only the last and most terrible of all his temptations.

"I would add here that Mary in her beautiful humility, tenderness, and devotion was *not* the mother of God, but of the feeble, suffering *human form* which God condescended to inhabit for a while."

Solon had sat like one entranced, but this remark startled him from his repose. Soon, however, a look of settled conviction overspread his features.

"To confess God's existence and deny his goodness is worse than atheism.

"It is true, as our Greek friend says, that life is governed by organic laws or natural laws, and until physicians understand that natural laws correspond with spiritual laws they can never permanently heal disease; and until ministers understand the same immutable truth they will continue to hold solemn services over the dead and say, 'The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken; blessed be the name of the Lord."

"Death is mainly the result of disease; disease the penalty of sin somewhere, whether it be father or mother, grandfather or grandmother, or of the person only.

"The law is given, the penalty is fixed. We take the law into our own hands and accept our own penalty.

"Thus you see the doctrine of atonement (it should be at-one-ment) logically involves many serious falsifications of divine truth; that the Superior Being, not content with the punishment which sin inexorably brings upon itself by the operations of organic laws, superadds the infliction of eternal pain in some terrible manner, not with the intention of reforming the sinner, but as an act of vengeance for his having wilfully violated the laws of God.

"The influence of these and other false doctrines upon human character, private and national, is deep, secret, subtile, and damnable to the unconscious victims who clasp their destructive delusions, and it is such doctrines, with all the errors that grow out of them, that are destroying the human race.

"It is amazing that no such doctrines were remotely hinted at by Jesus Christ, or taught by the apostles, or heard of in the churches for two or three generations after Christ.

"However valuable as a social institution, the Church stands unwittingly to-day, with its crystallized dogmas, as the grandest obstacle between man and a true knowledge of God in Christ.

"People enter the spiritual world in the same condition they left the natural world. Heaven is not a far-away place. Jesus said, 'But the kingdom of heaven is within you.'

"God did not make a devil, and our Greek friend learns from his noble ancestors, heathen though they are called, that evil could not be attributed to God.

"Upon the laying aside of the natural body, the spiritual body arises, or is resurrected, drawn out, and thus robbed of the gross veil of flesh, sees more clearly, and angels take

charge as teachers. If the spirit seeks wisdom, good, and truth, it ascends higher into heaven, which means of course a more perfect state; if it clings to falsity it descends lower in the scale of spiritual development, and therefore from choice goes to hell, or into the hell fire, which simply means its own love of falsity.

"That God made a devil (and if one was ever made God must have made him) is as preposterous as that He made a burning lake in which to destroy the creatures of His own hand.

"I agree with our Greek friend that a new God must be given to the people. By this I mean a new and different conception of the only true God, which would indeed appear as a new God.

"The law signified by Moses died with Moses and was buried.

"Grace and truth came by Jesus Christ. His life was an example of the power of God, who he taught was Spirit and must be worshipped in spirit and in truth. His death was a necessary part of the great plan, for without his death even his disciples could not understand and believe in the resurrection of the spiritual body of man, and as he was lifted up from out the flesh and showed the great truth of the spiritual resurrection he lifted all men up with him who believe in it.

"The only hell, our Greek friend says, is in the preacher. I agree with him; otherwise he could not preach it; nothing can proceed from us that is not within us.

"As long as the disciples kept the teachings of Jesus in their minds and hearts and fearlessly followed them through the power of his name, the belief in his ever-helpful and immediate presence with them, they healed the sick, raised the dead, opened the eyes of the blind; but as time rolled on in the apostolic succession they preached Christ upon the cross instead of the living, working Christ among and in them, and the resurrected Christ. They no longer saw that his Church was built upon the mighty truth that Peter spoke, that Jesus Christ was the Son of the living God, but that he built it upon the man Peter; and thus has the Scripture been misquoted and mistaught until Jehovah sends teachers like our Greek friend to point out the error; for he truly admits that Jesus Christ lived the life of the just, and his clinging to the letter of the word as the preacher does, has been his only error.

"He does not see why Christ advised a disciple to leave father and mother, wife and children, and follow him. If he understands that father means love of self and mother love of the world, and that these are the parents — husband and wife — that beget all the evils or foes of the household, as signified by children, it will not be so difficult to understand why Jesus said, 'Unless ye forsake these and follow me ye are not worthy of me.' He certainly did not mean that a man should leave his wife, nor a woman her children, to follow him, but that they should give up their selfish loves and follow his example and his teachings.

"Our Greek friend is correct. The word *cosmos* is used a great many times in the New Testament when the world of nature, or evil as distinguished from the Church, is signified. The age or dispensation changes, the earth is established forever that it shall not be moved. The *aion* may terminate, the *cosmos* never.

"The consummation of the age is the closure of a dispensation, the end of a Church. The end of the Jewish world, or age, or dispensation, was predicted by the prophets as something which should come with terrible signs and wonders in the heavens; and the earth with darkening of the sun and moon, spiritual commotions, visions, apocalyptic revelations, and a day of wrath and judgment. Peter on the day of Pentecost told the people that these wonderful events, concealed under prophetic symbols, were happening at that very time.

"Ignorant of these sublime truths, and interpreting literally the Book of Revelation, a book plainly symbolical from beginning to end, the leaders of Christian thought in the present century are committed to the literalism and naturalism of the earliest ages."

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Dr. and Mrs. Cadmus had come to New York to meet their son. They had heard his lectures and the heretic's reply, and they were proud of the one and pleased with the other.

"Ha! my boy, we have found him at last, just as we found our Ruby; Heaven-sent, God-given in both instances. Why, all you have to do is to show the people the false God of the clergy and let this heretic point them to the great I AM, and we will teach your children to do the same, and he

must leave behind, when he passes on, books and teachers to answer them, and he and Gladstone and I will be here in the spirit. The day will come then when they will cease to build temples with their hands for Jehovah, but will prepare the temple He has made to receive Him.

"Your marriage must be hastened. Ah, here is the message; a letter, my son. May we, your mother and I, know the answer?"

"She waits for me. I go at once. Adieu!"

"Goodie," said Ruby, as they waited in the parlor, "I wish I could tell you how happy I am."

"You do tell me, dear, every time I look at you. It is written too plainly to be mistaken."

Such a lover does not keep his idol waiting, and the firm step of Solon was unusually accelerated as he made his way to the —— Hotel.

Never had Ruby been so beautiful as this morning — pure as a calla lily in her white robe, which fell in artistic folds in the old Greek style about her; even her garb seemed more suited to her than another woman's.

As Solon entered the room it was with the reverence with which some of his ancestors might have entered the temple of their most sacred goddess. She saw and understood the full meaning of his bearing. Did he come to be accepted or rejected? The old pride in this respect seemed utterly annihilated. He felt that whether she loved him or not he was elevated and ennobled in loving her; but a look at her lovely face, so beautiful in its serene joy, its heavenly peace, the look of entire confidence in those beautiful eyes, was all confirmed by the magnetic thrill from her hand when he touched it.

"My queen?" he asked, bowing over her hand.

"Yea, my king."

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Ruby had explained all to Solon concerning her long silence, and then she said:

"You have heard of Mrs. Hamilton, the famous missionary?"

"Yes, often seen and heard her."

"She, Solon, is my mother."

She expected to see him start and look disappointed.

"Here is the marriage certificate, and this photograph of my father you will recognize."

Solon looked long and earnestly upon them, and the baby face, and the name "Modestia."

"You are not sad — nor, nor — disappointed?" asked Ruby.

"No, my queen. I feel grateful that this mistaken woman did not have the training of my wife. Your father has done more than she could for you."

"Oh, Solon! In this great sorrow I was so weak, so human, I feared shame. Oh, I cannot tell you how weak, how utterly I forgot my father's heavenly teachings, how lonely and forsaken I felt. Can you love one who was so easily and with one blow stricken down?"

"It was a crushing sorrow to your pure mind, I know."

"But I should have been strong —"

"Is there not a story told of him you love of a night in the garden of Gethsemane? His human nature wept and prayed and asked if possible the cup might pass. My darling is still human. Were she perfect we should not have the blessing of being perfected together under the drill of life. As it is we need each other through time and through eternity, for we are but one at last, one human being on this earth, and one angel in heaven. For I, as your husband in God's holy ordinance, represent the wisdom of love, and you, my wife, the love of that wisdom."

CHAPTER XL.

There was nothing to hinder their marriage. The heretic performed the ceremony and they returned to Solon's home.

Dr. Cadmus and his wife and Mr. and Mrs. Goode were in a state of excited joy, while Solon and Ruby were calm in their great love.

They were planning an Elysium for another generation, and we will see them again and often there.

* * * * * * * *

Who is this, though surrounded by wealth and luxury, lying upon a sick-bed, — pale, worn, tired of life, dreading to live on in the torrent of pain and disease, afraid to die until she has conquered self? Ah, Salome!

Several months have passed since she arrived in America, where she was hailed with joy and crowned with wealth by

that great, generous people. But do we recall those struggles with anger and passion? Do we remember that Salome had always worked, spurred on by ambition only, fed by hope of revenge and victory over imaginary foes? If we recall those things we can understand how after strong mental and nervous excitement, and the uncontrollable grief at her mother's death, there is necessarily a corresponding relaxation which causes great nervous depression. She was strong physically, but her nerve force was her real power. When severe strain and great grief began to weaken that, she saw before her defeat.

She sends for a physician. She is nervous and he prescribes morphine. The effect is wonderful for a while. Then she perceives that her skin is becoming dry and parched. Her lips are no longer of that rich brilliant color that lent such added charm to her beautiful teeth. So this must be stopped or health and beauty fail.

"Salome, Salome!" It was the old voice. "So rich and yet so poor. Not all thy wealth can bring the rich blood that once bounded through thy veins; not all thy wealth can bring the light of purity and innocence back into thine eyes; not all thy wealth twice told can buy thee peace again if thou continue in this path. Turn while thou mayst, Salome!"

"Art thou here again, old man, to torment me?"

"Write, write!"

"What shall I write?"

"Ruby!"

She did, and Ruby came expecting to find her ill but not like this. She would scarcely have recognized her. Solon, of course, accompanied his wife, and when they were left alone Salome told all, hiding nothing except her shamed face on Ruby's bosom.

"Fling me from you," she said, when she had told all. "Now I am unworthy to be looked upon by those pure eyes."

"No, no, Salome! You never needed a friend so much as now. Come, give yourself up to me for one short year, maybe, and I'll give you back to yourself a better woman and a stronger than before. Salome, with those rare gifts you have a work to do; not simply to gratify your own ambition to gain wealth and power and fame, but to teach high and holy lessons to those who cannot be reached otherwise. Now you are better fitted to sympathize with the weaknesses of others, for you know what it is to be tempted

by anger and hatred and revenge, and to fall. Come, now! Learn for the first time the strength of character, the deep gratitude that helped your father to reform. Come; you will love and honor him now as you never did before!" And thus like a little child Salome yielded her once proud heart, bitter with all its hatred and revenge, upon the breast she had sworn to pierce.

And faithful to her trust Ruby nursed her through it all; seeing her rise and fall; lifting her up again and again; showing her a victory of a day or two, now of two days, then to see her fall again, and again to rise at last.

"Ah!" said Ruby, "we have the crucial test. See here!" She looked into Salome's eyes; there was the pure, steady light that told of victory won. "Your soul is healed, therefore your body can be cured."

"Oh, Ruby! why should mortal man, or woman either, make war upon the weaknesses of man? Why not pity and lift each other up as you have lifted me? For without you I was lost, lost!"

"Ah, Salome! Nobody is lost. God finds the way to lift them up in this life or the next. You had your hell, Salome; accept your heaven more joyfully. Thou hast like the wounded oyster mended thy shell with pearl. The strength of the enemy thou hast slain has passed into thyself."

CHAPTER XLI.

Salome sits in her parlor preparing for a journey. Not the same journey little mother has taken, but a visit to that old home. Ruby has pronounced her strong enough to go. She sits in a great easy-chair, the silken folds of her dressing-gown sweeping unbroken from shoulder to feet. Her face is pale, her eyes dark and luminous; the whole expression is softened and chastened by that awful grief, that wild anguish, which but for Ruby's care might have ended in insanity or death.

A jewel case lies in her lap, and with one hand she raises a sparkling necklace.

"Oh, glittering gems, whose frozen tears art thou? How many weary days and sleepless nights would the price of one — the very least of them — have given? Oh, God! Did ever mortal pay so dear a price? Were ever gems so dearly bought?

She presses one hand upon her heart.

"Bought — never to be paid for. Though I hold the jewellers receipt in full, they represent a mortgage on my soul; daily interest is added up and heaped upon me.

"Let me recall the words that Ruby spoke to me when she tried to comfort me; that every beautiful gem was the crystallization of some holy word or deed; that no word or deed is lost; even if it sinks to earth it is found again like this, and represents spiritual love; and those superb rubies of hers, she fancies, live as the spiritualization of those drops of blood that flowed from his side on Calvary — celestial love.

"Oh, how can I bear to wear these gems again? What devil prompted me to buy them? Tears, tears, tears! Tears of my sainted mother! Tears that shall have power to make my own eyes rain tears as long as they can look upon them.

"But — I promised Ruby I would be calm. I have a task before me that no weak woman ever can perform, and she who shed those tears will weep no more. Little Mother! Little Mother!"

CHAPTER XLII.

Lois had read and filed away carefully all the newspapers containing the flattering accounts of her sister. She had letters regularly, and pretty clothes and money sufficient for all the comforts of life. Her father took great pains with her and little Jim, and watched eagerly now for the long-promised visit. He read descriptions of his beautiful daughter, and tried to recall her face just as he had seen it last. But he could not keep his mind for any length of time concentrated upon anything except the slight form and untiring energy of the little blue-eyed woman who had shared all his sorrows and passed out of his life before its joys began; then he would recall all their life and thank God that those early days after their marriage had contained some brightness. Alas, he did not yet realize that in those mistaken days were sown the seeds of all the misery that ever came to them.

He assisted Lois in the household cares; the laundry was put out. Lois, under the skilful guidance of Ruby, was an expert manager and an excellent cook, and she strove to make things always pleasant and peaceful, for Ruby had told

her that therein lay the permanency of her father's cure. So the house was a very sweet home, just newly decorated by sister's command, new shades and lace curtains and pretty carpets, chairs, and pictures; flowers bloomed in every window, and palms gave a real elegance to the quiet home. Outside it was freshly painted, and flowering vines shaded the porch where father spent the most of his time, for there was not much work to do and he did not need to seek employment. Salome wrote him to stay at home with Lois and Jim, and she would look out for all their needs, and he took upon himself the sacred trust little mother had left to him, and was their constant companion.

Some of the old life could not be changed; in one room was little mother's work-basket and her thimble and spectacles, and in one corner a dummy upon which she had draped many dresses. It was a gift from Ruby, and had been greatly prized by little mother, and had aided her in becoming an artistic draper; the last dress that Salome had ever seen little mother wear now hung upon that model.

"Mother saved it to wear when Salome should visit her, that she might look unchanged," he said, as with his own hands he had hung it there soon after the burial, which was now just three months.

Lois wore a pretty lawn. Her sunny hair, blue eyes, and creamy white complexion, her dainty feet and hands, her slight delicate frame, were a faithful reproduction of little Mary, just as she was when Mr. Blake first saw her and fell captive to her charms. Little Lois must always be her father's darling, although he was proud of and loved and longed for Salome. But he could not ask nor expect her either to love or respect him after the bitter memories of her early girlhood. He acknowledged it was a just punishment for his sins and bowed meekly to the retribution.

Jim has a new velocipede and is testing its merits on the pavement, and Mr. Blake and Lois lean upon the gate to watch him. He gives way to a graceful lady, who, instead of passing, stoops and kisses him and hurries to the open gate. Mr. Blake starts and stands rooted to the spot. Lois flies to her with open arms, and cries:

"So like the picture! Salome, Salome!"

They had expected she would come in a carriage, but she had walked back as she had walked away to the station so long ago.

Those first moments we leave undescribed. Mr. Goode had spoken truly; she would never have known her own father. She had left him a broken, almost degraded man in morals and appearance, she had thought. He was now a handsome white-haired gentleman; and how strangely strong the resemblance between her and her father! Lois was beautiful and Jim the very finest lad she had seen in all her journeyings.

Inside the cottage she recognized whose hand had wrought the transformation, and sighed that it was not her own. Ruby had remodelled their lives to her own pure pattern. The very plants were children of the Temple, palms, and the flowers —

"See, sister," said Lois, "Miss Gladstone gave me this and said when it should bloom we should call it 'Little Mother,' and see; soon after mother's death it came out just like a spirit, so pure and white, and I feel that she must have blessed it with her own sweet spirit and sent it to remind us of her and to show us that she lives near us always."

When Salome stepped into that room where the little dress hung she motioned them not to follow her. She went in alone, closed the door, and going to that silent thing kneeled down, touched its hem reverently, and then buried her face in its sacred folds. Then she rose up strong, for in answer to her prayer she was assured that all was well with little mother, who understood her daughter now.

When they met again Lois led her out to tea.

"What a dear little housekeeper it is!" said Salome, with that beaming face. "Well,well, you have all excelled me."

Salome felt it, believed it, and yet the world beyond Ruby, Mr. and Mrs. Goode, and Dr. Cadmus and a few neighbors, did not know that such persons existed, while all the world had heard of Salome.

"The schools open in September, and, father, it seems to me Lois should have every advantage now that little mother would have enjoyed giving her; and Jim, too, is old enough to be put to school."

Mr. Blake trembled. Salome read his thoughts.

"Oh, you will not be left alone! I need you with me, to travel with me. I am too young, too reckless to be alone."

His face beamed.

"Lois shall choose her own school, and Jim must let us choose till he is old enough for Harvard; eh, father?"

"All right, my child; just as you say."

Salome was very busy in those days. Lois chose ——school, while Jim was put into college. Now indeed was Mr. Blake's joy only exceeded by his wonder. This was Salome! Oh, if little Mary could have lived to see her! That little Mary through that so-called death had lifted Salome up to her and made her just what she was, he did not understand; did not know that mother and child were never separated in the least thought or purpose now.

* * * * * * * *

Salome and Lois entered a restaurant on —— street; they had been shopping all the morning, and father and Jim had made their purchases and gone home ahead of them.

While waiting to have their order filled Salome was attracted by a couple at another table,— the face and form of one in whom she had found herself strangely interested of late, who was taking a deeper hold upon her life purpose than she willingly admitted. He had never appeared so handsome. He was in earnest conversation with some one, a lady, and his handsome head and shoulders, clear cut as a cameo, stood out distinct and distinguished among all the other men about him. A slight movement and she could see his companion. It was a plain and withered face, but the smiles upon it now illuminated it like the last rays of sunlight upon a faded picture. The form was bent, noticeably deformed. Those two were absorbed in each other, and he paid her the courtly homage that a loyal subject might give to a beloved queen. As Salome gazed her heart seemed to glow with certain strange emotions.

Lois called her attention to the fact that the dinner was spread, and Salome made a feint of eating, but spent most of her time in adding to Lois's menu some extra dainty. Finally those two were left at the table alone, and Salome watched the tableau with increasing interest.

Lois had finished; she was eager to get home and pack that wonderful new trunk. As they passed, a handsome gentleman rose and, with a beaming face, reached forth his hand to Salome. Why did sister's face for a moment wear that rosy hue, and why, yes, why did that gentleman seem so happy when he noticed it?

"Achille, this is my little sister Lois, and this"—putting out her hand—"is—"

"My mother," he said tenderly.

The old lady had evidently heard of the great actress and knew whose heart she held. "Ah, so many hearts," thought the dear old lady, "too many." But she was strangely attracted to this beautiful creature who had drawn her son across the ocean and kept him there so long.

"May I call at your home this evening?"

"Why, yes," answered Salome; "come to tea, and bring your mother."

The old lady was quite charmed, and accepted at once.

Lois had all her pretty clothes laid out upon the bed in her room, the trunk stood open, when she led Achille's mother in to view them.

"Isn't she the best sister in the world?"

The old lady assented and watched her as she held up each piece, with glowing face.

"They are all ready-made, too; all the very prettiest she could buy. And Jim has everything a boy, a rich boy, could want, and father! well, you should see! but his clothes are not ready yet; *they* are to be made to order, for you see father is to travel with Salome."

"How would you like your sister to get married?" asked the old lady.

"Like it? Well, I had never thought of it, and she has never mentioned such a thing. Papa says she has so many admirers she would find it difficult to choose."

"How would you like a big brother?" asked the little old lady again.

"Oh, if he was as nice as my big sister, if he loved her and she loved him, why, I think I should like it."

Salome and Achille sat alone in the parlor, and to that question which he had so long been too doubtful to ask he had an answer that made him the happiest man on earth, he said; and when Lois and his mother entered the room he and Salome came forward with such happy faces that both paused and looked at them.

"It is all right, mother; and listen to what she says; she says she never knew how much she loved me until she saw my devotion to you."

"It is true," answered Salome, as she stooped to kiss her.

"And what will father say?" asked the bewildered Lois.

"I will go to him and ask him," said Achille. In a few moments they returned together.

"It is all right, Salome," said her father gently. "God bless you both."

"We must wait a year, father; Achille agrees."

CHAPTER XLIII.

Who is this who starts the world's thoughts into a new channel? Who is she who plays before the footlights and awakens tears of pity for the drunkard and the outcast? Who is this that shows her sister-women the serpent in the glass that rears its head to tempt women to look within, and at last brings the story of shame and death? Who is this who opens her purse and scatters her gold to the degraded, the down-trodden of the world, not men only, nor women only, but the memory of one man tottering on the verge of hell drawn back and saved, a memory of a woman following in his steps, saved after the flames had touched her and the marks of fire were upon her? Salome!

Who is this who kneels beside her white-haired father when the play is done and speaks the name of her sainted mother, and asks his blessing? Salome, from yonder stage in the world!

Who is it that stirs the hearts of men and women with new emotions from that Holy Book of Inspiration he once denied? Who is he that reverently opens the page and from the letter of the word that he once declared too foul to read in a decent audience, with steady hand brings forth to light the precious pearl within? Who is he that pictures to you that Divine Man and tells you he knows he was our God, for he filled the words with a spirit that quickened into life, and comes to us no longer through the cloud of the letter, but every eye that will may see him? Solon, from yonder altar in the church!

Who is this who lies upon a bed of pain, solaced only by the golden-haired woman who bends over her, to whom in lucid moments she cries for pity and forgiveness. The missionary!

Who is this who like a star around which these worlds revolve stands like truth and love embodied, reaching forth her hand to her husband, who is her wisdom? Ruby!

And who is she who, faithful to the little forsaken child

when deserted by its mother, leans over now and motions the watcher that her task is done and closes the missionary's sightless eyes? She who by God's own laws bore her own rightful name, Goode!

Who is this whom Solon meets and to whom he cries, "Here, take my arm; let me give you this material aid in return for the great spiritual aid you have given me"? The Heretic.

And who is he who stands with bared head in his earthly paradise, and silently communes with that over-soul and receives commission from heaven to go on in his work of elevating the human race and showing them the great possibilities of man? His wife, his inspiration, smiles upon him and points with joyous pride to the fulfilment of his heart's desire, and he is conscious that Solon and Ruby and their two little children, those promises fulfilled, are drawing near, and what they are he knows in the fulness of time all mankind may become. Dr. Cadmus.

THE END.

THE DAYS TO COME.

BY ELLA MINTHORN HOGAN.

Oh, they tell me I am dreaming,
That such days will never come;
But I saw the bright light streaming
Straight to earth from heaven's dome.
And the soft rays touched the portal
Of the selfish human heart
So that each and every mortal
Of a union formed a part.
I'll not name this light whose beauty
Changed the world from night to day,—
Call it wisdom, love, or duty;
Call it by what name you may.

Men of every tribe and nation
Were united in one band;
For no longer wealth or station
Counted aught in any land.
Prison cells were used no longer,
Hate and envy were no more,
For the bonds of love are stronger
Than the massive prison door.
Prison cells are dark and gloomy;
Vengeance never conquered man.
The birds' abode is light and roomy,
Nature found the better plan.

In the light I saw two maidens;
Each was young and pure and fair;
One had lived in wealth and comfort,
One 'mid toil and want and care.
And I thought to see the wealthy
Maiden turn in proud disdain
From her poorer, humbler sister;
But the light of love had slain
All such cruel, foolish fancies,—
They were vanished; pride was dumb;
Truth and goodness make all equal
In the happy days to come.

I looked again and saw another:
She had fallen, I must own;
I thought to see—oh, was I hasty?—
Her sister woman cast a stone.
"Every human heart is tender,
Every human soul divine,"
Thus spoke Love,—"and this frail sister's
Happiness shall equal mine."

So her loving comrade raised her,
  Set her footsteps toward the light
Shining on the path of duty;
  Error only makes the night.

Men no longer crush each other
  In a fierce, financial craze
Where each strove to beat his brother
  As was seen in olden days.
He has learned at last the lesson
  That Love is king, and not the gold
At whose altar he has worshipped:
  For which his nobler self he sold.

Onward, onward, ever onward!
  For the men of mind make room!
For Love and Truth must reign triumphant
  In the glorious days to come.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

KING MAMMON.*

REVIEWED BY DR. JESSE EDWARD THOMPSON.

The publication of "King Mammon and the Heir Apparent" is notable as a literary event because the book is devoted to a field of investigation that has received but little attention from reformers in this country since the days of Thomas Jefferson and the abolition of entail through his efforts and those of other patriots. "King Mammon" is a strong attack on the existing laws which sustain bequests and inheritance. It is an effort to convince the reader that bequeathing property is tyranny; that heirs who expect to enjoy the property of their ancestors without earning that property themselves are morally no better than healthy beggars or tramps, and that nearly all the real injustice and danger of present conditions are embodied in the laws by which unearned wealth is transferred in great bodies from ancestor to heir. The author objects strongly and persistently to the privilege of making wills, and to the rigid statutes of distribution in cases of intestacy, claiming that they are a relic of barbarism. He contends that our systems of succession maintain a wealth-aristocracy in America no different from aristocracies of other nations, except in not bearing titles.

To correct this condition he urges the abolition of bequests and the limitation of inheritance, the surplus of every large estate to be thrown into the public treasuries on the death of the owner as an extreme form of "death duties." He backs up this view on moral grounds by declaring that dead or dying men have no more right to name successors to their property than the justices of the United States Supreme Court have to name their successors on the bench. He also claims that a son has no more right to demand wealth from society because his father was a rich man than Robert T. Lincoln has a right to be President because his father possessed extraordinary intellect, honor, and patriotism. The possession of wealth should be based, the author asserts, on productive efforts and not on wills or on kinship. Give people what they earn, but control and restrict, so far as possible, the possession of unearned wealth.

His plan, toward which he believes society to be gradually drifting, is to abolish wills, limit the inheritance to be received by an heir, and limit also the total amount distributable among heirs from an estate, all excess going into public revenues. Wills he would convert into merely the testimony of decedents, showing who had assisted them in accumulating the property and indicating its limited distribution as information for the court, but being in no way absolutely binding upon it. He makes

* "King Mammon and the Heir Apparent," by George A. Richardson. Pp. 454 Cloth, $1.25; paper, 50 cents. Arena Publishing Company, Boston, Mass.

a strong point in showing by the facility with which wills are broken that this condition of regarding the will merely as testimony is already partially accomplished by the courts under present laws.

There are other valuable investigations in the book, particularly a study of the cause of industrial depressions, a well-connected view of the changes and growth of successions from the earliest knowledge we have of the human race, and a careful digest of socialism and anarchism, showing the real meaning and nature of these ideas so foreign to the thoughts of most people. The author, George A. Richardson, of Placerville, is a California editor. He is no more a Socialist than all of us are who believe in free public schools and other Socialistic institutions of that class. He bases his opposition to inheritance on the principles of competition, and inquires in a pugnacious way what fairness or justice there is in putting him down on the world without any inheritance, to compete with Charles L. Fair, George Gould, and the sons of other millionnaires. He does not object to young Fair's making all the money he can by his own efforts, but he thinks that Fair cannot really earn money by being born. The author is very frank and positive in his assertions, but is good-natured throughout, and there is no bitterness in his work. The drift of his thought is indicated by the following sentences selected from the pages of his book:

In our competitive existence, the universal idea of fairness is that every man is entitled to whatever results from his own productive efforts. The point for society to determine is not so much the acquirement of private rights as their real nature and continuance. Granting that unequal private rights to wealth in all its forms justly exist as the result of varying human effort, ability, and good or bad fortune, the real question is, How long do those rights continue and when do they terminate? The man who bequeaths property, being a tyrant on his death-bed, declares that those rights never terminate, and that he and his legal successors own his portion of the earth forever.

The man who accumulates a great fortune honestly is a benefactor to society. Sometimes he is unintentionally a benefactor, even though he accumulates dishonestly, for he is a check on the spendthrifts by whom the world would be kept poor. His ability and usefulness are, however, no guarantee that his heir will possess the same qualifications, or that the person to whom he delegates his power at death will be in any degree useful or valuable to society. It is the old question of Cromwell and Cromwell's son.

Viewed from any standpoint, moral, political, or economical, wealth-heredity is a curse. It debauches the men and women of its own class with idle luxury and false ideas of life. It embitters the poor by contrasts with their own condition and by the spectacle of the successors to wealth obtaining something for nothing and then demanding a different morality for other human beings. It is decay in the heart of society. The only possible result of a continuance in our present wealth conditions, under the aristocratic successions of a barbarous period, will be civil war, the destruction of lives and property, and the wasteful and inequitable distribution, by the sacrifices to our war-god, of the vast fortunes that are now being accumulated. Is it not wiser and better and *safer* to leave to all children who may succeed us in the control of our earthly home, the heritage of just and therefore safe government, than it is to bestow upon a few of them a heritage of great wealth with all its manifold dangers, and upon others a heritage of poverty that may con-

vert them into destructive social wolves clutching at the throats of their keepers?

Having thus noted the contents of the book, I may say that it has afforded me pleasure to read it, and that I not only agree with the general public demand for reforms in the selfish methods employed by the rich in the distribution of their aggregate wealth, but I also believe that the application of the ancient doctrine of heredity to modern economics and wealth-control is an astounding humbug. When doctrines of heredity are applied to the control of princely estates in a democratic community, the result is as nauseous and odious to the liberty-loving commoner as the existence of European pampered and titled aristocracy.

Privileged aristocracy is the progenitor of vice. Idleness in all ages has been the mother of crime, and any laws which foster idleness and luxury are dangerous to society, tending toward degeneracy and destruction.

I heartily approve the plea of the author that reformers should not address man's brutal and avaricious instincts and rouse them to fury, but should appeal to his reasoning faculties, which distinguish him from the mere animal, and to his moral sense, so that peaceful measures may be used to dethrone "King Mammon" and to transform the "Heirs Apparent" into apostles of human rights.

Although many good and great men of a preceding era in this country contributed their talents and influence toward maintaining the statutes of entail and primogeniture, others who fought, bled, and famished in the armies of George Washington stood manfully by the side of Thomas Jefferson until, as they then believed, the last vestige of the upas of royalty was swept from the land. Human progress proves that they were mistaken, for the dead hands of our ancestors are still upon us, as Mr. Richardson clearly demonstrates in his book.

The entire problem of wealth-heredity is compactly and forcibly presented. In the attack upon existing customs, the author cuts a wide swath and leaves not a straw standing. He is so close a gleaner that he fairly shaves the ground, carrying stubble and all away in the sweep of his scythe, and leaving a clean path in which his readers can pursue the arguments which he forces like battering rams against the citadels of King Mammon. His arguments rest upon the facts of every-day existence, are not in the least fanciful or sentimental, and are advances in a cool, smooth, concise, and persuasive manner, though biting at times. The language is clear, chaste, and flowing. The author's conceptions are so quick, acute, and full of resource that there is almost no feature either for or against the policy he advocates that does not receive his attention.

Should King Mammon send his knights of the quill to wage battle, they are sure to leave the field more deathlike in character than the startling representative of their king on the cover of the paper edition of the book. It represents King Mammon, a death-skeleton, seated on the throne within his palace, clothed in kingly robes and crown, clutching with one hand a sack of gold and with the other holding aloft "Old

Glory," the staff resting against a heartless chest, and the banner, with its stars replaced by the dollar sign, floating above a soulless head.

The moral of this skeleton king is this: The dead hand of every millionnaire, although his body has returned to dust, still holds the sceptre of privilege and power in the person of his delegated successors, and he wields that power over every worker in the land. The motto at the base of the king's throne is: "Private Rights are a Perpetuity." This fact constitutes the dangers of the present.

The old laws of entail and primogeniture were born triplets with succession. The three have been bulwarks of tyranny for ages. Some facts in the early history of this country are of interest in this connection, and they demonstrate the folly of trying to fit what our ancestors believed and practised to society as it exists to-day. An act, a law, or a custom which was regarded as a blessing by the people of a century ago may now, by changed environment and progress, become a veritable curse.

Mr. Henry S. Randall, in his "Life of Jefferson," commenting upon the laws of entail and primogeniture in Virginia, has this to say:

No intelligent people have ever objected to the individual accumulation of wealth *fairly won*. If a father has ten sons, is there any good reason why, having ample means to educate them all, he should educate only one, and that one invariably the oldest son, without any reference to talents or virtues? Or, if he educates them all, is there a good reason why nine, who are equally able to act and to judge in public and private affairs and to enjoy the comforts of opulence as their older brother, should be denied property, political influence, and the elegances of life, for the sole purpose of bestowing all his estates upon the one? Is not the structure of governments resting on this monstrous and unnatural decimation, where, instead of one suffering for ten, nine are allowed to suffer for one, however fair its outside — is it not an *artificial thing* built on the sandy foundations of injustice and falsehood? Can one man produce as much from his ten thousand patrimonial acres as ten men can produce from them as owners? Can one man, because he happens to be the first-born, do as much on the battlefield or in the Senate for his country as ten or the pick of ten?

In describing the lamentations of the upholders of these British tenures in Virginia, Mr. Randall continues:

This decadence was held to be mainly due to Jefferson's abolition of entail and primogeniture. Within the period up to the present [1857] the princely seats of the Old Dominion have, no doubt, in a great measure gone, or have wofully faded from their ancient splendor. It is possible that, owing to defective systems of tillage, and the constant lure to her population of new and fertile lands in the West, the aggregate wealth of Virginia, in the tide-water region, had diminished since the day of entails. If the great estates have degenerated faster since their cutting up, it was only because they had *produced faster and more*. Required to support the same aggregate number of people, they would have equally degenerated with the same tillage, whether the legal ownership was in the hands of the few or of the many. But *now they have fed the ten brethren somewhat equally*. All have lived comfortably and pleasantly.

These were at that time unpalatable doctrines to the fox-chasing, slave-driving nurslings of luxury and idleness of the Old Dominion. They were equally distasteful to the New England monomaniacs on the subject

of family blood and its importance,— ideas to be found in all aristocratic communities built upon wealth and the *débris* of a British nobility. Privileged classes have always claimed, as they do now, that *their* decadence is the decadence of *State*. The overthrow of great estates is by "My Lords" of wealth, heralded as a dire public calamity, for, as King Mammon holds, "Private Rights are a Perpetuity." Those who dare lay "unholy hands" on a privileged class, as Mr. Richardson may be charged with doing, are always denounced as brutalized fanatics or unprincipled demagogues. The day Mr. Jefferson brought his bill to abolish entail into the House of Delegates he arrayed for the first time against himself a numerous and influential body of enemies — a body who never forgave him and never lost an opportunity to wreak upon him their bitter hatred. The second and the third generation of older sons even, shorn of their ancestral grandeur, often too proud to curtail expenses to reduced incomes, continued to regard Thomas Jefferson as the young cavaliers in the days of Charles I regarded the grim Lord Protector, who had slain their sires and confiscated their patrimonial estates. Mr. Jefferson's attacks on entail and other class privileges were the cause of the vile calumnies heaped upon his name, although few men of our own time are aware of the truth. As Mr. Richardson shows, the injustice to society and the rights of man flowing from entail and primogeniture also proceed from our present laws of successions in the distribution of the princely estates of our millionnaires. The effects of our modern laws are as dangerous as more ancient doctrine in the social structure. Thomas Jefferson was the greatest reformer of his age. He was the most radical in thought and yet the most temperate and unterrified in action among all the republicans of his time. Yet, great and wise as he was, he failed to see in the laws of succession the same evil principles against which during his whole life he had so persistently fought. Entail, primogeniture, and succession are triplets sired by the same brute-god, Mammon.

BRYSONIA.*

Reviewed by B. O. Flower.

This story is incomparably superior to most of the novels with which the country is now being flooded. It has three points of special merit: (1) It is a strong story, which steadily grows in interest until a thrillingly dramatic conclusion is reached; and therefore lovers of fiction at once fine, wholesome, and of enthralling interest, will be charmed with this beautiful love romance of the New South. (2) It is philosophical without being tiresome or preachy. (3) It possesses the merit of making its philosophy felt rather than heard. Uncle Tom Meachem, though not educated after the manner of our schools, is a philosopher in the truest sense of that word. Moreover, his life is one of the most beautiful and faithful representations of the best class among our colored people I have ever seen depicted in fiction. He intuitively perceives two cardinal facts

*"Brysonia: A Tale of the Newest South," by Henry Taylor Noel. Pp. 340. Cloth, $1.25; paper, 50 cents. Arena Publishing Company, Boston, Mass.

which if Caucasian civilization had learned ages ago would have placed us in a far more advanced condition to-day: (1) That mere intellectual training, until the moral nature is properly developed, is fraught with potential curses to individuals and society; (2) That man should have industrial education and should learn to esteem and respect manual labor, instead of looking upon it with contempt, before it is safe for him to receive the political education of our scholastic institutions. The negro question is broadly and thoughtfully discussed by a Southerner who knows whereof he speaks, while the Old South and the New are vividly portrayed in the leading figures which, moving across the stage (I use the word stage advisedly, for the story is highly dramatic and would lend itself readily to stage representation), are splendidly drawn, although those who are ignorant of the South may imagine that they are at times overdrawn. Col. Meachem and Gen. Windom are types of the Old South, no less than Sophia Meachem and Tom Pelham are representatives of the new order; and who that has lived in Kentucky, Tennessee, or other Southern States will fail to see how faithful are the pictures of old Uncle Tom Meachem, Steve Lewis, and William King on the one hand, and Fishing Sam, Mose Larkin, and Bob on the other? The portrait of Prof. Watkins of Boston is a masterpiece. A fine atmosphere pervades the story, one that is distinctly uplifting and rich in its suggestions and timely truths; while the reader's interest is sustained and indeed intensified as the story proceeds. For lovers of romance the lives of Sophia, Joe, and Bettie will hold a peculiar fascination, and all who enjoy a fine strong novel, true to life, yet bearing a distinctly upward impulse, will appreciate this novel. The discussion of the negro question is a broad, philosophical examination of the problem from the standpoint of a Southern writer and is a valuable acquisition to the literature bearing on the subject.

WHOSE SOUL HAVE I NOW?*

Reviewed by Elizabeth Gerald.

A strange title to a stranger tale. Is it possible for one to lose one's soul? We can lose our own individuality to a great extent by living so completely in the thought of another that that person's ideas are adopted as our own and our life is surrounded by that person's atmosphere. But how about the soul? Can it be lost or exchanged for that of another?

Mrs. Livingstone, whose experience is told under the above title, as the author explains in the analysis which follows the story, represents true, unselfish friendship, and the whole story is an allegory, but the allegory is so completely hidden, and the story is told in such an intensely interesting manner, that the reader does not realize its true import until he has finished it, unless he happens to turn to the back of the book and discovers the analysis.

At an early age, Margaret becomes Mrs. Livingstone, only to discover a short time after that she has married a maniac. It is one of those cases

* "Whose Soul Have I Now?" By Mary Clay Knapp. 242 pages. Price, paper, 50 cents; cloth, $1.25.

not unfamiliar to the scientific world, where a man is conscious of his insanity, and appears perfectly sane to his friends, and can even conduct his business with sound judgment until the effect of continued indulgence in a drug, taken to induce sleep, even against his own better judgment, brings him to a condition beyond the power of the most advanced practitioners of medicine to control. Most pitiable is the struggle of Mr. Livingstone's mind to control his acts, and most inhuman is his treatment of his wife, who is the only person on whom he dares vent the ravings of a diseased mind. To quote the author:

To witness conscious insanity is an awful and terrible thing. It was while beholding the struggle of a soul strained to the utmost to assert itself, realizing its unnatural conditions, yet hoping to establish its equilibrium, that my mind turned inward and sought from itself respite and hope. It was then I learned to live in the spirit and mind, dwelling apart in thought from all my surroundings.

What could be the outcome of such an experience to one fully realizing the condition of her husband and striving to shield him from the unkind criticism of their social world? Her first thought is to limit the circle and to stand between it and her husband. In this she is aided by their life of constant travel when it is unnecessary to form friendships with one's fellow sojourners. She says:

My peculiar life had deprived me of all social or visible pleasures. Whatever desires or inclinations were mine, by nature or temperament, had been smothered and subdued so long they had ceased to exist. From being constantly alone, I had grown timid and shrinking; whatever life I lived was an ideal one. I mean by this that I shaped all things by my imagination; I created a world; I fashioned it and peopled it as I would have had it in real life. It was my salvation to live in this realm of dreams. Though fate were unkind, and all the joys and privileges of existence a sacrifice to duty, yet was this mine to take whithersoever I would. It shadowed my whole being; it wrapped me about; it protected me and made my actual life possible.

Being of a sensitive and spiritual nature, she naturally turns inward for companionship and adopts the motto "Sufficient unto thyself, O woman." Her isolation from the social world and enforced self-dependence caused her spiritual nature to completely absorb the physical, and she had but to wrap herself in her "magic mantle" to be carried into a realm beyond all knowledge of her physical surroundings.

My soul and I, such company! Through trouble and sorrow, pleasure or pain, it was ever the one and only joy of my existence. This power came to me through the force of a magic mantle. Nothing could penetrate its invisible shield. Fixed principle and high thought were all that were required to keep it secure.

This mantle had four clasps beautifully wrought and jewelled. I had named these for convenience' sake "Truth," "Duty," "Self-sacrifice," and "Human Love." They were not imaginary clasps, as some may think, nor was it an imaginary mantle they secured. They were real, as real to me as the wedding ring that encircled my finger and bound my fate to one in such a way that God in His mercy had bestowed on me as a recompense this magic gift.

Finally after many years of keen physical and mental agony endured by Mrs. Livingstone with the greatest forbearance, Mr. Livingstone dies,

and she returns to America and enters into a true marriage with a congenial soul.

But Margaret Livingstone is not left in complete isolation from the world around her, as she finds that rare jewel, a true friend, in the person of Mrs. Leighton, a lady with the advantage of maturer years and a sweet spirit that soon divined Margaret's need, and who, during Margaret's sickness that followed the death of her husband, proved mother, sister, and friend, all in one.

The descriptions of life in Honolulu, where Mr. and Mrs. Livingstone passed much of their time, and the scenic descriptions especially, add to the charm of the otherwise weird tale. A few quotations will give an idea of the lofty sentiments expressed.

It is the little things in life that test character. To be patient and amiable under petty trials, the pin-pricks and flea-bites of existence, requires more philosophy and heroism than are ever shown in the acts history records as exploits. There is a reserve in human nature that rises to great occasions; the soul scorning trifles forgets self and with calmness reaches sublime heights. As rain-drops wear the dripstone, so trifles like gnats disturb and annoy us because of their very littleness.

The world is like a book and we are its readers. The "Past," the "Present," and the "Future" sum up for us pages that were, are, and shall be. If it helped but a shadow's weight, then it were wise to reflect on such visions as pass before us. As it is, but one thing is sure. All is for the best, the working out of the highest possible destiny, as mirrored clear in Perfect Intelligence.

The book reveals the highest reward for a life of devotion and true loyalty to high principles, the complete dissolution of self for others. The influence such a life has on those that come in contact with it is shown in the development of Howard Fitzhugh's character from a selfish man of the world to a high-principled humanitarian, who finds that life holds more for him after his acquaintance with Margaret Livingstone than it was possible for him to realize before. The breath of the teachings of India personified in the priest Del Cardo reveal the author's familiarity with the highest principles of the religious teachings of the East. Aside from the intent of the book, which is undoubtedly to present the supremacy of the spiritual over the material, it is a very interesting story.

UNCLE JERRY'S PLATFORM AND OTHER CHRISTMAS STORIES.*

REVIEWED BY L. JOSEPHS.

This is a daintily bound volume, its cover bearing a sprig of holly, the Christmas emblem. Uncle Jerry, one of those faithful body-servants "befo' de wah," tells the story of the birth and life of his young master, little Ran, who came to the mansion as a "Christmas gift right from de han' ob de good Lord Hisse'f." The short life had a very sad ending at another Christmas season, but the shadow is somewhat light-

* "Uncle Jerry's Platform and Other Christmas Stories," by Gillie Cary. Boards, 75 cents. The Arena Publishing Company.

ened by the beautiful devotion of Uncle Jerry and his comrades to the Randolph household, and the simple pathos of Uncle Jerry's tale.

It is rather singular that the author should present so sad a *dénouement* in her Christmas tales, as the story of "Pops" would darken rather than make joyous the Christmas of many a sympathetic young reader. "Pops" is the constant companion of his little master Phil, and many long days do they spend in the enjoyment of the untrammelled freedom of the woods and shore near their home. The story of their trip to Richmond to visit Phil's grandfather, of "Pops's" idea of heaven and the lack of occupation of the angels, and finally of "Pops gittin' religion," is a very interesting tale. His last act of devotion, which cost him his own life, is an affecting illustration of the faithful devotion of the colored boy to his white master.

In "A Daughter of the Revolution" we have a contrasting picture of the bravery of a white man and his loyalty to his brothers which nearly cost him his life, but fortunately he is spared to the fair Virginia maiden, who "was as brave as she was gentle, and withal so womanly that she spent her days in spinning and knitting for the soldiers. Unworthy thoughts sank abashed before her pure gaze, and in her presence it seemed indeed a 'sweet and beautiful thing to die for one's country. So it was no wonder that her very name was as a bugle's blast to numbers of brave souls."

> The saintly souls who made men knights
> Were women such as you.

If the stories of the bravery of our ancestors, both men and women, can inspire courage and fidelity in the hearts of the present generation, we cannot have too many of them.

SANTA CLAUS' HOME AND OTHER STORIES AND RHYMES.*

REVIEWED BY L. JOSEPHS.

This pretty collection of stories and poems of child life commends itself to the attention of parents who wish for something to read aloud, and is also designed for children in school to entertain themselves.

"Santa Claus' Home," the principal story in the collection, is a marvellous tale of a journey of many little children to "Wonderland" on Christmas Eve, where for a time they lose all thought of cold, hunger, and suffering, in exploring the mysteries of Santa Claus' Home and enjoying the cordial reception accorded them by the owner of the wonderful palace. There are frequent lessons of kindness and patience wrought into the stories and rhymes. The illustrations are original, attractive, and plentifully scattered throughout the book.

*"Santa Claus' Home and Other Stories and Rhymes," by Helen M. Cleveland. Paper, 48 pages, 50 cents.

NOTES BY THE EDITOR.

I.

Some Samples of the Sophistry of Gold Monometallists, with Comments.

A leading educator and economist sends me the following admirable samples of the sophistry, self-contradiction, and falsification of the leading lights of the gold monometallists, with notes, which our readers will find most profitable at the present time when the gold ring, the trusts, the monopolies, the combines and their minions are ranged against the people, who are gallantly fighting for restoration of the republic from the clutch of plutocracy.

HARRISON.

In his New York speech Ex-President Harrison refers to the free coinage of silver as "a declaration that fifty-cent pieces are dollars," and all his illustrations are based on the idea that free silver will scale down the dollar to 50 cents of the present standard. He closes his speech by saying, "Who will get any benefit? Well, the man who owes a debt that he contracted on the gold basis and is able to pay it with a 50-cent dollar. He and the mine-owner who gets an exaggerated price for the products of his mine."

If the silver dollar will be worth only 50 cents, will some one explain how the mine-owner is to profit by free coinage? The 371¼ grains of silver required for a dollar are worth more than 50 cents now; so that if the new dollar will be worth only 50 cents, the mine-owner will lose by free coinage instead of gaining.

If you look at the psychology of the matter, you will see that the assertion that the mine-owner will get an "exaggerated price" for his silver clearly indicates a knowledge that silver would not remain as at present but would be lifted by free coinage considerably above its present market value, — indicates in other words that all the ex-President's talk about a 50-cent dollar, doubled prices, halved wages, deposits, etc., was not merely falsification, but *conscious* falsification. To suppose otherwise is not only to suppose that he did not understand what he was saying about the exaggerated price the mine-owner would get, but is also to suppose that the ex-President has no acquaintance with the law of supply and demand. If so he may read Mill or Walker or any other good book on political economy and he will discover that when the demand for a commodity increases faster than the supply, the price is apt to rise, and *vice versa*. When silver was demonetized it sank in value because the demand for it was lessened, — the monetary demand was

destroyed, leaving only the commercial demand. Remonetization would restore the monetary demand and silver would rise in value; 371¼ grains of silver would be worth a dollar, and no one would sell it for less, because he could take it to the mint and have it coined into a full legal-tender dollar that would buy as much as any other dollar of our currency. Our present silver dollars and silver certificates are not redeemable in gold, yet they pass at par because they are full legal tender. If they pass at par now when the intrinsic value of the silver in or behind them is only about 53 cents to the dollar, why will they not pass at par when free coinage has lifted the bullion value of silver to 100 cents on the dollar?

The ex-President devotes much space to protection. He does not seem to be aware that the American people have discovered that while the two great parties take opposite ground theoretically upon the tariff question, yet in practice the tariff laws they enact are very similar, — one party favoring certain industries, the other party other industries, — and that we have hard times just the same under one tariff as under the other; wherefore it is time to stop playing with the tariff and attack the real source of the trouble. Harrison says that in his administration the country was prosperous, — that prosperity touched high-water mark in 1892. He found that a number of cotton mills and other factories pertaining to industries favored by the McKinley law were being built, and he sent word to Congress that times were never so good in this country as in 1892. Strange that the people should be so foolish as to turn the Republicans out of office when they had made times so good! The truth is that Harrison selected his facts. If he had looked at the whole country instead of a few industries legislated into activity because those in interest had a sufficient Republican "pull," he would have found that the country as a whole was in a worse condition than it had been under the previous administration of Cleveland. The failures in the former period were 40,000 with average liabilities of $13,000 each, while under Harrison the failures were 45,000 and the average liabilities $15,000.

The ex-President has a few spasms over the income tax, the federal interference, and the injunction clauses of the Chicago platform. The people know very well that nothing rash or ill-advised will be done in relation to the Supreme Court or the limitation of governmental powers. The power of injunction is a very necessary and admirable part of our system of government, but like all power it is subject to abuse, and it is perfectly legitimate, when such abuse arises, to seek a remedy by limitation of the power. The right and duty of federal interference to carry out federal law is not questioned by any one; it is the making of federal interests an excuse for interference in local affairs to an extent far beyond what the federal interest requires that is objected to. Whether or not this was done at Chicago or elsewhere I do not know. Some very conservative men think it was; but whatever may be the facts in regard to any particular case, no fault can be found with the federal clause of the Chicago platform as a statement of principle; it merely says that the "*arbitrary* interference by federal authorities in

local affairs is a violation of the Constitution and a crime against free institutions." But Harrison gets very much worked up over it, and shouts, "Comrades of the great war for the Union, will we consent that the doctrine that was shot to death in the great war shall be revived and made victorious in a civil campaign?" I did not know that it was opposition to "*arbitrary* interference by federal authorities in *local* affairs" that was shot to death in the great war; did you? I thought it was opposition to *lawful* interference by federal authorities for the *bona-fide* protection of *federal* rights and interests that was shot to death in the great war.

Such is the substance of Harrison's speech, — six columns of it, — the cunning attack of a skilled attorney appealing to the prejudices and ignorance of his auditors, ignoring the plainest principles of economy, affirming whatever would favor his view regardless of the truth, and all the while avoiding the real issue, — *the tremendous evils of falling prices and the remedy* — not one word about that, apparently satisfied that things should stay as they are, — rising dollars, oppression of debtors, depression of business, Wall Street raids on the treasury, and all.

McKinley.

The letter of William McKinley accepting the Republican nomination is not filled with rant and scare like Harrison's address, nor does it contain so many fallacies and falsenesses per column. It is dignified and mild. But it is very like Harrison's talk in one thing, —it shows an equally colossal ignorance of the real issue. I call it ignorance, for I would not be so uncharitable as to suggest that the candidate knew the issue and avoided it. True it is everywhere stated most emphatically in the literature of the silver discussion, but perhaps the great protectionist has been too busy ciphering out what tariff should be put on cotton, iron, sugar, etc., when he is elected, to pay much attention to the money question. The people, however, have come to see that *falling prices* are the source of business disaster, and that increasing our money with silver and greenbacks based on it will bring rising prices and prosperity, — a result for which it is worth while to risk some disturbance and some incidental injustice such as attaches to every great measure for the public good.

That is the issue in a nutshell, and of that McKinley has not a word to say. He writes column after column about protection, as though unable to understand that the people despair of relief from that quarter and wish to give it a rest till they see what they can do with the money question. His tariff has twice been sat down upon by the nation, but he smooths it out and pats it, and talks it all out to us again as fresh as ever. McKinley says we do not want our mints open to silver, we want our mills open to labor; but the very question at issue is whether the opening of our mints to silver is not the way to open our mills to labor.

Before his nomination, McKinley voted and argued for free silver. The money plank of the Republican platform is said to have been drawn under McKinley's eye and with his advice. It says:

We are opposed to every measure calculated to *debase our currency* or impair the credit of our country. We are therefore opposed to the free coinage of silver except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, *which we pledge ourselves to promote*, and until such agreement can be obtained, the existing gold standard must be preserved. All our silver and paper currency must be maintained at parity with gold, and we favor all measures designed to maintain inviolable the obligations of all our money, whether coin or paper, at the present standard, the standard of the most *enlightened* nations of the earth.

That is a compound straddle. First it says, "We are opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency," which means opposition to any measure that will raise prices, for as prices go up the dollar goes down; but international bimetallism, doubling the money base and largely increasing the volume of the currency, will undoubtedly raise prices and cheapen the dollar; wherefore the Republican party must be opposed to international bimetallism. In the very next sentence, however, it pledges itself to secure international bimetallism. That is the first straddle. Then the platform continues:

We favor all measures designed to maintain inviolable the obligations of all our money *at the present standard, the standard of the most enlightened nations of the earth.*

One of those "measures" is opposition to bimetallism, national or international, for bimetallism of any kind will inevitably overturn the "present standard," and the very reason for advocating bimetallism is that it will destroy the present iniquitous standard. The last clause of the plank just quoted expressed one of the great arguments of the gold monometallists — "the single gold standard is the standard of the most enlightened nations of the earth" (through the selfish action of the creditor classes, we may add, and not as a result of deliberation on the part of the people as a whole). The McKinley platform is a manifest straddle, and McKinley himself doesn't care a red cent about the money question anyway; he can't see any further than the tariff. The Republican indorsement of "international bimetallism" and of the "present standard" is the indorsement of opposites and contradictions, as if they indorsed temperance and the liquor traffic (which in effect they do), or union and secession, freedom and slavery. The party is facing east by west, and north by south. If it really favors bimetallism, then the sole issue in this campaign is the question, "Can bimetallism be established by the United States without the aid of England?"

The Bryan party says, "Bimetallism is a good thing, and the United States can establish it." The McKinley party says, "Bimetallism is a good thing, but the United States can't establish it alone." If McKinley and the Republicans are sincere, the only thing they need to prove is that international agreement is essential to the establishment of bimetallism. But they have no proof or even pretence of proof to offer, nothing but bald assertion unbacked by a single fact. Besides a lot of irrelevant talk and some most vital omissions, the letter contains a number of serious misstatements. A few will suffice to show that even Mr. McKinley's words must not be taken without investigation. In speaking of the

Democratic and Populist money planks he says, "In addition to the free coinage of the world's silver, we are asked to enter upon an era of unlimited irredeemable paper currency." Now the Chicago platform demands that "all paper which is made a legal tender shall be issued by the government and shall be redeemable in coin." No party or person whatever asks for "unlimited" paper; those who believe in paper redeemable in service and not in coin make the careful limitation of volume an essential part of their plan.

McKinley quotes Harrison's message relating to the prosperity of 1892, and rubs it in, but he does not explain how it was that the people were so foolish as to turn out the administration and turn down the tariff that had brought the country to the highest prosperity ever known, nor does he tell us why he wastes time writing to a nation that has so little sense.

For a last example of William's style take the statement that free silver "means the debasement of our currency to the amount of the difference between the commercial and coin value of the silver dollar, which is ever changing." The phrase "which is ever changing" saves McKinley from the explicit fifty-cent-dollar falsehood of Harrison, but is it any less a falsehood in its effect upon the minds of many who read it? Will the average reader stop to think that free coinage will bring the commercial value up to the coin value, so that the "ever-changing" difference between the coin and commercial values will be nothing? Will he not rather see in the statement a confirmation of the common gold argument that free silver means a dollar debased to the *present* commercial value, a 50-cent or a 53-cent dollar? If so, the statement is as misleading as the bold falsehoods of the ex-President.

John Sherman

appears to have at least sufficient sense to know that the money question and not the tariff is the decisive issue in this campaign. He devotes most of his leading speech to ridiculing the idea that the demonetization of silver was a "crime." It seems, however, a matter of comparatively small moment whether the said demonetization was voted for with malice aforethought or not; the important question is whether or no remonetization will benefit the country. Sherman devotes a little space to this, repeating the old nonsense about the 53-cent dollar and the ruin of pensioners, depositors, etc., but never a word about the evils of falling prices or the stimulation of business that will come with rising prices.

Laughlin.

Prof. Lawrence Laughlin of Chicago University writes about silver for the September *Review of Reviews*. He says, "Mr. Bryan emphasizes the effect of the gold standard in causing low prices and distress," and urges the coinage of silver to bring higher prices. "And yet, quite in the opposite vein, Mr. Bryan holds that the free coinage of silver will

cause such a demand for silver that it will be kept at par with gold. In that case, of course, prices will remain on the level of gold, up to which silver has been lifted. The irreconcilable inconsistency of these two grounds for urging free coinage of silver is fatal to the claims of the silver party. . . . If Mr. Bryan is right in proving that silver will rise to par with gold, prices will remain on the gold level, consequently he is absolutely wrong in telling the farmer that prices will rise. Both of these things cannot by any possibility be true." Let us see. The demand for silver will increase with free coinage, and the demand for gold will decrease when the monetary demand now resting wholly upon it goes over, in part at least, to silver. The increased demand for silver will lift its value, and the decreased demand for gold will lower its value, so that silver may rise to parity with gold under free coinage and still there be plenty of room for a rise of prices. The "irreconcilable inconsistency" is a myth. The whole of Laughlin's "argument," as I suppose he would call it, rests on a pun upon the words "gold level." When he says that if silver rises to par with gold, "prices will remain on the gold level," he wants you to think of the present gold level, whereas the real gold level after free coinage will be below the present gold level.

After spending twenty-eight lines in showing that Bryan is "absolutely wrong," Prof. Laughlin says, "Mr. Bryan may mean that introducing silver will raise the value of silver and lower the value of gold, so that silver would not have to climb all the way from 53 cents to 100 cents (of the present standard), and par would be reached at some point between." Will some one explain why Prof. Laughlin dilated on the "irreconcilable inconsistency" of statements that he meant in the next paragraph to show were perfectly consistent? Why did he declare that Bryan was "absolutely wrong" and then proceed to illustrate how he might be absolutely right? Why did he affirm that "both of these things cannot by any possibility be true," and in the very next sentence show that they could very easily both be true?

We may get some light upon the reason by looking further into his article. In the third paragraph he says: "Will there be a withdrawal of gold? Unmistakably. . . . As ordinary bullion without a stamp, one grain of gold buys thirty-two grains of silver; as coined gold, one grain of gold buys only sixteen coined grains of silver. . . . By melting his gold coins, or selling them by weight, the owner of gold can buy thirty-two grains of silver in the market. He would certainly be a fool to keep his gold in coins and let them pass for only sixteen grains of silver coin."

The quality of mind displayed in this astonishing passage may perhaps explain the former part of the article as well as similar subsequent idiosyncrasies into which I will not enter. The marvellous power of shutting out changes of condition involved in the assumption that because a grain of gold will buy thirty-two of silver now, therefore it will do the same under free coinage, is an ability that no one but a gold-bug politician or a professor in the Rockefeller University could hope to

attain. The gold men appear to have no use for the great law of supply and demand. If russet horses are all the fashion, while white horses are in small demand, and the two colors are produced in about equal quantities, it is clear that a low value will be placed on the white horses; but if the fashion changed so that white horses came into demand, their value would rise. And it is the same way with the silver. Free coinage will increase the demand for it, its value will rise, and one grain of gold will no longer buy thirty-two grains of silver. Prof. Laughlin says the owner of gold would be a fool to keep it in coin and pass it for sixteen grains of silver when he could melt it and get thirty-two grains for it; and we may add that the owner of silver would be equally a fool to give thirty-two grains of it for one of gold when he could have it coined into an equivalent for two grains of gold.

It is no wonder that Prof. Laughlin found Prof. Bemis "incompetent." Prof. Richard T. Ely says that Prof. Bemis is one of the very ablest economists in the country, and other high authorities who have followed the work of the young professor say that the judgment is a true one. Yet it cannot be denied that Prof. Bemis is utterly "incompetent" to write in earnest in the Laughlin style. He does not possess the magic power of drawing conclusions entirely independent of facts and premises, which seems to come so easy to Prof. Laughlin. Prof. Bemis allows his mind to be trammelled by facts and restrained by the laws of inductive and deductive reasoning, and so it came about that, when he studied the public ownership of gas works, he was unable to arrive at conclusions satisfactory to the Rockefeller gas trust, and for this "incompetence" he was dropped by the University of Chicago. But Prof. Laughlin is safe no matter what subject he investigates. The only things likely to interfere with a life tenure in the economic department of Chicago University are knowledge and independence, and from these calamities Prof. Laughlin appears to be securely protected both by his position and his disposition.

INDEX TO THE SIXTEENTH VOLUME OF

THE ARENA.

Age, The Golden. (Poem.) 162.

Allen, Rev. T. Ernest. Can we have and do we need an Infallible Revelation? 986.

American Financial Policy. 251.

Arbitration a Practicable Remedy, Compulsory. 622.

Are we Becoming a Homeless Nation? 286.

Associated Effort and its Influence on Human Progress. 462.

Atlantis, A Vision of Lost. (Poem.) 332.

Ballot, The Right of Woman to the. 570.

Barrows, D. D., Rev. Samuel J. Celsus, the First Pagan Critic of Christianity and his Anticipation of Modern Thought. 1.

Bartine, H. F. American Financial Policy. 251.

Bennett, John E. Is the West Discontented? 393.

Between Two Worlds. (Serial.) 147. 316, 497, 670, 825, 993.

Bibliography of Literature dealing with the Land Question. 380.

Bimetallism. 85.

Blavatsky, H. P., and Theosophy. 292.

Boughton, Prof. Willis. The Negro's Place in History. 612.

Bowne, Charles W. The Initiative and Referendum. 553.

Bride of the Ages. (Poem.) 146.

Bryan, Hon. William J. The Currency Question. 529.

Buchanan, M. D., Prof. Joseph Rodes. The Imperial Power in the Realm of Truth. 276.

Buchanan, M. D., Prof. Joseph Rodes. Jesus and the Apostles. 897.

Buell, C. J. Monopoly and the Mines of Minnesota. 124.

Carradine, D. D., Rev. B. "An Original Book." (Book Review.) 688.

Cartoons, The General Discontent as illustrated in. 298.

Celsus, the First Pagan Critic of Christianity, and his Anticipation of Modern Thought. 1.

Chapman, Charles H. The Right of Woman to the Ballot. 570.

Charity, The New. 970.

Cheney, Annie E. Mahayana Buddhism in Japan. 439.

Children's Sense of Fear. 960.

Clark, LL. D., Justice Walter. The Land of the Noonday Sun. Mexico in Mid-Winter. 44.

Clark, LL. D., Justice Walter. Free Coinage Indispensable, but not a Panacea. 937.

Clark, James G. A Vision of Lost Atlantis. (Poem.) 332.

Clark, James G. "An Ideal Republic." (Book Review.) 514.

Clark, John F. Soul Evolution. 820.

Clement, Ernest W. Japanesque Elements in "The Last Days of Pompeii." 757.

Club Life *versus* Home Life. 418.

Coleman, Rev. G. D. Night and Day. 919.

Coleman, Rev. G. D. Religion of Jesus Christ in its Relation to Christianity and Reforms. 721.

Compulsory Arbitration a Practicable Remedy. 622.

Connolly, Margaret. "Beyond." (Book Review.) 692.

Consumptives? Shall we have a National Sanitarium for. 196.

Convict Question, The. 445.

Corvinus, Edah. "The Juggernaut of the Moderns." (Book Review.) 691.

Cram, M. D., C. W. The Medical Crisis of the Eighteenth Century. 908.

Crawford, G. S. Club life *versus* Home Life. 418.

Crisis, The Impending. 974.

Currency Question, The. 529.

Daughter, The Millionnaire's. (Poem.) 238.

Davis, Kate Buffington. Theosophy and H. P. Blavatsky. 292.

Dawley, Julia. "Siegfried, the Mystic." (Book Review.) 336. "A Spiritual Tour of the World." (Book Review.) 521.

Dawson, Miles M. The New Patriotism. (Poem.) 512.

Day, The Morning of a New. 455.

De Vere, Cecelia. The Millionnaire's Daughter. (Poem.) 238.

Direct Legislation Movement and its Leaders, The. 29.

Discontented, Is the West? 393.

Divine Afflatus of the Etruscan Gold-Spinners. 813.

Dresser, Horatio W. The Mental Cure in its Relation to Modern Thought. 131.

Dromgoole, Will Allen. Valley Path. (Serial.) 138, 305, 486. 656.

Dual Suffrage. 748.

Epochs in the History of our Republic, Four. 928.

Equity, The Tree of. 207.

Ethics the Only Basis of Religion. 448.

Evils of Land Monopoly. 538.

Financial Policy, American. 251.

Flower, B. O. A Prophet of Freedom. 106. "Dr. Wallace's Volume on Modern Spiritual Philosophy." (Book Review.) 163. "The Drama of the Revolution." (Book Review.) 167. "Twenty-five Letters on English Authors." (Book Review.) 168. Some Eastern Conservative Authorities who are Championing the Cause of Free Silver. 208. An Interesting Representative of a Vanished Race. 240. The General Discontent as Illustrated in Cartoons. 298. "True Memory; the Philosopher's Stone." (Book Review.) 335. Whittier — the Man. 406. "A Romance of the New Virginia." (Book Review.) 519. "A Spiritual Tour of the World." (Book Review.) 520. Whittier — a Modern Apostle of Lofty Spirituality. 543. "A Silver Baron." (Book Review.) 689. The Peril of Encouraging the Persecuting Spirit. 752. "A Tower in the Desert." (Book Review.) 858. "Libra." (Book Review.) 862. Four Epochs in the History of our Republic. 928. "Brysonia: a Tale of the Newest South." (Book Review.) 1039.

Editorial Notes.

The Message of our Quaker Poet to Men and Women of the Present Day. 170. Platform for American Independents of 1896 as Proposed by the President of the Mercantile National Bank of New York. 171. A Startling Prophecy and its Fulfilment relating to the Transformation of the Republic into a Plutocracy through the Gold Power. 338. The Unconditional Battle of the Wealth-Creators of the Republic against the Bank of England's Financial Policy. 343. Some Much-talked-of Americans

who are fighting the Gold Power. 345. Some Facts on Finance for Thinking Americans. 524. Unmasked — A Sample of the Machinations of the Eastern Gold Ring in their Endeavor to control Conventions and subvert the Republic. 525. English Gold against American Independence and Prosperity. 527. William J. Bryan: A Tribune of the People. 695. The New York *Journal's* Cogent Summary of the Political Situation. 696. The Palpable Insincerity of the Gold-Ring-Ruled Press. 698. A Leading Boston Financier on the Reckless and Revolutionary Policy of the Gold Ring and its Minions. 699. The Egyptian Taskmasters and their Tactics. 703. Charles Mackay's Writings in Relation to the Present Uprising of the People. 865. George Fred Williams, a Leader of the New Democracy. 872. Mr. Williams's Arraignment of Financiers who grow Rich through the Nation's Need and a People's Misery. 874. Some Samples of the Sophistry of Gold Monometallists, with Comments. 881.

Follett, J. B. A Just Judge. 177.

Frauds? Are our Christian Missionaries in India. 806.

Free Coinage Indispensable, but not a Panacea. 937.

Free Silver, Some Eastern Conservative Authorities who are Championing the Cause of. 208.

Free Silver and Prosperity. 581.

Free Silver *versus* Free Gold. 770.

Fries, Warner Willis. Three Travellers. (A Sketch.) 796.

Future, The. (Poem.) 824.

Gardener, Helen H. Philosophers Afloat. (A Sketch.) 480.

General Discontent as Illustrated in Current Cartoons, The. 298.

Genius, The Question of. 799.

Gerald, Elizabeth. "Whose Soul Have I Now?" (Book Review.) 1040.

Golden Age, The. (Poem.) 162.

Hall, Bolton. The Tree of Equity. 207.

Hall, Bolton. The New Charity. 970.

Harrison, Mary M. Children's Sense of Fear. 960.

Haskell, William G. The Keeley Cure for Inebriety. 222.

Hastam, J. H. How Prince Edward Island Settled its Land Question. 743.

Hempstead, Junius L. The Golden Age. (Poem.) 162.

Hill, George Canning. The Morning of a New Day. 455.

Hilles, A. E. U. Woman in Society Today. 263.

Hogan, Ella Minthorn. The Days to Come. 1033.

Holbrook, M. D., M. L. Associated Effort and its Influence on Human Progress. 462.

Hult, A. M., Gottfrid E. The Future. (Poem.) 824.

Human Progress, Associated Effort and its Influence on. 462.

Imperial Power in the Realm of Truth, The. 276.

Indian, The North American. The Disappearance of the Race a Popular Fallacy. 945.

Inebriety, Keeley Cure for. 222.

Inherited Wretchedness: Should Consumptives Marry? 605.

Initiative and Referendum, The. 553.

Interesting Representative of a Vanished Race, An. 240.

Issue of 1896, The. 881.

Japanesque Elements in "The Last Days of Pompeii." 757.

Jesus and the Apostles. 897.

Jones, United States Senator J. P. What the Remonetization of Silver would do for the Republic. 736.

Josephs, L. "Dame Fortune Smiled." (Book Review.) 860. "Birkwood." (Book Review.) 863. "Santa Claus' Home." (Book Review.) 1043. "Uncle Jerry's Platform." (Book Review.) 1042.

Kate Field. 920.

Keeley Cure for Inebriety, The. 222.

Kellogg, J. The Convict Question. 445.

Land of the Noonday Sun. Mexico in Mid-Winter. 44.

Leaders, The Direct Legislation Movement and its. 29.

Leech, S. Howard. The Simplicity of the Single Tax. 892.

Lockwood, Mary S. The Divine Afflatus of the Etruscan Gold-Spinners. 813.

Mahayana Buddhism in Japan. 496.

Malcolm, James. A Remarkable Statistical Report. 585.

Marsh, M. A., R. B. Ethics the only Basis of Religion. 448.

Mason, Norman T. Compulsory Arbitration a Practicable Remedy. 622.

Maulsby, D. L. This Crowded World. (Poem.) 496.

McClelland, Sophia. The Question of Genius. 799.

Medical Crisis of the Eighteenth Century, The. 908.

Mental Cure in its Relation to Modern Thought. 131.

Mexico in Mid-Winter. Land of the Noonday Sun. 44.

Millionnaire's Daughter, The. (Poem.) 238.

Milne, Frances M. Bride of the Ages. (Poem.) 146.

Missionaries in India Frauds? Are our Christian. 806.

Model "Model Tenements." 595.

Monopoly, Evils of Land. 538.

Monopoly and the Mines of Minnesota. 124.

Monopoly, The Telegraph. (Part VI) 70. (Part VII) 186. (Part VIII) 353. (Part IX) 629.

Morgan, United States Senator J. T. Silver — A Money Metal. 705.

Morning of a New Day, The. 455.

Mueller, Rev. J. H. Are Our Christian Missionaries in India Frauds? 806.

Muzzey, Annie L. A Social Settlement. 432.

Nation? Are we Becoming a Homeless. 286.

National Platform for the American Independents of 1896, A. 67.

Negro's Place in History, The. 612.

New Patriotism, The. (Poem.) 512.

Night and Day. 919.

Norton, Mrs. E. Q. Dual Suffrage. 748.

Oldham, Edward A. Time. (Poem.) 669.

Paquin, Paul. Inherited Wretchedness: Should Consumptives Marry? 605.

Parker, M. D. (Munich), William Thornton. Shall we have a National Sanitarium for Consumptives? 196.

Parmelee, Rev. J. B. "An Original Book." (Book Review.) 684.

Parsons, Prof. Frank. The Telegraph Monopoly. (Part VI) 70. (Part VII) 186. (Part VIII) 353. (Part IX) 629. Free Silver *vs.* Free Gold. 770. The Issue of 1896. 881.

Path, The Valley. (Serial.) 138, 305, 486, 656. (Concluded.)

Patriotism, The New. (Poem.) 512.

Peril of Encouraging the Persecuting Spirit, The. 752.

Philosophers Afloat. (A Sketch.) 480.

Pomeroy, Eltweed, Editor of the *Direct Legislation Record*. The Direct Legislation Movement and its Leaders. 29.

"Pompeii," Japanesque Elements in "The Last Days of." 757.

Pope, U. S. A., J. Worden. The North American Indian. The Disappearance of the Race a Popular Fallacy. 945.

Prince Edward Island Settled its Land Question, How. 743.

Progress, Associated Effort and its Influence on Human. 462.

Prophet of Freedom, A. 106.

Prosperity, Free Silver and. 581.

Race, An Interesting Representative of a Vanished. 240.

Realm of Truth, The Imperial Power in the. 276.

Referendum, The Initiative and. 553.

Reform, Municipal. 728.

Reifsnider, Mrs. Calvin Kryder. Between Two Worlds. (Serial.) 147, 316, 497, 670, 825, 993. (Concluded.) "Etidorhpa." (Book Review.) 855.

Religion, Ethics the only Basis of. 448.

Religion of Jesus Christ in its Relation to Christianity and Reforms. 721.

Remarkable Statistical Report, A. 585.

Remonetization of Silver would do for the Republic, What the. 736.

Reply to "A Financial Seer," A. 367.

Revelation? Can we have and do we need an Infallible. 956.

Right of Woman to the Ballot, The. 570.

Sanitarium for Consumptives? Shall we have a National. 196.

Should Consumptives Marry? Inherited Wretchedness. 605.

Silver — A Money Metal. 705.

Single Tax, The Simplicity of the. 892.

Smith, Rev. George Nelson. "An Original Book." (Book Review.) 685.

Social Settlement, A. 432.

Soul Evolution. 820.

Standish, William H., ex-Attorney General of North Dakota. The Impending Crisis. 974.

Stebbins, Giles B. Two Golden Volumes. 228.

St. John, William P., President of the Mercantile National Bank, New York. A National Platform for the American Independents of 1896. 67.

Suffrage, Dual. 748.

Taylor, I. N. Is a Universal Religion Possible? 558.

Telegraph Monopoly, The. (Part VI) 70. (Part VII) 186. (Part VIII) 353. (Part IX) 629.

Theosophy and H. P. Blavatsky. 292.

Thomas, C. S. A Reply to "A Financial Seer." 367.

Thompson, Dr. Jesse Edward. "King Mammon." (Book Review.) 1035.

Time. (Poem.) 669.

Tolman, Ph. D., Wm. Howe. Model "Model Tenements." 595.

Tolman, Ph. D., Wm. Howe. Municipal Reform. 728.

Travellers, Three. (A Sketch.) 796.

Tree of Equity, The. 207.

Truth, The Imperial Power in the Realm of. 276.

Universal Religion Possible, Is a? 558.

Utley, A. J. Bimetallism. 85.

Valley Path, The. (Serial.) 138, 305, 486, 656.

Vision of Lost Atlantis, A. (Poem.) 332.

Volumes, Two Golden. 228.

Vrooman, Rev. Harry C. "An Original Book." (Book Review.) 687.

Whiting, Lillian. Kate Field. 920.

Whittier — the Man. 406.

Whittier — A Modern Apostle of Lofty Spirituality. 543.

Will, A. M., Thomas E. Bibliography of Literature Dealing with the Land Question. 380.

Williams, Rev. W. B. Evils of Land Monopoly. 538.

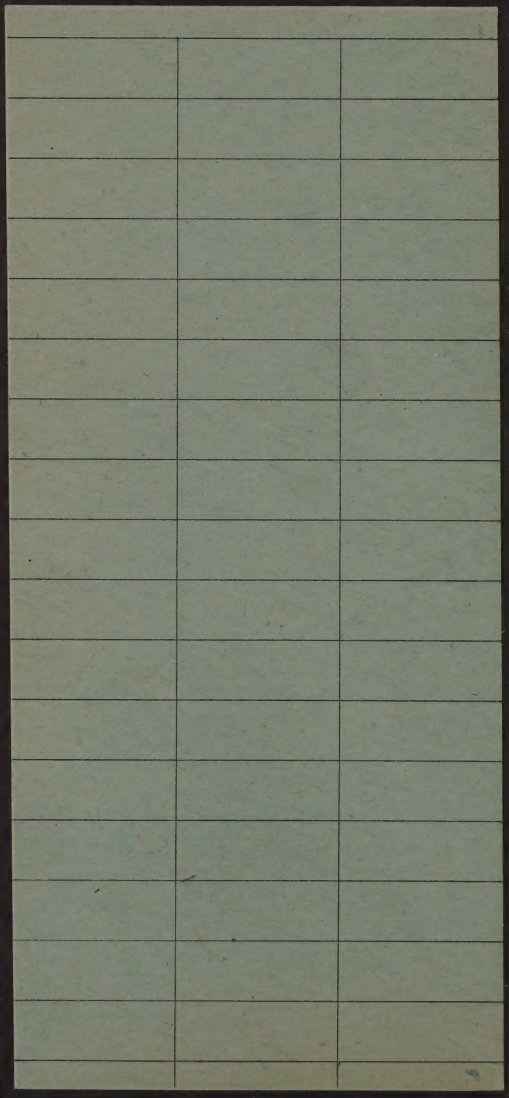
Woman in Society To-day. 263.

World, This Crowded. (Poem.) 496.

Yeiser, John O. Are we Becoming a Homeless Nation? 286.

PLEASE DO NOT
TURN DOWN LEAVES.

Stack
Per. A78 vol. 16
Arena.
Int. Debate
NOV 29 1915



Keep your card in this pocket.

Brookline Public Library

THIS BOOK MUST BE RETURNED IN

FOURTEEN DAYS

BUT MAY BE RENEWED ONCE.

Books lost or damaged must be paid for by the person to whom they stand charged.

FINES.

A fine of TWO CENTS A DAY will be incurred by retaining any book beyond the time allowed, and after two weeks of overdetention the book will be sent for and the expense thus incurred will be added to the fine.